"The Protective Deities of Tibetans"

DEDICATED TO

H. R. H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK

Head of the 3rd Royal Danish Expedition to Central Asia

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IN MEMORY

OF TWO YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL COOPERATION

FOREWORD

The iconography of the deities worshiped by the Tibetans as protectors and guardians of Buddhism belongs to the least known field of Tibetan Studies. The exceedingly numerous class of protective divinities comprises many figures who originally belonged to the pantheon of the old Tibetan Bon faith. A study of the Tibetan protective deities and their cult, apart from giving an insight into a little known aspect of Lamaism, reveals new facts regarding the beliefs of pre-Buddhist Tibet and their relation to the early shamanistic stratum out of which the Bon religion developed. Unfortunately, considerable difficulties obstruct research in this field. The Tibetan books describing the appearance and worship of the divine guardians of Buddhism are rare and their language, because of the use of archaic and obscure expressions not recorded in dictionaries, is often difficult to interpret. The chief obstacle, however, is the secrecy with which Tibetans surround the cult of the protective deities, expecially the ceremonies involving ritual dances, divination, black magic, and weathermaking.

The greater part of the material presented in this first survey of the Tibetan guardian deities and their cult was collected between 1950 and 1953 during my stay in the Indo-Sikkimese borderland. The base for my work was the town Kalimpong, the terminus of the main caravan road leading from Lhasa to India. Shortly after my arrival in Kalimpong hostilities broke out between Tibet and China. The fourteenth Dalai Lama, together with members of the Tibetan Government, left the capital and took refuge in a monastery in the Chumbi Valley only a few miles from the Tibeto-Sikkimese border. The Dalai Lama remained in Tibetan territory, but several of his relatives and numerous high Government officials with their families as well as several dignitaries of the Yellow Hat Sect came to stay in Kalimpong. Most of them returned to Tibet in late summer of 1951 when the Dalai Lama, after Tibet had been included within the Chinese People's Republic, went back to Lhasa. The close contact which I established during this period with many Tibetan officials and priests enabled me to gather a considerable amount

of valuable information on various aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and especially on the subject discussed in this publication.

My chief informants, however, were three Tibetan Incarnate Lamas who had chosen Kalimpong as their permanent residence and who remained there after most of the other Tibetan dignitaries had gone back to their homeland. Two among them, called *Dar mdo rin po che* and *bKras mthong rin po che*, were Incarnate Lamas of the Yellow Hat Sect. *Dar mdo rin po che* or *Dar mdo sprul sku*, "the Incarnate Lama from Tatsienlu", known by his full name as *Thub ldan lhun grub legs bzang*, was 34 years old in 1950, the year we met first. He had been born in the Tibeto-Chinese border-town, Tatsienlu (Tb. *Dar rtse mdo*), the only child of a Tibetan merchant. At the age of seven he was declared by monks of a local lamasery to be the first rebirth of a saintly lama who had lived in their monastery. His parents, however, refused to hand over the child to the lamas and they consented only after receiving a letter sent by order of the Dalai Lama reproaching them for their obstinacy. The *sPrul sku* was brought to Central Tibet at the age of nine to begin a course of religious studies in the *rGya rong* College of *'Bras spungs* (*lho gling*) Monastery. In 1947 *Dar mdo rin po che* undertook a pilgrimage to the sacred places of Buddhism in India and Nepal. Two years later he was appointed by *sTag brag rin po che*, the Regent then ruling instead of the still minor Dalai Lama, as Head of the monastery which the Tibetan Government had built at Bodhgayā, the place where Buddha is said to have gained enlightenment. *Dar mdo rin po che* lived in Bodhgayā only during the winter, the season in which Tibetan pilgrims visit India; the rest of the year he spent in Kalimpong. The *sPrul sku* kindly placed his comprehensive, valuable library of Tibetan blockprints and manuscripts at my disposal and helped me in the search for texts pertaining to the subjects in which I was especially interested. I made extracts from many of these books and copied several completely; some of them were presented to me as gifts. The questions which arose through the study of these works were discussed with the *sPrul sku* in the course of our frequent meetings. In the beginning our conversation was carried on through the medium of *Phur lags*, a young English-speaking Tibetan. Later, after I had learned some colloquial Tibetan, use of the interpreter's services was made only when difficulties had to be overcome. *Dar mdo rin po che*'s assistance also enabled me to witness a considerable number of Tibetan religious ceremonies.

My studies with *bKras mthong rin po che*, also an Incarnate Lama of the Yellow Hat Sect, began in 1951 and, though not as intensive as those

undertaken with *Dar mdo rin po che*, rendered many important results. *bKras mthong rin po che* was a native of the *Khams* Province (Eastern Tibet). At the time of our first meeting he was 26 years old. He had studied for nine years at *'Bras spungs* Monastery and afterwards for eight years at *Bla ma rgyud pa*, one of the two chief tantric schools of the Tibetan capital. I am especially indebted to him for information regarding various tantric teachings and the particular religious traditions and practices prevailing in Eastern Tibet.

The third Incarnate Lama who supplied me with information and books was *'Chi med rig 'dzin* of the *rNying ma pa* Sect. His home monastery bears the name *Thub bstan e wam gsang sngags chos 'khor rnam rgyal gling*. Though a native of *Khams*, he had spent most of his time in the Central Tibetan *gTsang* and *dBus* Provinces. He proved an excellent informant especially on the religious teachings and rites current among the *rNying ma pa* Sect and the related schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

The advice of these three learned Incarnate Lamas was asked on all the more important questions of the subject here discussed. However, it proved at times impossible to have the various informants agree to each others definitions. Thus e.g. *Dar mdo rin po che* and *bKras mthong rin po che*, although both members of the same sect, very often disagreed in their explanations of the more complicated religious theories or in the translation of obscure passages in Tibetan works.

The final translation of the texts, acquired or copied from the three Incarnate Lamas, was carried out with the assistance of *Nyi ma*, Agent of a former Tibetan Cabinet Minister. *Nyi ma* had been born in the Chumbi Valley and he was thoroughly familiar with the religious traditions of this and the neighbouring areas in which remnants of the Bon faith have survived. Through his studies with several well-known Tibetan scholars, among them a teacher of the present Dalai Lama, he had acquired an impressive education. Travels outside Tibet had broadened his perspective and he readily answered even those questions concerning Tibetan religious ceremonies and theories which are usually kept secret. His good knowledge of English, which proved a great help in translating and explaining difficult passages of Tibetan texts, was an especially fortunate circumstance.

A considerable amount of highly interesting information regarding the selection, life, rites, etc. of oracles consulted by the Tibetan Government was received from *Blo bzang phun tshogs*, a "Peak Secretary" (*rtse drung*) of the Dalai Lama's office and son of the former state oracle, *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*. *Blo bzang phun tshogs* also spoke fluent English and occa-

sionally assisted in translating Tibetan texts. General information on Tibetan oracles was received from the oracle priest, *lHag pa don grub*, who practised his profession in Kalimpong. Various details on the Kesar Saga and on legends current in the *'Phan* Province north of Lhasa were learned from *Byams pa gsang bdag*, a former court-singer of *Rva sgreng rin po che*, the last but one Regent of Tibet.

Most of these informants, in addition to supplying me with the information already specified, taught me colloquial Tibetan, usually in exchange for lessons in English. I am deeply indebted to them and all my other Tibetan friends and acquaintances for the great and untiring help they gave me in collecting and analysing the material presented in this publication. I would also like to express my cordial thanks to *Tshe rten bkra shis*, Private Secretary to H.H. The Maharaja of Sikkim and especially to *bKra shis dgra 'dul gdan sa pa* (Burmiak Kazi) – who at the time of my visit to Sikkim held among other posts that of a Minister of Religious Affairs – for the information given to me during my stay in Gangtok and for placing at my disposal several ancient books concerning the cult of the mountain-gods of Sikkim.

The study of early Tibetan beliefs was supplemented by research on the original religion of the Lepchas, the mongoloid aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim, and that of some of the neighbouring populations, especially the Bhutanese, Limbus, Tamangs, and Sherpas. This material will be published at a later date. The preliminary studies, which have already appeared, are listed on p. 9 of this book; some further details are given on pp. 36–38 of my 'Report on Ethnographical Research in the Sikkim Himalayas 1950–1953', *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, II/1, Vienna 1954.

My work in the Indo-Sikkimese borderland was carried out at a time of considerable political tension caused chiefly by the revolution which broke out in Nepal in 1950, and the occupation of Tibet by Chinese troops. I am deeply grateful to the Government of India for having been allowed to carry out my research for nearly three years in the proximity of the Tibetan border in spite of the sometimes tense situation prevailing in this area and to have been enabled to bring it eventually to a successful conclusion. Valuable help was rendered to me during this period by the late K. Pereira, then Austrian Chargé d'Affaires in New Delhi, by his successor, K. Enderl, and by W. Weissel, Austrian Honorary Consul in Calcutta, who kindly assisted me in dispatching my collections of Tibetan and Lepcha objects destined for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. The funds required for the acquisition of these collections were provided by the Austrian Ministry of Education.

It is also my wish to express gratitude to those scholars under whose guidance I have worked and from whom I received the training required for carrying out ethnographical and linguistic field work: my late teacher, R. Bleichsteiner, to whom I owe my first introduction into the field of Tibetan Studies, and W. Koppers (both of the University of Vienna), C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), and R. Firth (London School of Economics). I further express my sincere thanks to J. F. Rock of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass., who made my journey to India possible, and especially to H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, Member (and later Head) of the 3rd Royal Danish Expedition to Central Asia, with whom I had the pleasure of closely cooperating from June 1951 until my departure for Europe in February 1953, and who helped me in many ways to bring my work to a satisfactory end. My thanks are also due to G. N. Roerich (Kalimpong) for his valuable advice on several points discussed in this book.

After my return to Europe I accepted an invitation received from the Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, Holland, to arrange and analyse the Collection of Tibetan blockprints and manuscripts preserved at this Museum. This work was done from May to December 1953; in 1954 I returned to Leiden for five months more in order to study a comprehensive Collection of Lepcha manuscripts. The analysis of numerous books preserved in these two Collections supplied me with additional valuable material on the subject covered by this publication. I am therefore very grateful to the Board of Curators of the University of Leiden, to G. W. Locher, until 1954 Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, and especially to P. H. Pott, former Curator and since 1955 Director of the said Museum, for their kind invitation to visit Leiden.

My cordial expressions of thanks are also extented to all those who placed at my disposal Tibetan works in their possession, or who called my attention to material of interest preserved in various Museums: J. Bacot (Paris), R. A. Stein (Paris), H. Siiger (Copenhagen), and R. Haarh (Copenhagen). I also wish to express my gratitude to J. W. de Jong of the Centre of Buddhist Studies, University of Leiden, for kindly checking the spelling of Sanskrit terms occurring in this book, and for supplying me with information on various books not accessible elsewhere, and to R. Kickert (Chicago) for his help in reading the proofs. To Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, and especially to P. de Ridder, I express my thanks for the thorough care which has been taken in bringing out this book.

Vienna, February 1956. R. M. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz

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TRANSCRIPTION

The Tibetan terms occurring in this book are transcribed according to the following system:

ka	kha	ga	nga
ca	cha	ja	nya
ta	tha	da	na
pa	pha	ba	ma
tsa	tsha	dza	wa
zha	za	'(a)	ya
ra	la	sha	sa
ha	a		

Sanskrit terms are rendered in a simplified form of the system of transcription used in the Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Monier Monier-Williams, Oxford 1899.

PART I

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PROTECTIVE DEITIES

CHAPTER I

THE PROTECTIVE DEITIES

THEIR CLASSIFICATION, APPEARANCE AND ATTRIBUTES

To protect the Buddhist religion and its institutions against adversaries, as well as to preserve the integrity of its teachings is a task assigned, in accordance with precepts common to the various sects of Tibetan Buddhism, to an important group of deities, best known under the name *chos skyong* (Skt. *dharmapāla, dvārapāla*), "protectors of the religious law". Other appellations frequently given to the gods and goddesses of this particular group, are *bstan srung ma*, "guardians of the Buddhist doctrine", or simply *srung ma*, "guardians" – though under the latter term, in more colloquial usage, sometimes also harmful, non-Buddhist spirits are understood – and *dam can*, "those bound by an oath", a title given primarily to originally non-Buddhist deities who were later subdued and compelled to assume the position of protectors of the Buddhist religion. In accordance with the duties they have to fulfil, the *dharmapālas* are usually depicted in a fierce aspect, brandishing weapons and crushing the human or supernatural enemies of Buddhism under their feet.

The group of protectors and guardian deities, which comprises some of the best-known gods and goddesses of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, is considered to be divided into two main branches: firstly the powerful, high-ranking deities, known as the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, i.e. the gods and goddesses who have passed beyond the six spheres of existence: to this group belong "all the protective deities of the eighth, ninth and tenth rank", as my Tibetan informants explained it. Secondly those deities who are still residing within the spheres inhabited by animated beings and taking an active part in the religious life of Tibet, most of them assuming from time to time possession of mediums who act then as their mouthpieces. These gods and goddesses, known as the

'jig rten pa'i srung ma or *'jig rten ma 'das pa'i srung ma*, are also frequently called *drags pa*, "the haughty ones", an expression derived from the fact that most of the deities of this class are depicted with a haughty-fierce facial expression.

The by far greater part of deities belonging to the two above mentioned branches, is recognized and worshiped by all schools of Tibetan Buddhism, only a smaller number of gods and goddesses being claimed to be special protectors of the precepts of one or the other sect. Thus *Pe har*, a well-known ancient god of the branch styled *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, occupies a prominent position in the religious systems of all Buddhist schools of Tibet, while on the other hand *rDo rje shugs ldan*, another important god of the same branch, is apparently recognized only by the *dGe lugs pa* and *Sa skya pa* sects, especially the former claiming that he is a powerful guardian and protector of their doctrine against any detrimental influence coming from the side of the old *rNying ma pa* school.

The *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* and the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* are sometimes collectively addressed as the *phyi nang gsang ba'i chos skyong*; in this case, the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* are identical to the *phyi ba'i chos skyong* while the higher-ranking *dharmapālas* who stand already outside the wordly sphere, correspond to the *nang* and the *gsang ba'i chos skyong*. Another classification unites both the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* and the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* under the term *dkar phyogs skyong ba'i srung ma*, "guardians, protecting the white quarter", standing in opposition to the *nag phyogs gi bdud*, "the *bdud*-devils of the black quarter". The latter term refers to the protective deities of the pre-Buddhist Bon faith – known as the *bon skyong* or *bon srung*, who are classified into eight groups, known collectively as the *bon skyong srung ma sde brgyad* –, further many of the ancient local deities classified under the vague term *yul lha*, "country gods", and also those spirits of the dead who are said to have failed to find another rebirth and have turned into malevolent roaming demons.

Rigs 'dzin brgyud kyi srung ma is a more general term, denoting all the guardian deities of the Buddhist creed, while the expression *slob dpon brgyud kyi srung ma* is an appellation referring particularly to the protective divinities of the religious preceptors. A more rarely encountered expression specifies the guardian deities as the *dben gnas gnyan gyi srung ma*. Also the following three terms, apparently refering to various orders of legendary descent, are rarely used: *phyi rabs brgyud kyi srung ma*, *dmu rabs brgyud kyi srung ma* and *gtsug rabs brgyud kyi srung ma*. Several other terms, which can be applied to both the protective deities



Rin po che Dar mdo sprul sku of the *dGe lugs pa* sect.

who passed beyond the six spheres of existence and also to those still taking a direct part in the religious life of Tibetan Buddhism, should be mentioned here as well. Thus the expression *skyes bu chen po'i srung ma*, "guardians of the great saints", is a title by which sometimes high-ranking protectors of the religious law are addressed. According to the special protective tasks, which various of the *srung ma* have to fulfil, they are also called the *pha mes (brgyud) kyi srung ma*, "ancestral protective deities"; under this name a deity is understood which a family regards as its special protector and its cult is therefore carried on for generations. An example for the cult of a *pha mes (brgyud) kyi srung ma* is the worship of *Shing bya can*, a companion of *Pe har*, in his capacity as a protective deity of the Minyag (*Mi nyag*)[1] province, alleged to be the ancestral home of the Sikkim royal family. Further, the title *mtshams (gyi) srung (ma)*, "border guardian", is given to those protective deities, who are believed to have their abode at some locality close to the Tibetan border and whose special task it is to prevent hostile foreigners from entering the Forbidden Land. The term *gnas srung* refers to those deities who guard the holy places of pilgrimage.

The above division is, however, not to be regarded as a rigid system. The existence in the class of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, though it may extend over periods beyond human comprehension, is believed to be limited and subject to the karmic law, all the deities of this group passing eventually, by the power of the merits which they acquired by protecting Tibetan Buddhism, into the rank of the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*. While the ascent into this higher class is said to be a progress of infinite slowness, if judged by human standards of time, the number of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* by comparison increases rapidly due to the circumstance that many harmful spirits of the class called *nag phyogs gi bdud* are still being conquered and changed into protectors of the Buddhist creed by appropriate ceremonies of the Tibetan Buddhist priesthood.

Most of the *dharmapālas* are said to be wrathful deities and only a few are believed to appear in a peaceful mood. But even in the case of the latter group the *sādhanas* often mention that the peaceful *dharmapālas*

[1] See R. A. Stein, 'Mi-ñag et Sihia,' *BEFEO*, XLIV, Hanoi 1951, p. 238. L. A. Waddell in his article on 'Buddhism in Sikkim' (*Gazeteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta 1894, p. 355) calls this ancestral god the *sTong mi nyag gi lha* and claims that he is worshiped in winter.

are of an instable nature and that they are apt to assume suddenly a ferocious disposition. The wrathful protective deities are mostly described as figures possessing stout bodies, short but thick and strong limbs and many of them have several heads and a great number of hands and feet. The colour of their bodies and faces is frequently compared with the characteristic hue of clouds, precious stones, etc. Thus we often read in the *sādhanas* that one or the other *dharmapāla* is black "like the cloud which appears at the end of a *kalpa*", "like rain-clouds", "like the *ha la* poison", "like the eye-medicine (*mig sman*)", "like the *bung ba* stone", blue "like an emerald" and white "like a snowy mountain", "like a mountain of crystal" or "like the lustre produced when the rays of the rising sun strike a pile of crystal". The yellow colour is compared to that of pure gold and the red colour of some of the *dharmapālas* is supposed to be "like the hue produced when the sun rises and its rays strike a huge mountain of coral". The *sādhanas* often mention that the body of a ferocious protective deity is smeared with ashes taken from a funeral pyre and with sesame oil or that the skin of a wrathful god or goddess is covered with grease-stains, blood spots and shining specks of human fat. Many of the guardian-goddesses, especially those of the *ma mo* type, are pictured as ugly women with long, emaciated breasts and huge sexual organs, while only a few are said to have the lovely appearance of "a girl who has just passed her sixteenth year of age". The faces of many protectors of religion possess a typical wrathful expression: the mouth is contorted to an angry smile, from its corners protrude long fangs – often said to be of copper or iron –, or the upper teeth gnaw the lower lip. A "mist of illnesses" comes forth from the mouth and a terrific storm is supposed to be blowing from the nostrils of the flat nose. The protruding, bloodshot eyes have an angry and staring expression and usually a third eye is visible in the middle of the forehead.

The hair is sometimes loose and clotted with grease, but more frequently bound together into a tuft and a snake is often used as a ribbon. Occasionally, the *sādhanas* mention that a certain *dharmapāla* has a single lock, mostly hanging towards the left side, or nine locks of iron or, more frequently, the hair is plaited and built up into a toupet adorned variously with pearls, turquoise, gems, golden flaming thunderbolts, tortoise-shells, but also with pieces of iron and even with black rocks. Some deities have up to eight such toupets. Thus e.g. the Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum* mentions on fol. 58 a-b eight kings of the water-spirits (*klu*) possessing characteristic toupets:

Residence	*Colour of body*	*Toupet*
East	white	one toupet of conch-shells
South	blue	two toupets of turquoise
West	red	three toupets of copper
North	green	four toupets of red and green jewels
Northeast	red	five toupets of coral
Southeast	black (like iron)	six toupets of iron
Southwest	azure-blue	seven toupets of pearls
Northwest	like five kinds of jewels	eight toupets of *gzi* and cornelian

A characteristic hairdo, which only very few *dharmapālas* possess, is a toupet from which a conch-shell is protruding. Finally we may mention that a few minor gods and goddesses are supposed to have snakes instead of hair.

Several protective deities are pictured completely naked, but the majority appear dressed, though their garments vary from a simple loin-cloth or "rags, such as are worn by low-class people" to voluminous garments of heavy cloth and silk. Mostly the skin of a tiger serves as a loin-cloth, but in other cases the *sādhanas* mention that the loin-cloth of a particular *dharmapāla* has been made of a rough material called *re sde*, from the skin of an ox or from a freshly-drawn yak skin. A peculiar loin-cloth worn by deities of Bon origin consists of one thousand *khyung* wings or of human hearts. Some of the *dharmapālas* wear sacerdotal garments (*chos gos*) and a few are dressed in the traditional costume of the Tibetan aristocracy. Many wear dresses with a train (*'jol ber*), made of heavy silk and in various colours, and cloaks (*ber*). A few are dressed in kneelong trousers (*ang ring*). The cloaks are mostly of silk, but others consist of hides drawn from horses of an excellent breed (*gyi ling*), vulture feathers and even of tortoise-shells, human heads and lightning. A particular coat frequently mentioned is the *za 'og gi ber chen*, made of heavy silk. Another special dress is the black garment with long sleeves as worn by the "black hat" (*zhva nag*) magicians. The various dresses are held together by a girdle either of silk, or of jewels, gold and turquoise, or by a silken sash. Several ancient protective deities have a belt consisting of bowels or of snakes and *Śrī-Devī* and *Mahākāla* have even the "king of the *nāgas*" wound around the body as a girdle.

The Tibetan texts sometimes expressly state that the cloak of a deity has been folded in front either three, four, or nine times. The fur-coats (*slog pa*, *slag pa*, *thul pa*), which many protective deities wear, are made from the skin of a "blue lion", a bear, a cross-breed between the broad-

headed tiger (*gung*) and a leopard, or even of fire and air (*me rlung gi thul pa*), etc. A peculiar fur-coat is the *bdud kyi slog pa*, the "fur-coat of the *bdud*". But on the other hand the skins of a particular class of *bdud* seem to serve, according to Tibetan belief, as the dress of certain Bon deities, judging from the expression *gnam gyi bdud lpags*.

Mahākāla and several other prominent *dharmapālas* have the skin of an elephant as a cover on their backs; others wear a human skin as an upper garment and one is even dressed in the dried carcass of an animal. A peculiar type of garment seems to be the *go zu*, a term not registered in the dictionaries. The *go zu*, according to Tibetan texts, can consist of yak or sheep skins, but also of gold, *mu men* stone, glacier ice, and white clouds. Also the shape of the dress called *go chog*, which in some cases is supposed to consist of clouds, as well as the forms of the dresses called *ral ka* and *ka sha* still remain to be explained.

Various male protective deities, especially the mountain-gods and the *dharmapālas* of the *dpa' bo* or "heroic" type, wear an armour said to have been made of various kinds of material: gold, silver, copper, coral, jewels, crystal, cornelian, rhino-leather or the shells of a scorpion and of conch-shells. The joints which hold together the laminae of the armour are supposed to have been made from the neckfeathers of a peacock. Also the helmet, in some cases decorated with triangular flags, is usually made of the same material as the harness. A peculiar kind of armour, sometimes mentioned in Tibetan works, is the "harness and helmet in the style of the *dmu* demons".

The *dharmapālas* of the *dpa' bo* type wear high boots (*lham*), mostly of the Mongolian fashion (*Hor lham, Sog lham*). These are usually said to have been made of brown or red-coloured leather, while in the case of the *dharmapāla mGon po am gho ra* they are supposed to consist of copper. To the outfit of the "heroic" gods belong further a quiver of tiger-skin, called *stag gdong*, a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard and known as the *gzig shubs* and a shield of rhino-leather (*bse phub*), usually carried on the back, while on the breast hangs a breast-plate or "mirror" (*me long*) with the "seed syllable" (*sa bon*) of the particular deity written on its centre.

Several minor protective deities and their acolytes are described as wearing the attire of men or women of the Mon (*Mon*) region. The rather vague term Mon is applied to many of the tribes living on the southern slopes of the Himalaya, between the borders of the Snowy Land[2] and the northern brim of the Indian plains, and who are regarded

[2] *Kha ba can gyi yul*, poetical name for Tibet.

by the Tibetans as more civilized than the "savages", the *Kla klo* or *Klo pa*, inhabiting the same area.

Sometimes, the name Mon is also used in a more accurate sense as the appellation of the district, known by its full name as Mon Tawang (*Mon rta wang*), which lies between the eastern border of Bhutan (*'Brug yul*) and the Dafla country of northern Assam. The Monpas of this area speak a dialect, related to the Bhutanese idiom and they stand in trade relations with the marts of Assam as well as with those of Central Tibet.

The name Mon is also given to a group of tribal people living on the eastern bank of the Tsangpo (*gTsang po*, Brahmaputra) in the southern region of the Pemakö (*Padma bkod*) district, further to the Lepchas,[3] the aboriginal inhabitants of Sikkim (*'Bras ljongs*)[4] – known otherwise as Rongpa (*Rong pa*) – and to some of the tribes inhabiting Nepal (*Bal yul*). The Tibetan geographical work *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*[5] lists in its chapter on Nepal the Mon tribes as a separate group, besides the Nepalis (*Bal po*), Indians (*rGya gar pa*) – among which the Gurkha (*Gorkha*) are included –, the Tibetans (*Bod pa*), and lastly the savages (*Klo pa*).

Most of the Monpas profess their own tribal creeds which were some-

[3] On the Lepchas see:
J. D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, London 1854.
G. B. Mainwaring, *A grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) language*, Calcutta 1878.
Kali Kumar Das, 'The Lepcha people and their notions of heaven and hell,' *Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society*, VI, Pt. 1, Calcutta 1896.
G. B. Mainwaring and A. Grünwedel, *Dictionary of the Lepcha language*, Berlin 1898.
C. de Beauvoir-Stocks, 'Folk-lore and customs of the Lepchas of Sikhim,' *JASB*, Calcutta 1925, pp. 327-505.
G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, London 1938.
J. Morris, *Living with Lepchas*, London 1938.
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R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Hochzeitslieder der Lepchas,' *Asiatische Studien*, Zürich 1953, VI, 1–4, pp. 30–40.
R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Neuerwerbungen aus Sikkim und Tibet,' *Archiv fur Völkerkunde*, VIII, Wien 1953, pp. 269–272.
R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Die Legende vom Turmbau der Lepcha,' *Anthropos*, 48, Posieux 1953, pp. 889-897.
[4] Also *'Bras mo ('i) gshongs*.
[5] List of Tibetan sources, Text no. 151.

times rather sweepingly identified as "Bon practices". Such inaccurate statements are not only to be found in occidental publications, but also in Tibetan works. Thus the *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*, in its description of Nepal, mentions that a group of the Mon people of this country, known by the name *Gyu rin*, are to their greater part adherents of the Bon or that they believe in the teachings of the "old secret *mantras*" (*gsang sngags snga 'gyur*). Another section of Nepal's Mon population, called *Mā kra* and also the *Kla klo*, living close to the *Mā kra* and known as the *Kha si*, are said to believe – according to the Tibetan work here quoted – neither in the teachings of Hinduism nor in those of the Buddhists.

The dress of the various tribes, whom the Tibetans call collectively Monpas, is of course far from being uniform. We may give here, however, at least a few examples. As regards the people of Mon Tawang,[6] the men dress in garments of dyed or undyed woollen cloth, reaching to the knees. This dress, which is cut in a little to the height of the thighs, is held together by a woollen girdle. A man will usually carry a straight knife and sometimes also a long pipe made of wood and bamboo, both objects being stuck into the girdle. Very characteristic is a round flat cushion with a diameter measuring some thirteen inches, made of black goat or yak hair and worn in the back, suspended from the belt. This cushion reminds one strongly of the peculiar, horn-shaped "tails" made of goat hair and worn by the Daflas and by some of the tribes inhabiting Eastern Bhutan.[7] Another characteristic part of the Mon Tawang costume is a black skull-cap, manufactured out of the same material as the before-mentioned cushions, with a few stiff fringes.

As regards the Lepchas, the women dress in a gown of homespun linen held together in the middle by a girdle or sash and on the shoulders by two huge silver pins connected with a small chain. Unmarried women wear atop of this garment a short jacket, mostly red in colour, while married women dress in a long black coat with a red or green hem. The dress, worn by Lepcha men, is kneelong. Its cut, colour and pattern are somewhat similar to the traditional costume of the Bhutanese. The men carry, suspended from the girdle, a knife (*ban*) or sword in a scabard, which is open on one side. The typical headdress of the Lepcha men, scarcely used anymore, is a hat made of reed, creepers and bamboo.

[6] The description of the Mon Tawang costume which follows is based primarily on reports of Tibetan informants who travelled in this region.

[7] See R. E. Cooper, ' "Daktas" – people with a tail in the East Bhutanese Himalaya,' *Man*, Art. 131, London 1933.

Hats of the same type are also worn by other sub-Himalayan tribes, e.g. by the tribal people living to the east of Diran, on the Assam-Tibetan border, whom the Tibetans classify as Lopas (*Klo pa*).[8] – In this context we may mention already here that the hat worn by some of the protective deities which belong to the so-called *Ku lnga* group is also described in several iconographic texts as being a hat, made either of reed, cane, or bamboo. Thus in a work of the *rDzogs chen pa* sect the headdress of *Pe har*, the chief *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, is described either as a cane-hat with fringes all around and having the form of a parasol (*tshar zhu gdugs thabs can*), as a reed-hat with a border of black silk (*snyug zhva dar nag thib*), or as a *sag zhu*. The latter term would refer, however, either to a hat of a brownish colour or to a fur-hat. My Tibetan informants, when explaining to me the meaning of the two terms mentioned in the first place, stated expressly that in this case the headdress of *Pe har* is "similar to the bamboo or reed-hats worn by some of the Monpas". So far, I have seen only once a Tibetan painting on which *Pe har* was shown – in a two-handed form – wearing to all appearances a hat made of bamboo. By far more frequently this *dharmapāla* is portrayed wearing a broad-brimmed red hat with a green border, or sometimes a dark green hat and bearing on top a human skull, very similar therefore to the headdress of the *zhva nag* or "black-hat" magicians and dancers.

The Tibetan texts utilized in this publication give only scanty information on the appearance of the Monpas: they merely mention that the Monpas are dressed in tiger or bear skins and that they wear huge earrings. Some of the deities represented as men from Mon are armed with the "black sword of Mon" (*Mon gri nag po*) or they carry sickles.

We mentioned already that some of the *dharmapālas* wear helmets and also that others, e.g. *Pe har*, have a hat called *sag zhu*. Perhaps identical with the *sag zhu* is the *theb zhu*, made of black silk, which is being regarded as the typical hat worn by the divinities of the *rgyal po* class. A few protectors of religion are supposed to wear hats of felt, similar to those used by the nomads of the northeastern border regions of the Snowy Land. Other types of hat worn by the protective deities and their companions are the blue-coloured *'o bas zhva* or *'ob zhu*, the *srog zhu* which has a crest of five lobes – in the case of *gShen rab(s) mi bo*,[9] the

[8] On the *Klo pa* see especially F. M. Bailey, *Report on an exploration on the North-East Frontier*, Simla 1914 (Survey of India), pp. 17-21.

[9] On *gShen rab(s) mi bo* see:
Sarat Chandra Das, 'A brief sketch of the Bon religion of Tibet,' *Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society*, I, Calcutta 1893,

legendary chief propagator of the Bon creed, the *srog zhu* is supposed to consist of jewels –, a "conch-shell hat" or *dung zhu*, and the *srid pa'i zhva mo*, a broad-brimmed hat with three superimposed knobs on top and the symbols of the sun and the moon in front. Many protective deities, especially those of Tibetan origin, wear a kind of turban (*thod*), made of silks of various colours, wound in some cases around a helmet. The colour of the turban corresponds often to the characteristic hue of the particular deity; thus e.g. the *btsan* demons wear a red turban, the *bdud* have mostly a black *thod*, the *lha* a white one, etc. Peculiar turbans are the *grib thod nag po*, the "black turban of pollution", and the *thod* consisting of bowels and snakes. One type of turban is decorated with the symbols of the eight planets. The headdress most frequently worn by the higher-ranking wrathful *dharmapālas* of both sexes is a crown decorated with five human skulls (*rigs lnga khro bo*), while some protective deities occupying a lower position wear a diadem with three skulls or with a single skull in front. Other *dharmapālas* wear diadems of gold, silver, and jewels, which are sometimes decorated with the symbols of the sun and the moon or with thunderbolts, and further ribbons to which the blossoms of the *udumbara* tree have been fastened. Occasionally, a helmet or turban is also decorated with an aigrette of peacock or vulture feathers or with triangular flags.

The protective deities of the ferocious type are adorned with orna-

A. H. Francke, 'gZer myig. A book of the Tibetan Bonpos,' *Asia Major*, Leipzig (published from 1924 on).
J. F. Rock, 'The birth and origin of ²*Dtom* ¹*ba* ²*Shi* ²*lo*, the founder of the Mo so shamanism, according to Mo so manuscripts,' *Artibus Asiae*, 7, Leipzig 1937, p. 5 sq.
H. Hoffmann, 'Gšen. Eine lexicographisch-religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung,' *ZDMG*, Leipzig 1944, p. 340 sq.
R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Die tibetische Bön-Religion,' *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, II, Wien 1947, p. 37.
H. Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, Mainz 1950.
S. Hummel, 'gShen rab(s) mi bo,' *Lamaistische Studien*, Leipzig 1950, pp. 30–43.
gShen rab mi bo is usually represented in the following two aspects: in his peaceful form (*zhi ba*), his colour is blue, his right hand holds a precious vessel and the left a hook called the "hook of compassion" (*thugs rje'i lcags kyu*). He wears on his head a *srog zhu* of jewels. In the wrathful form (*drag po*) *gShen rab mi bo* is azure-blue, his right hand brandishes a sword called the "sword of wisdom" (*ye shes kyi ral gri*), the left hand holds an object called *rma bya'i sgrib shing*. He wears a diadem consisting of the images of five deities called the "five gods of wisdom" (*ye shes kyi lha lnga*). In another form he is represented as a blue figure, holding an object called *chags shing* and a book (*poti*); he wears a yellow-red *ka sha* and his head is covered by a *srog zhu* consisting of jewels. Some of the Bon books describe him as a white figure sitting in the meditation-posture and holding a vessel in the right hand and a swastika of turquoise in the left.



Rin po che 'Chi med rig 'dzin of the *rNying ma pa* sect.

PLATF III



The Tibetan *Ge sar* singer *Byams pa gsang bdag*.

ments made of human bone and garlands consisting of fifty – occasionally of fifty-one – freshly severed human heads. To the adornments of such gods and goddesses belong green necklaces, garlands formed by a thousand suns and moons and wreathes consisting of turquoise, gold, and flowers. Some wear the meditation-rope (*sgom thag*) across the breast. The bangles, which many of the *dharmapālas* are supposed to carry, are said to consist of gems, turquoise, gold and silver. Some have their limbs decorated with fetters of iron and a few wear bracelets with bells. Their earrings are of conch-shell or of precious stones and metals; in some cases the texts give a few more details, e.g. that the earrings are red-coloured or that they are swastika-shaped. A set of peculiar earrings is supposed to be worn by the goddesses *dPal ldan lha mo* and *gSer gyi spu gri ma*: in one ear they carry a snake and in the other a lion.

A considerable number of *dharmapālas* are depicted in a standing or dancing attitude, their feet resting on an open lotus, on a prostrate corpse, or on defeated inimical gods and goddesses. Other protective deities, however, are pictured riding. The variety of animals, which the *dharmapālas* are supposed to ride, is considerable. The colour of their mounts is being compared to that of a conch-shell, of gold, turquoise, crystal, coral, etc., some texts even alleging that the animals actually consist of these materials. Many *dharmapālas* are supposed to ride on birds, as crows, ravens, the *garuḍa* and the *khyung*, parrots, vultures, etc. The horses, which serve as their mounts, vary in colour. Very frequently mentioned is the "black horse of the *bdud* which has white heels" (*bdud rta nag po rting dkar*, perhaps identical with the *bra nag rting dkar*). According to Tibetan custom a black horse with white heels should never be ridden by a priest, while on the other hand it is supposed to be the best mount a warrior can choose. The *btsan* are believed to ride a red horse with a white spot (*gva pa*) on the forehead. Tibetans also pay attention to it whether a horse has a *gva pa* like the mount of the *btsan*: if the *gva pa* is situated high up on the front of the head it is regarded as an auspicious sign. On the other hand a horse which has the *gva pa* close to the muzzle will certainly bring bad luck. The horse of the *klu* is the *klu rta*, also called the "blue water-horse adorned with snakes" (*chu rta sngon po sbrul gyis rgyan*) and the *dmu* ride the *dmu rta*. Other types of horses, mentioned in Tibetan texts, are e.g. a golden horse, a horse of crystal, a yellow horse with a mane of turquoise, a red horse with white heels, the "black horse of pollution" (*grib rta nag po*), a black horse with a red muzzle, a cherry-brown horse with a black back, a red horse with felt-coloured spots, a brownish horse with white heels, etc. The

mount of the *srin po* demons, who are nowadays identified with the *rākṣasas* of India, is the *srin po'i bong bu*, mostly described as a red ass which has a white belly. Similar mounts are a black mule with a yellow muzzle, the three-legged mule ridden by *dPal ldan lha mo*, a kyang with a white muzzle and a cross-breed between a mule and a kyang.

A typical Tibetan animal frequently used as a mount by deities of truly Tibetan origin is the yak. Tibetan texts describe this *vāhana* as "a young yak bull", "the great black wild yak", "the white yak of the *lha*, from whose muzzle and nostrils a snow-storm is blowing", "the wild yak with nine horns", "the white female hybrid yak", "the hybrid yak of crystal", "the yak of the *dmu*", "the black yak with red eyes", etc.

The elephant which some of the *dharmapālas* ride is variously described as having a long trunk or possessing six tusks, and its size is compared to that of a huge broken-off piece of a snowy mountain. Other, frequently pictured *vāhanas*, are bear (described as the "leathern female *dred* bear (*bse dred mo*)", "the man-eating bear", "the bear with white paws", "the bear with a white spot", "the black bear cub", "the black bear with a yellow head", etc.), stags ("the stag of conch-shell", "the golden stag", "the stag with ten-forked antlers", "the stag of the *bdud*"), hinds ("the golden-coloured hind", "the hind with coral-red hair", "the hind of the *sman* goddesses"), a lion or lioness, especially the well-known and frequently depicted *seng ge dkar mo g.yu ral can*, the white lioness with turquoise-locks, tigers ("a tiger with golden hair", "a tiger with varicoloured stripes"), buffaloes, water-bulls ("the red bull of the *klu*" (*klu glang dmar po*), "the wild bull with curved horns", "the young bullock striped like a tiger"), the turquoise-coloured dragon, the legendary *makara* (Tib. *chu srin*), "the great spotted leopard", a brown billy goat, a camel, wolves, black dogs, black sheep with a white spot on the top of the head, a black wild boar, a "pig of iron", a monkey, a rat, etc. Mounts which are only rarely depicted are the "blue hare", a "vixen of iron", a scorpion, a poisonous snake, the "fish which is white like a conch-shell", "the golden fish", a *khyung* of crystal, "the black *khyung* with golden eyes" (identical with the *mkha' lding nag po gser mig* of the Bon), a marmot of conch-shell, a dog of turquoise, a rat of cornelian, etc. Typical animals belonging to the sphere of Bon mythology are e.g. the red tiger with nine heads, the three-legged vixen of copper, the wild dog possessing nine tongues, the iron bitch with cornelian eyes, the nine-headed wild dog of copper, the golden wild dog with a hundred tongues, the nine-headed *makara*, the nine-headed tortoise, the fish with golden eyes, "the varicoloured planet-birds" (*gza' bya khra bo*), "the blue water-

spirit birds" (*klu bya sngon po*), vultures of iron, black snakes of blood, black snakes with yellow eyes, dragons of iron, scorpions with yellow horns, black frogs with golden eyes, frogs of blood, yellow-eyed tadpoles, etc. To the same category belongs the yak with nine horns mentioned already above. Some Bon deities ride even on a naked man with nine heads.

The majority of the attributes which the protective deities carry are arms destined to destroy the enemies of the Buddhist creed, the priests who break their religious vows and renegades. Their swords (*ral gri*) are claimed to have been made of iron, copper, crystal, gold or to consist even of the tongues of revived corpses. Some swords have a hilt in the shape of a scorpion and the blades of some are pictured aflame, e.g. in the case of the so-called "sword of wisdom" (*ye shes ral gri*). Special types of swords are the "black sword of Mon" and the flaming *rākṣasa* sword. The sabre (*shang lang*), mostly said to consist of gold, is used less often. The knife (*gri*), occasionally supposed to be poisoned, is in some cases described as "the red knife of a butcher" (*bshan gri dmar po*). A special kind of knife is the *chu gri*, which has a blade in the form of a wave. Important weapons are further the chopper (Tib. *grig gug*, Skt. *karttrikā*) with a hilt in the shape of a thunderbolt, alleged to be used "to cut the life-roots of enemies and obstacle-creating demons", and the razor (*spu gri*), sometimes claimed to have been made of gold or from a conch-shell.

The lances (*mdung*), which the *dharmapālas* carry, are believed to consist mostly of iron, copper, silver, gold, crystal, turquoise, or coral. Special kinds of lances mentioned in Tibetan books are the long lance made from the thighbone of a *rākṣasī* (*srin mo'i rkang gi mdung ring*), the *btsan mdung* which is one of the most important weapons the *btsan* demons carry: a red lance with red, bloodmoistened pendants; further the "red lance consisting of gems", "the endlessly long banner of the *dmu* demons", "the lance with five points" and "the white lance of the *dbal*" (*dbal mdung dkar po*), a lance used by Bon deities of the *dbal* class. The so-called *bse mdung*, verbatim "(rhino-)skin lance" or *bse yi mdung dmar*, "the red (rhino-)skin lance", is described by the Tibetans as a lance with a shaft protected by a covering of rhino-skin. The expression *bse mdung*, however, might also mean a special kind of lance attributed to the *bsve* (sometimes written *bse*) demons; to the latter possibility seems to point the term *bsve mdung*, applied in Bon works. The banners (*ru dar*, *ru mtshon*) are in some cases described as the "banner adorned with the wish-granting jewel", "the *khyung* banner" (*khyung gi ru mtshon*)

– this is a banner with the figure of a *khyung* on the point of its shaft and very similar therefore to the various kinds of *rgyal mtshan* which we shall mention later on – and a "spotted banner". A weapon not exactly defined is the *shagti*, which term can mean either "spear, lance, pike" or "sword".[10]

An important Buddhist emblem is the so-called "banner of victory" or *rgyal mtshan*, Skt. *dhvaja*, occasionally named as the attribute of one or another protector of religion. The term *rgyal mtshan* is also used for particular kinds of banners, carried by Bon deities. Most of the latter *rgyal mtshan* are supposed to consist of silk, but a few are said to have been made of human skins. The points of these banners carry the head or the whole figure of one of the following animals: *makara*, tiger, wolf, otter, goose – which is sometimes called the "bird of the *gnyan* demons" (*gnyan bya*) –, cat, peacock, frog, snake, scorpion, and tortoise. Accordingly, these kinds of *rgyal mtshan* are known as the *chu srin gyi rgyal mtshan, stag gi rgyal mtshan, spyang ki'i rgyal mtshan, sram kyi rgyal mtshan, ngang pa'i rgyal mtshan* or *gnyan bya ngang pa'i rgyal mtshan, byi bla'i rgyal mtshan, rma bya'i rgyal mtshan*, etc. The *lha*, which have been identified with the Indian *devas*, carry a white "banner of victory" called the *lha'i rgyal mtshan*. Another special kind of "victory-banner" is the "great blood-*rgyal mtshan*" (*khrag gi rgyal mtshan chen po*).

Also the trident (*rtse gsum*) is a frequently used attribute of the *dharmapālas*. Sometimes the trident is adorned with thunderbolts and with colourful streamers of silk. A kind of trident or fork is also the *zangs kyi sha zung*, carried by Bon deities. Other weapons are a hatchet (*dgra sta*) or battle-axe – special types are the hatchet of the *dbal*[11] (*dbal gyi dgra sta*) and the *rgya sta hab chen* – and the sickle (*dgra zor* or only *zor*) made of iron or gold; the *thun zor* on the other hand, which some deities carry, is a special magic weapon. The hook (Tib. *lcags kyu*, Skt. *aṅkuśa*), said to be used by the protectors of religion "to bring into their power the three worlds" or "to tear out the hearts of infidels", is claimed to consist of iron, as indicated already by the component *lcags* in the term *lcags kyu*, but occasionally a hook of gold is mentioned.

Bow and arrow are important weapons of the protective deities and the Tibetan works speak e.g. of a "black iron bow and an iron arrow", "a bow of gold", "a small arrow of gold and a bow of silver", "the poisoned arrow with a black notch" (*dug mda' ltong nag*) – apparently

[10] Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English dictionary*, Calcutta 1902, p. 1229.
[11] On the *dbal* see p. 312 sq.

identical with the "arrow of the *bdud* with a black notch" (*bdud mda' ltong nag*) –, "the arrow and bow of the *btsan*" (*btsan mda' dang btsan gzhu*), "the arrow and bow of the *dbal*" (*dbal gyi mda' gzhu*), and the "arrow of blue lotus" (*utpala'i mda'*). The so-called "divination-arrow"[12] (*mda' dar*) held by some of the ancient Tibetan gods and goddesses is an important magic object, which we shall discuss in detail later on. A few *dharmapālas*, e.g. the god *Tho ba 'jigs byed*, the goddess *Phur 'debs ma*, and the god *rDo rje legs pa* wield a hammer, said to be of bronze. The *dharmapālas* also carry a great variety of clubs (*dbyug to*). Many of these are supposed to be of sandal-wood. Several clubs have a thunderbolt as the end of the handle, or they are studded with jewels. Special kinds of clubs are the *beng*, the emblem of the form of *Mahākāla* known as *mGon po beng*, the *'phrul gyi gaṇḍī* carried across the forearms by the members of the *Gur mgon* group, a mummified corpse in the form of a club (*zhing dbyug*), the emblem of *gShin rje* (Skt. *Yama*). The latter attribute is sometimes simplified to an ordinary club bearing a skull on top. Among the sticks, said to have been made of various kinds of wood, but also of coral, turquoise, etc., we may mention the stick carried by *Pe har* called *bseg shing*, supposed to have been made of a heavy kind of wood called *sña ra*; it is said to resemble the so-called "rattling-staff" (*mkhar gsil*) carried by those *dharmapālas* who are depicted in the shape of Buddhist priests. More rarely mentioned attributes of this type are further a stick bearing an iron wheel with eight spikes, a pestle, a sceptre of crystal, a three-forked stick (*srid pa'i ldem shing*), a horse-whip of cane or gold, a stake for empaling criminals and a pillar made of conch-shells.

A peculiar magic weapon is the so-called *khram shing*, a magic notched stick, its main flat part being decorated with drawings or with a few cross-like notches. A few details about the *khram shing* and several similar attributes will be given later on.

The so-called *ba dan* (Skt. *patākā*), a circular banner with pendants of silk, is an attribute carried by numerous *dharmapālas*. The *sādhanas* differentiate various kinds of *ba dan*, mostly named after the colour of the silk-pendants. Several *ba dan* are even supposed to consist of air, fire, or water, and they are called accordingly the *rlung gi ba dan*, *me'i ba dan*, and *chu'i ba dan*. The emblem of the *lha* is the *lha'i ba dan dkar po*, while three forms of *ba dan*, carried by Bon deities, are the *nam mkha' ba dan*, *sra brtan ba dan*, and the *sha 'bal kha srid pa'i ba dan*. It is difficult to say what these expressions mean.

12 On the "divination-arrow" see p. 365 sq.

Snares (*zhags pa*) are used by the protective deities to bind the infidels and the harmful demons, or to catch their "life-breath" and "life-power". The snares have mostly a thunderbolt attached to each end. The red snare, which is an important weapon of the *btsan*, is called the *btsan zhags dmar po*, the black snare used by the *bdud* bears the name *bdud zhags nag po* – this snare is apparently identical with the "black snare consisting of poisonous snakes" (*dug sbrul zhags pa nag po*), used frequently by the *bdud* – and the white snare carried by some of the *lha* is known as the *lha'i zhags pa dkar po*. Of some snares the *sādhanas* claim that they consist of jewels (*nor zhags*), of lightning (*glog zhags*), air (*rlung zhags*), water (*chu zhags*), sun rays (*nyi zer zhags pa*), of hair (*skra'i zhags pa*), bowels (*rgyu zhags*; also called the *btsan gyi rgyu zhags*), and the snare of leather (*bse'i zhags pa*; compare, however, also with the explanation given on p. 15). A particular kind of snare is the "blue-red rope" (*sngo dmar thag pa*), carried by Bon deities. The goddesses of the *ma mo* type are in some cases armed with a magic ball of thread (*gru gu*), while several gods and goddesses, who are believed to send illnesses, wield a leash causing diseases (*nad zhags*). More frequently the illness-bringing deities, especially the *ma mo*, carry the *nad rkyal*, a sack filled with the seeds of diseases, e.g. a sack full of the germs of leprosy (*mdze nad kyi rkyal pa*). Other goddesses hold a sack full of blood, a "water-sack" (*chu'i rkyal pa*), or a sack full of lightning and hail.

An important instrument used by the Tibetan exorcists and encountered also as an attribute of many *dharmapālas* is the magic dagger (Tib. *phur bu, phur pa*, Skt. *kīla*). The *sādhanas* mention a *phur bu* made of iron, or of copper, gold, turquoise, conch-shell, of sandal-wood and even of leather (*bse'i phur bu*). Two peculiar kinds of *phur bu* about which no details are yet available are the *mchog phur* and the *bya rgod kyi phur bu*.

Among the various vessels which the *dharmapālas* carry we may mention in the first place the skull cup (Tib. *thod pa*, Skt. *kapāla*). The skull cups serve mostly as vessels for offering food and drink to the ferocious deities. They are supposed to contain human blood or "the blood of the four kinds of *bdud*", warm human brain and blood, "the *amṛta* of immortality", also jewels, a *gtor ma*, freshly torn out human hearts, etc. Some works speak about a "huge red skull cup" and in connection with the description of the goddess *dPal ldan lha mo* the so-called *nal thod* is mentioned, a cup made from the skull of a child which had been born out of an incestuous union. Other vessels, enumerated in the iconographic texts as the attributes of the *dharmapālas*, are "an iron bowl full *amṛta*", "an iron vessel filled with various liquids", "a golden vessel full of

amṛta", "a vessel full of *chang*" (Tibetan beer), "a vessel full of offerings", "a vessel full of medicines", "a vessel of crystal filled with *amṛta* granting wisdom and life", "a flat bowl (*gshong*) filled with various medicines and jewels", "a vessel containing tea", "a *tshe bum* filled with *amṛta* in which the wish-granting tree is standing" – a similar object is the "skull cup full of *amṛta*, into which a vessel with jewels has been immersed" –, further "a flat pan filled with food possessing a hundred tastes", "a vessel filled with a fragrant liquid", "a large iron pan as used for parching grain", and lastly the *par bu* or *spar bum* of silver, said to be a kind of begging-bowl decorated with stripes and named in the *sādhanas* of *Pe har* as a typical attribute of this *dharmapāla*.

Characteristic attributes carried by those protectors of religion, who are believed to be the owners of treasures, are a jewel – mostly the "wish-granting gem" (Tib. *yid bzhin nor bu*, Skt. *cintāmaṇi*), also called the "jewel fulfilling the nine kinds of wishes" –, a sack made from the skin of an ichneumon (*ne'u le'i rkyal pa*) and filled with gems, or, more frequently, an ichneumon from whose mouth a rain of jewels is falling (*gter gyi ne'u le*). Other emblems of this type of deity are a flat pan containing jewels (*nor gshong*) and a chest (*sgrom bu*), mostly made of turquoise and full of precious stones.

A few words should also be said about the musical instruments which some of the *dharmapālas* carry. We may mention the drum known as *ḍamaru* – made of two human craniums, in which case the drum is called *thod rnga*, or of catechu-wood –, the so-called "small drum" or *rnga'u chung*; other drums (*rnga*) are said to be made of crystal, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, iron, or leather, a trumpet manufactured from a human thighbone (*rkang gling*), a bell (*dril bu*), a conch-shell (*dung dkar*), a flageolet, and a trumpet. An ancient instrument carried by Bon deities is the *gshang*, a kind of bell of a low, broad shape. According to Tibetan texts the various *gshang* used by members of the Bon pantheon are made of conch-shell or copper.

The thunderbolt (Tib. *rdo rje*, Skt. *vajra*), one of the most important ritual objects used by the Buddhist priesthood, is also the attribute of many a *dharmapāla*. The iconographic texts mention that the *rdo rje* is either five or nine-pointed and made of gold or meteoric iron. Some deities wield two crossed thunderbolts (*rdo rje rgya gram*).

Finally we may enumerate various attributes of the *dharmapālas* which we did not yet list above: a rosary of human skulls, torn out and blood-dripping hearts, bowels, the legs and arms of a man, the corpse of a child, a vermilion-coloured corpse, the severed head of an enemy,

the head of a tiger, the image of a Buddha, the symbols of the sun and the moon, dice, a cocoa-nut, the citron (Tib. and Skt. *bījapūra*), various flowers – especially the blue and red lotus –, a twig, an ear of rice, a bushle of grass, a twig of the tree called *klu shing*, a mirror of silver (sometimes called the "mirror of *karma*" or "the mirror showing all happenings in the three worlds"), chains of various size, a flaming tooth, a torch, a wheel (of fire or air: *me'i 'khor lo, rlung gi 'khor lo*), a firebrand of juniper wood, a flaming lump of iron, bellows, the horn of an antelope, a basket full of relics, a ladle of silver full of food, various kinds of brooms as e.g. a broom of silver or the "black broom of pollution" (*grib phyag nag po*), silk scarfs – one of them being called the "black silk of pollution" (*grib dar nag po*) –, a fan, the kinds of *gtor ma* called *mchod gtor* and *dug gtor*,[13] a censer and a butter-lamp, a swastika of turquoise (*g.yu'i g.yung drung*), a saw, etc. Some deities are even supposed to hold in their hands a whole mountain, especially the legendary world-mountain *Sumeru*, or edifices, e.g. a palace, a black *stūpa*. The attributes which some Bon divinities carry often remain unexplained due to the lack of precise information; such objects are e.g. the *stag sgro, gcu sta, the'u, gze ma, chags shing* (also: *phyags shing* of turquoise or copper), *kha tse, khol ma sgra snyan*, and *bsve khab zang gder*. – Sometimes the hand of the *dharmapāla* rests in a ritual posture (Skt. *mudrā*), most frequently in the tantric *tarjanī-mudrā* (Tib. *sdig 'dzub phyag rgya*).

As a short introduction to the iconographic descriptions which follow we may mention, that the residence of a fierce *dharmapāla* is usually described as a palace or castle built out of skulls or bone and standing on a rock surrounded by a wild sea of blood. Especially in the case of ancient Tibetan deities this castle is supposed to have nine turrets. Some Tibetan texts, e.g. one of the *sādhanas* of *rDo rje shugs ldan*, give a vivid and detailed picture of the way in which the palace of a wrathful *dharmapāla* is furnished and of the manifold horrors which one would encounter there. On the other hand most of the peaceful deities are believed to dwell in a beautiful landscape, on an alpine meadow full of flowers and surrounded by magnificent trees.

A priest, when meditating upon a particular *dharmapāla*, has first to imagine his residence and in it an open lotus, on which the *vāhana* – if any – of the *dharmapāla* is resting, and finally he has to imagine the *dharmapāla* himself, whom he creates out of the corresponding "seed syllable", in the shape described in the *sādhana*, together with all his

[13] Thus the black god *lTa log thor pa nag po* carries a *mchod gtor* in the left hand and a *dug gtor* in the right. He is dressed in a human skin and rides on a bear. 6, fol. 37a.

chief and minor acolytes. Many of the gods belonging to the class of protective deities are supposed to have a female consort (Tib. *yum*, Skt. *śakti*, sometimes called "secret consort", Tib. *gsang yum*, Skt. *guhya-śakti*), with whom they are often shown in sexual union (Tib. *yab yum*, Skt. *yuganaddha*-attitude) to express the tantric idea of achieving deliverance by uniting "wisdom" (= the female principle) with the "method" (= the male principle). Some of the guardian gods and goddesses are supposed to form groups called "brotherhoods" and "sisterhoods".

Many *dharmapālas* have their own "court", which includes the so-called *zhang blon*,[14] a "minister of interior" (*nang blon*), and a "minister of external affairs" (*phyi blon*), a commander-in-chief (*dmag dpon*), officers (*las mkhan*), messengers (*pho nya*) – these are frequently animals, called collectively the *spyan gzigs* – and groups of various companions (*ru 'dren pa*), as: fully-ordained priests, black-hat magicians, armed men, black women, and youthful dancers. To the initiated, however, the various "brothers" and "sisters", and even the officers, messengers, etc., are nothing else than the manifold reproductions or "emanations" (*sprul pa*) and the "emanations of the emanations" (*sprul pa'i sprul pa*) of the particular *dharmapāla* on whom the priest meditates. They were produced at the own free will of this deity in order to be able to cope with the various tasks which a *dharmapāla* has to carry out. The deity can therefore reabsorb them into its body at any time.

[14] On the term *zhang blon* see:
B. Laufer, 'Bird divination among the Tibetans,' *T'oung Pao*, Leiden 1901, pp. 104–106.
G. Tucci, *The tombs of the Tibetan kings*, *Serie Orientale Roma*, I, Roma 1950, p. 58.
H. E. Richardson, *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa*, *Prize Publication Fund*, XIX, London 1952, pp. 50–52.
F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Part II, London 1951, p. 320.

CHAPTER II

DPAL LDAN LHA MO

We mentioned before that some of the deities belonging to this class of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon are well-known iconographic figures, which have already been dealt with in a number of publications on Tibetan iconography.[1] As far as the better-known deities are concerned, the present discussion will therefore be limited to more general observations, reference being made, however, to the sources which are already available, while in the case of less known divinities some additional evidence will be supplied.

In this context it has also to be mentioned that not only the chief deities (*gtso bo*) are traditionally listed under the above heading – including the various aspects and emanations they possess – but also the minor gods and goddesses belonging to their retinue (Tib. *'khor*, Skt. *parivāra*), who are often regarded by Tibetan priests as standing outside the spheres of wordly life, in the full sense of the expression *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*. This claim, however, does not always prove to be correct, as upon closer examination we often find that many minor deities, who according to Tibetan iconographic texts would have to be included

[1] The main sources on the subject of Tibetan iconography are:

E. Pander – A. Grünwedel, 'Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hutuktu,' *Veröffentlichungen aus dem königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, I, 2/3, Berlin 1890.

A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig 1900.

S. v. Oldenburg, *Sbornik izobraženij 300 burchanov, Bibliotheca Buddhica*, St. Petersburg 1903.

A. Grünwedel, *Obzor sobranija predmetov Lamaiskago kulta kn. E. E. Uchtamskago*, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, VI, St. Petersburg 1905.

A. Getty, *The gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford 1914.

G. N. Roerich, *Tibetan paintings*, Paris 1925.

G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, I–IV, Roma 1932–1941.

W. E. Clark, *Two lamaistic pantheons, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Monograph Series*, III, IV, Cambridge, Mass., 1937.

A. Gordon, *The iconography of Tibetan lamaism*, New York 1939.

F. D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, Stockholm 1942.

G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (2 vols., 1 portfolio), Roma 1949.

among the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, in reality belong to the class of those protectors of the Buddhist creed who are still subject to the karmic law.

Several of the most important *dharmapālas* belong to a group of Tibetan deities known as the *Drag gshed brgyad*, comprising the following members:

dPal ldan lha mo (Skt. *Śrī-Devī*)
mGon po (*Nag po chen po*, Skt. *Mahākāla*)
rNam thos sras (Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*) and his forms *Jambhala* and *Kubera*
gShin rje (Skt. *Yama*)
lCam sring or *Beg tse*
Tshangs pa dkar po (Skt. *Sita-Brahmā*)
rTa mgrin (Skt. *Hayagrīva*)
gShin rje gshed (Skt. *Yamāntaka*)

The first five deities belong to the class of the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, while *Tshangs pa dkar po* is classified among the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*. *rTa mgrin*, who is believed to be a god keeping many of the *dharmapālas* under control, and *gShin rje gshed* are deities of the *yi dam* type, and they will therefore be omitted from our discussion.[2]

The position and aspects of *dPal ldan lha mo*, the chief guardian-goddess of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, as well as those of some of the deities of her retinue have been only recently the subject of a comprehensive study published by Tucci.[3] The present discussion may therefore be limited to short descriptions of the goddess's most important forms – the explanations being based to the greatest part upon material which had not yet been used in other studies – and to additional remarks concerning those of her companions, about whom so far only little had been known. *dPal ldan lha mo* is supposed to be a goddess of the tenth rank. She is the chief protectress of the *dGe lugs pa* sect and her "emanation" *Ma gcig dpal ldan lha mo* is the principal guardian goddess of the Tibetan capital

[2] For further details regarding these two deities see R. H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, supplement to vol. XXXIII, Leiden 1935; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 587sq. and the sources quoted there. – A Bon form of *rTa mgrin* is the *Gar dbang rta mgrin*, also called the *Khro rgyal gar dbang bdud spung 'dul ba*, a dark-red fierce figure with one head from which a small horse head protrudes. He is shown standing; the upper part of his body is covered by a human skin, the lower by the skin of a tiger; his right hand brandishes a flaming sword and the left one throws a magic noose. (Work no. 202).

[3] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 590–594; see also Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II/2, p. 96sq.

(*lHa sa'i bka' srung ma gcig dpal ldan lha mo*).[4] She is also believed to be the chief *ma mo*.

According to the iconographic compendium known shortly as the *Rin 'byung* (R),[5] the more important forms of *dPal ldan lha mo* are as follows:

dPal ldan lha mo dud gsol mar grags pa 'dod khams dbang phyug ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 406 b),

also addressed as the *gTso mo rematī*. There are numerous titles which are given to this goddess. Especially remarkable among them are the appellations *srog bdag chen mo*, "great life-mistress", *dgra lha chen mo*, "great *dgra lha*", and *dgra lha'i rgyal mo*, "queen of the *dgra lha*". She is of a black colour and her body is lean as a skeleton. The goddess has one face, four hands and two feet. In her upper right hand she holds a chopper, her second right hand is bent, lifting a huge red skull-cup. With her upper left hand she brandishes the weapon called *shagti*, and with her second left hand she wields a trident to which streamers of silk are attached. A human corpse lies in her mouth and she bares her teeth. She has three eyes, her hair is yellow-red and its plaits fall towards the left side. Her body is adorned with snakes and wreathes of human skulls as well as with a garland consisting of the severed heads of *asuras*. She wears a snake with a necklace of bells in her left ear and a lion in the right one. A diadem made of flowers and black silk rests on her head. An elephant-hide covers the upper portion of her body, and the skin of an ox serves her as a loin-cloth. The king of the *nāgas* is drawn around her waist as a girdle and her feet are decorated with iron fetters. She dwells in the centre of cemeteries, where her shrieks can be heard. Her companions are *ma mo*, *ḍākinīs* and *piśācas*.

dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo (R, Vol II, fol. 410 a)

This form of *dPal ldan lha mo* derives her name from the main attribute, a sickle (*zor*), which is, however, not mentioned in the description contained in the *Rin 'byung*. According to this source the goddess is of a dark-blue hue, has one face, two hands, and rides on a mule. With her right hand she brandishes a huge sandal-wood club adorned with a

[4] In this form she is supposed to take possession of a medium called *lHa mo srung skyong ma*; see L. Petech *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, Roma 1952, I, p. 261, note 5.

[5] List of Tibetan sources, no 157; see also F. A. Peter, 'The Rin hbyung,' *JASB* IV, Calcutta 1943, pp. 1–27.

thunderbolt and with her left hand she holds in front of her breast the blood-filled skull of a child, born out of an incestuous union (*nal thod*). She wears a flowing garment of black silk and a loin-cloth made of a rough material. Her ornaments are a diadem of skulls, a garland of freshly-cut heads, a girdle of snakes, and bone ornaments, and her whole body is covered with the ashes of cremated corpses. She has three eyes, bares her fangs, and the hair on her head stands on end. A *khram shing* is stuck into her girdle and she carries a sack full of diseases (*nad rkyal*) and a pair of dice (*sho rde'u*). Above her head is a panoply of peacock-feathers. In her retinue appear countless *bdud*, black birds, black dogs and black sheep.

A more detailed description of *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo* and her train is contained in the Tibetan work mentioned under no. 109 of the list of Tibetan sources. The essential part of this description has already been published recently by Tucci,[6] but we may nevertheless give a verbatim translation of this chapter, in order to have here some additional iconographic material for comparison. The single figures or groups of deities forming the train of the *dMag zor gyi rgyal mo rematī* – as she is called in the source here under discussion – are the *'Phrin las bzhi'i lha mo* (*Zhi ba'i lha mo*, *rGyas pa'i lha mo*, *dBang gi lha mo*, and *Drag po'i lha mo*), the *lHa mo rematī gsang sgrub*, the *'Khor ma mo bzhi* or *bKa' nyan ma mo bzhi* (*Srog bdud ma*, *sNying bzan ma*, *Thog 'phen ma*, and *Nad gtong ma*), the (*las mdzad*) *Dregs pa bzhi* (*Khyab 'jug chen po*, *bTsan rgod*, *bDud mgon*, and *Li byin ha ra*), the (*'jigs rung*) *gDong can gnyis* (*Chu srin gdong can* and *Seng ge'i gdong can*), the (*srog 'phrog*) *Bran g.yog mched bzhi* (*bDud mo rematī*, *Nad kyi bdag mo*, *sKye mthing ma*, and *Khri sman sa le ma*), the *Dus bzhi lha mo* or *Dus kyi bdag mo*, also known as the *Dus kyi rgyal mo*, "queens of the four seasons" (*dPyid kyi rgyal mo*, *dByar gyi rgyal mo*, *sTon gyi rgyal mo*, and *dGun gyi rgyal mo*), the *Tshe ring mched lnga* and the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis*; the members of the latter two groups will be discussed in detail in a separate chapter.

The appearance of these various divinities is as follows: "In the middle of a vast wild sea of blood and fat, in the centre of a black storm rides on a kyang with a white spot on the forehead, which has a belt of *rākṣasa* heads and a *rākṣasa* skin as cover, with a crupper, bridle, and reins consisting of poisonous snakes, the *dPal ldan dmag zor gyi rgyal mo rematī*, who comes forth from the syllable *bhyo*. She is of a dark-blue colour, has one face and two hands. Her right hand wields a club adorned with a thunderbolt, which she lifts above the heads of oath-breakers, the left hand holds in

[6] *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 590–594; *Indo-Tibetica*, III/2, p. 100.

front of her breast the skull of a child born out of an incestuous union (*nal thod*) full of substances possessing magic virtues, and blood. Her mouth gapes widely open and she bares her four sharp teeth; she chews a corpse and laughs thunderously. Her three red and globular eyes move like lightning and her forehead is very angrily wrinkled. Her yellowish-brown hair stands on end, her eyebrows and the hair of her face burn fiercely like the fire ending a *kalpa*. Her right ear is decorated with a lion, the left one with a snake. Her brow is adorned with five human skulls, and she wears a garland of fifty freshly severed, blood-dripping heads. Her body is covered with splashes of blood, specks of fat, and is smeared with the ashes of cremated corpses. On the crown of her head shines the disc of the moon and on the navel the disc of the sun. She wears a scarf made of black silk and a human skin serves her as a covering; her upper garment is made of rough black cloth and her loin-cloth is the freshly-drawn skin of a tiger, fastened by a girdle consisting of two entwined snakes. From the saddle-straps in front is suspended a sack full of diseases, from the straps in the back a magic ball of thread. A *khram shing* is stuck into her waist-belt. A load of red tablets and a pair of dice, white and black, hang from the straps. On her head she wears an umbrella of peacock-feathers.

In the back of the chief goddess comes forth from the white syllable *bhyo*, on top of a white mule adorned with a precious saddle and bridle, the *Zhi ba'i lha mo*, of a white colour, with one face and two hands, peaceful and smiling – though in a slightly angry mood – and possessing three eyes. Her azure-blue hair hangs down and its locks are bound together with a golden thread into a single tuft. Her right hand holds a white mirror of silver showing clearly the happenings in the visible world, her left hand holds a white vessel of silver with a six-pointed handle filled with various medicines. She carries a diadem, earrings, a necklace, the *se mo do* ornament, a garland, and a girdle, and her hands and feet are adorned with bracelets, all these objects having been made of jewels. She wears a flowing dress consisting of white silk, blue *'jag* and yellow *sha dar*, bound together by a sash of blue silk. She sits with her legs half crossed. A yellow ray emanates from her body (out of which originates) the train which surrounds her, carrying out (the kind of work called) *zhi ba'i las*.

To the right side of the chief goddess comes forth from the yellow syllable *bhyo*, on top of a yellow mule adorned with a precious saddle and bridle, the yellow *rGyas pa'i lha mo* with one face and two hands, bearing the expression of passion. She has three eyes, her azure-blue

hair is bound by means of a golden thread into a tuft slanting to the left. Her right hand holds a golden vessel full of *amṛta* and her left hand holds a golden pan full of wish-granting jewels. She carries a diadem, earrings, a necklace, the *se mo do* ornament, a garland, and a girdle, and her hands and feet are adorned with bracelets, all these objects having been made of jewels. She wears a dress made of yellow silk, blue *'jag* and *sha dar rgya khas*,[7] bound together by a sash of blue silk. She sits with her legs half crossed. A yellow ray emanates from her body (out of which originates) the train which surrounds her, carrying out the (work called) *rgyas pa'i las*.

To the left of the chief goddess comes forth from the red syllable *bhyo*, on top of a red mule adorned with a precious saddle and bridle, the red *dBang gi lha mo* with one face, two hands, assuming within a moment's time a fierce and passionate expression; she has three eyes. Her azure-blue hair is bound by means of a golden string into a tuft slanting towards the left. Her right hand thrusts a hook and the left one a snare. She carries a diadem, earrings, a necklace, the *se mo do* ornament, a garland, and a girdle, and her hands and feet are adorned with bracelets, all these objects having been made of jewels. She wears a flowing dress made of red silk, green *'jag* and blue *sha dar*, bound together by a sash of green silk. She sits with her legs half crossed. From her body emanates a ray of red light (out of which originates) the train which surrounds her; carrying out the (work called) *dbang gi las*.

In front of the chief goddess comes forth from the dark blue syllable *bhyo*, on top of a black mule covered by a skin which had been drawn from a corpse, the black *Drag po'i lha mo*, with one face and two hands, staring with three widely opened eyes, wrathful and ferocious, with a gaping mouth and baring her long teeth; the eyebrows and the hair of her face blaze like fire and her dark-brown hair is similar (to the colour of) the dusk. She has flapping breasts, her right hand holds a *khram shing* and the left hand (carries) a stick consisting of a mummified corpse, together with a snare. Atop of a garment made of coarse black cloth she wears a fluttering cover made of a human skin and (she also carries) a loin-cloth made from the skin of a tiger. She is adorned with five kinds of bone ornaments. She has the attitude of a rider. A black ray emanates from her body (out of which originates) the train which surrounds her, carrying out the (work called) *drag po'i las*.

In front of the *Drag po'i lha mo* comes forth from the dark-blue syllable *bhyo* – when all has been completely changed –, on top of a

[7] It was not possible to identify these two expressions.

huge corpse lying on its back, the *lHa mo remati gsang sgrub*; she has one face, two hands, and is very angry and ferocious. Her three red eyes are globular, her eyebrows and the hair of her face are ablaze, and her dark-brown hair hangs in streaks down to her heels. Her brow is adorned with a diadem bearing one skull. She is naked (except for) a pair of trousers made of coarse cloth. Her right hand lifts skyward a sharp strong sword, her left hand holds by the hair, towards her left breast, a blood-dripping human head. She dwells in the centre of a fire, in the manner of rising hesitantly.

In front appears from the syllable *ma* the black *Srog bdud ma*, with two hands, crushing the sun and the moon, riding on a black bird. On the left comes forth from the syllable *ma* the black *sNying bzan ma*. She eats the human heart which her right hand is holding, her left hand (clutches) a hook; she is dressed in trousers of blue silk and (dwelling) on top of a corpse she assumes a running posture. In the back comes forth from the syllable *ma* the fierce red-brown *Thog 'phen ma*, with two hands, holding a sack full of lightning and hail, which she pours out on the enemies. Standing on the sun with her right foot and on the moon with the left one, she hastens on the sky. Each of these three has the mouth widely open and bares the teeth. Their three eyes move like lightning, the eyebrows and the hair of the face are blazing. Their hair hangs down reaching to the thighs, and their brow is adorned with three dry skulls. On the left comes forth from the syllable *ma* the black scorpion-headed *Nad gtong ma*. Her right hand is open, the left one holds a sack full of diseases. She rides on a camel. - Each of these four has flapping breasts and a garland of poisonous snakes. In addition to it *Nad gtong ma* opens widely her genitals.

In the southeastern direction comes forth from the syllable *ra* the dark-brown *Khyab 'jug chen po* with nine heads, the three on the right being white, the three on the left being red, and the three middle-ones being dark-brown. Atop of these faces he has the head of a raven; his yellow-red hair stands on end, his eyes are widely open, and he bares his teeth. His first pair of hands holds an arrow and a bow in the attitude of shooting, the lower pair holds a victory-banner with the head of a *makara* as its point (*chu srin gyi rgyal mtshan*) and a snake forming a noose. The lower part of his body is the green coiled tail of a snake, his body is covered with a thousand eyes and he has a face on his belly. He is adorned with a diadem of skulls, a human skin (which serves him) as an upper cover and with jewels, bone ornaments, and snakes.

In the southwest comes forth from the syllable *tsa* the red three-eyed

bTsan rgod. His upper teeth, gnawing the lower lip, gnash in anger. His right hand thrusts a lance and the left one a snare. He wears a cuirass and a helmet (both made) of leather and on his feet he wears high red boots. He rushes away on the "red horse of the *btsan*" adorned with a saddle and crupper.

In the northwest appears from the syllable *du* the lion-faced black *bDud mgon* whose locks of turquoise stand on end. His right hand lifts a lance and the left hand throws a *dmar gtor* at the enemies. He wears a garment with a train, of red *'jag* and black silk, and he is decorated with the six kinds of bone-ornaments. He rides on a black horse bearing a saddle and a crupper.

In the northeast comes forth from the syllable *tsa* the *rgyal po Li byin ha ra*, of a pink lustrous hue, in a peaceful, not angry disposition, with three eyes. His yellow-red hair is turned upward and he wears the (hat called) *sag zhu.* His right hand lifts a thunderbolt and the left one holds a skull-cup in front of the breast. He carries atop of a patched-up cloak a red robe with a train, having a blue *mtha' 'jag.* He wears Mongolian boots (*Hor lham*) with three soles atop of each other, and he rides in the *rāja-paryaṅka* on an elephant with a long trunk.

From the syllable *bhyo* comes forth in front of the mule (of the chief goddess) the dark-blue *Chu srin gdong can,* holding a snare in the right hand and the reins (of the mule) in the left one. She wears a human skin as her dress. Behind (the mule) is the dark-red *Seng ge'i gdong can* holding a chopper and a skull-cup full of blood. In the four directions (as seen from the chief goddess) appear: in front the dark blue *bDud mo rematī* holding a sword in her right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left one. She is dressed in a human skin and a garment of black silk and rides on an ass with a white patch on its forehead. On the right side is the dark-blue *Nad kyi bdag mo* holding a pair of dice in her right hand and a red tablet in the left one. She is dressed in a garment made of black silk and a rough cloth; she rides on a mule. In the back is the black *sKye mthing ma,* holding a human heart in her right hand and making with the left hand the *tarjanī-mudrā.* She is dressed in a human skin and in the skin of a tiger, and she rides on a stag. On the left is the white *Khri sman sa le ma,* lifting skyward with both her hands the skin of a *makara.* She wears a dress and a turban of white silk, and rides on a black bird.

In front, in the right corner originates from the syllable *bhyo* the dark-blue *dPyid kyi rgyal mo,* "the queen of spring", holding a chopper in her right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left. She is dressed in a

human skin and rides on a mule. In the back, in the right corner, originates from the syllable *bhyo* the dark-red *dByar gyi rgyal mo*, "the queen of summer", holding a hook in her right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left one. She is dressed in (silks of the kind called) *chu dar* and she rides on a water-buffalo. In the back, in the left corner, comes forth from the syllable *bhyo* the yellow *sTon gyi rgyal mo*, "the queen of autumn", holding a sickle in the right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left one. She wears a cloak of peacock feathers and rides on a stag. In front, in the left corner, appears from the syllable *bhyo* the dark-blue *dGun gyi rgyal mo*, "the queen of winter", holding a magic notched stick in her right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left one. She rides on a camel which has a white spot on the forehead.

In front appears from the syllable *mam* the white *bKra shis tshe ring ma*, holding a thunderbolt and a *bum pa* and riding on a lion. From the syllable *mam* originates the azure-blue *mThing gi zhal bzang ma*, holding a *ba dan* and a mirror and riding on a kyang. From the syllable *mam* comes forth the yellow *Mi g.yo blo bzang ma*, holding a pan with food and an ichneumon. She rides on a tiger. From the syllable *mam* comes forth the red *Cod pan mgrin bzang ma*, holding a jewel and a treasure box. She rides on a stag. From the syllable *mam* comes forth the green *gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma*, holding a bushle of *dūrvā* grass and a snare. She rides on a dragon. Each of these five bears an angry, passionate, haughty expression. They are adorned with dresses of silk and ornaments of precious stones.

On the left originates from the syllable *ma* the blue *rDo rje kun grags ma*, wearing a cloak of a thousand black snakes and having the freshly drawn skin of a yak as her loin-cloth. She holds a *phur bu* (of the kind called *bya rgod phur bu*). She rides on a turquoise (coloured) dragon. From the syllable *ma* comes forth the blue *rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong*, wearing a freshly drawn yak-skin as her dress and a loin-cloth of a thousand *khyung*-wings. She holds a *phur bu* of copper (and) rides on a three-legged mule. From the syllable *me* originates the white *rDo rje kun bzang ma*, wearing a lion skin as covering. She lifts a five-pointed thunderbolt and rides on a lion. From the syllable *me* originates the blue *rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso*, wearing a dress made from a thousand black bulls and a loin-cloth consisting of a thousand *khyung* wings. She holds an iron *phur bu* and rides a golden-coloured hind.

In the back comes forth from the syllable *la* the white *rDo rje spyan gcig ma*, wearing a dress spun of conch-shells, tied together by a girdle of turquoise. She holds a "blood-sack" (*khrag gi rkyal pa*) and rides on a

white "conch-shell stag". From the syllable *la* comes forth the yellow *rDo rje dpal gyi yum*, dressed in a human skin, with a loin-cloth of human hearts, holding a poisoned arrow with a black notch and riding on a *khyung*. From the syllable *le* originates the white *rDo rje klu mo*, wearing a cloak of piled-up human heads and holding a club consisting of a corpse. She rides a black wild boar. From the syllable *le* comes forth the green *rDo rje drag mo rgyal*, (wearing) a *rlog pa* consisting of a thousand yak-skins and a loin-cloth made of a thousand *khyung* wings. She holds a *phur bu* (of the kind called *mchog phur*) and she rides on a wild yak with nine horns.

On the left comes forth from the syllable *ta* the black *rDo rje dpal mo che*, with a *klog pa* of a thousand lion-skins and a loin-cloth full of black snakes. She holds a *bum pa* with blood in it and rides a white horse. From the syllable *ta* comes forth the red *rDo rje sman gcig ma*, with a covering of a thousand (skins drawn from) white horses of the best breed and a loin-cloth consisting of a thousand tiger-skins; she holds a *phur bu* (of the kind called *bse'i phur*) and rides on a black mule with a yellow muzzle. From the syllable *te* comes forth the dark-red *rDo rje g.ya' mo sil*, wearing a covering full of black snakes. She holds a *phur bu* made of sandal-wood and rides on a hind. From the syllable *te* comes forth the blue *rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma*, having a covering of a wolf (skin) and a loin-cloth of human ribs (and) fibres. She holds a small drum and a thighbone trumpet and she rides on a lion of turquoise.

In the main train of these appear towards the outside the *ma mo*, *bdud*, *gshin rje*, *srin po*, *zhing skyong*, etc., in an unimaginable multitude, and moreover the *lha*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin*, *dri za*, *grul bum*, *mi 'am ci*, *lto 'phye chen po*, etc., in an unimaginable multitude, brandishing in their right hands various weapons as thunderbolts, choppers, swords, hatchets, lances, hooks, iron poles to empale criminals, fiercely blazing fire, etc., while all of them hold in the left hand a skull-cup full of poisonous blood."[8]

lHa mo srog sgrub lcags phur ma rang 'byung rgyal mo (R, Vol. II, fol. 415b),

also called "*Rematī* of the *gnyan*" (*gNyan gyi rematī*). Her body is black, her garment is made of black silk and black snakes serve her as ornaments. She has four hands: in the upper right hand she holds a magic mirror (*'phrul gyi me long*) and a snake snare (*sbrul zhags*) in her second right hand. In her upper left hand she carries a trident and

[8] Text no. 109, fol. 8a sq.; see Tibetan Texts, text A.

in the lower one a *phur bu* of iron. She wears a lower garment made of a rough cloth, a crown of dry skulls, a garland of freshly severed heads, a girdle of snakes, and she is covered with bone ornaments as well as with the ashes of cremated corpses.

In her retinue appear the following *ma mo: Ye shes kyi ma mo, Las kyi ma mo, 'Jig rten gyi ma mo;* further, she is accompanied by *nāgīs* (*klu mo*), *yakṣas* (*gnod sbyin*), *rākṣasīs* (*srin mo*) and *kumbhāṇḍas* (*grul bum*).

lHa mo dung skyong ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 420 b),

the "protectress of conch-shells"; her body is white-coloured and her facial expression is slightly wrathful. With her right hand she brandishes towards heaven a flaming sword of crystal, and with her left hand she holds a treasure-producing ichneumon (*gter gyi ne'u le*). Her hair is black, she wears a garment made of black and white silk and a loin-cloth cut from a rough material. A diadem of skulls adorns her head. Her ornaments are a garland of freshly severed heads, a girdle of snakes, carvings of human bone, and her whole body is smeared with the ashes of cremated corpses.

bDud mo rematī (R, Vol. II, fol. 423 a)

The description of the *Rin 'byung* is identical with that which was given already above, except that in this case no mount is mentioned.

Klu mo rematī phyag bzhi ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 425 b)

The goddess *Rematī* in her form as a mistress of the water-spirits is black-coloured and is shown riding an "ass of the *rākṣasas*" (*srin po'i bong bu*) which has a red spot on its head and possesses the swiftness of wind. It carries a saddle made of human skin. *Klu mo rematī* has four hands; the right ones hold a sword and a rosary of skulls, the left ones clutch a skull-cup full of blood and a trident. Her companions are a red *makara*-headed goddess, eight great black *nāgas* carrying choppers and snake-snares, and millions of minor *nāgas*.

gNod sbyin rematī (R, Vol. II, fol. 427 b)

Her colour is black, she holds a sword in her right hand and a treasure-producing ichneumon in her left. *gNod sbyin rematī* is accompanied by sixteen black *yakṣīs* (*gnod sbyin mo*), eight of them holding clubs and skull-cups filled with blood, while the other eight brandish swords and carry ichneumons.

Rematī rdo rje gshog rgod ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 429 b)

This form of *dPal ldan lha mo* has a body of a dark-brown colour, one face, two hands and a pair of flaming wings. She holds a sword and a skull-cup, while an ichneumon rests in the crook of her left arm. A human skin serves her as an upper garment. Her other main attributes are the sack full of diseases, a pair of dice, and an umbrella of peacock-feathers.

The works of the *rNying ma pa* sect speak frequently about a sisterhood of three or four *Rematīs*. The group called the *Rematī mched gsum* comprises the black *dPal ldan lha mo rematī*, riding on a three-legged mule and brandishing a hook, further the black *dPal ldan rema rdza*, whose mount is a hind – her attributes are a *phur bu* of *seng ldeng* wood and a *khram shing* –, and lastly the black *dPal ldan rema dzu*, riding on a blue water bull. She carries an iron *phur bu* and a hook.[9] The group of the four *Rematīs*, shortly called the *Rema mched bzhi*, comprises the following members: the deities *Rematī*, *Rema dza*, *Rema dzu*, and *Reman ti*. The last-named figure seems to be, however, a god and not a goddess. Other appellations of *Rematī*, to be found in *rNying ma pa* works, which refer perhaps to other aspects of this goddess than those already described, are *Ma gcig dpal ldan lha mo rematī*, *'Phags ma rematī*, *Sems ma rematī*, *dBang phyug rematī*, and *Dam can rematī*.

lHa mo ekajāti (R, Vol. II, fol. 432 a)

Several forms of this goddess are described in the retinues of *Gur mgon lcam dral*, *mGon dmar rkang gling can* and *mGon po bzhi sbrags*. According to the description of the *Rin 'byung* the *lHa mo ekajāti* comes forth from the centre of the "sea of blood" (*rakta'i rgya mtsho*), which is surrounded by dark-red mountains. She rests on a sun-lotus; her colour is dark-brown and the plaits of her hair hang towards the left side. She has one face and two hands. Her right hand wields a trident and with her left hand she clutches a heart and a snare. A tiger-skin serves her as a loin-cloth, and she wears a human skin as an upper garment. Her ornaments are snakes and human heads, and her whole body is enveloped in a fiercely blazing fire-cloud. She dispatches numerous female wolves as messengers.

Here we may add two descriptions of *Ekajāti*, based on a work of the *rNying ma pa* sect, which speaks about a form of *Ekajāti*, bearing the title "guardian of *mantras*" (*sngags srung*); she is also called the *bKa' srung chen mo rdo rje khro gdong ma*. The goddess is described as having

9 120, fol. 2a.

a dark-brown human body. Her attributes are a trident and a skull-cup. She stands on a sun and moon-lotus, on top of defeated enemies and *vighnas*. A typical *rNying ma pa* representation of *Ekajāti* – known in this case on account of her appearance as the *Ral gcig ma* – is the second aspect of this goddess described in the same work: the goddess dwells upon a dark-brown, flaming *maṇḍala* of a triangular shape, her hair is bound into a single tuft, she has only one eye, set in the middle of her forehead, and her mouth has only one tooth. Her body has one emaciated breast and only one foot.[10] In *rNying ma pa* works *Ekajāti* is often called the *dgra lha'i rgyal mo*, "queen of the *dgra lha*".

According to a description of this goddess, contained on fol. 5a of Text no. 3, she surveys with her single eye the past, present, and future; with the single tooth she destroys the life of her enemies; she is dark-blue and has a lock of turquoise. Her right hand clutches the freshly torn out heart of an enemy, with her left hand she dispatches a clever falcon of turquoise and her two feet stand on a pedestal of earth. The "emanations of her body" (*sku'i sprul pa*) are a hundred thousand Nepalese women (*Bal mo*), as "emanations of speech" (*gsung gi sprul pa*) she dispatches *ḍākinīs*: black women of the Mon country (*Mon mo nag mo*) are the "emanations of mind" (*thugs kyi sprul pa*), and her "*karma* and virtue-emanations" (*'phrin las yon tan sprul pa*) are numberless.

On the right side she is accompanied by the "great *ging*", the black *lHa chen dpal 'bar ma ning*. He has the countenance of a most ferocious *rākṣasa*, he is three-eyed and his brow is decorated with a diadem of skulls. Live black snakes are his hair and his attributes are a banner, a heart and a snare. His "body-emanation" is the "*mGon po* who rides on a tiger" (*mGon po stag zhon*), the "emanation of speech" is the red *mGon po beng*, the "emanation of mind" is the "*mGon po* with a chopper" (*mGon po gri gug can*), the "emanation of virtue" is the black *mGon po legs ldan*, and the "*karma*-emanation" is the *mGon po tra kṣad*. The goddess *Ral gcig ma* is accompanied on the left side by the "great *sgrol ging*" *rDo rje legs pa*, here addressed by an alternative name as *sKyes mchog vajra thig le rtsal*. His body has the colour of fire, and he is dressed in white silks and a tiger-skin. A thunderbolt and a heart are his attributes, his mount is a white lion. He is surrounded by his three hundred sixty brothers as well as by hordes of *the'u rang* demons and Monpas.

To the train of *Ekajāti* belongs also her "maidservant" (*las mkhan ma*)

10 See the picture in S. H. Ribbach, 'Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava und seiner Gefolgschaft,' *Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen wissenschaftlichen Anstalten*, 34 (1916), Hamburg 1917.

Ma mo gnod sbyin mdzes ldan ma, who is a "guardian of the traditions of secret *mantras*" (*gsang sngags bka' yi srung ma*) and also a "guardian of riches" (*dkor srung*). She is said to have sprung from the union of *'Od de 'od po che* with the goddess *lHa bzang a mo lcam.* Her attributes are a hook and a mirror.[11]

lHa mo nam mkha' gos can (R, Vol. II, fol. 434 a)

Her colour is either azure-dark or bluish-white. She has one three-eyed face, two hands, and she appears in a fierce aspect. Her ornaments are a human skin, jewels, a garland of human heads, and her body is smeared with sesame-oil. She bares her fangs, her tongue moves with the speed of lightning and her blood-shot eyes view the enemies of religion with a hateful stare. In her right hand she holds a chopper and with her left hand she clutches a skull-cup filled with blood. She stands on a corpse, with her left foot set forward.

Another form of *dPal ldan lha mo,* not mentioned in the *Rin 'byung,* is the *Ma gcig rdo rje rab brtan ma,* also called the *Ma gcig 'dod khams dbang phyug rab brtan ma.* She is pictured as a dark-brown or blood-coloured goddess with one head, riding on a cross-breed between a mule and a kyang. Her right hand brandishes a flaming *rākṣasa*-sword, the left one holds a skull-cup filled with the blood of enemies and obstacle-creating demons, and in the crook of her left arm rests a sack full of diseases. She bares her teeth angrily and her three eyes stare full of hatred; her body is covered with blood-spots, grease-stains, and shining specks of human fat. The skin of a man covers her back, around her loins is wound the skin of a tiger, on her head she carries a diadem of five skulls and an aigrette of peacock feathers, her body is adorned with jewels and ornaments made from human bone. A snake serves her as a girdle, into which on the right side a divination-arrow and on the left side a mirror are stuck.

Her companion is the *Pho klu bdud thod dkar,* shortly called *Klu gcig thod dkar,* a blue-coloured deity riding the "blue horse of the water-spirits". His right hand holds a frog and a black snake, the left one an open sack full of diseases. From his girdle are suspended a sword, a quiver, and a bow-case.[12]

A variety of *rDo rje rab brtan ma* is the goddess *Nor 'dzin rgyal mo rab brtan ma,* who is blue-coloured and has the appearance of a fierce

[11] 3; for other forms of *Ral gcig ma* see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica,* IV 1, p. 186.
[12] 56, fol. 3a.

rākṣasī. She is one-faced, adorned with bone-ornaments, and her two hands hold a sword, a skull-cup, and an ichneumon.[13]

The *dPal ldan lha mo rdo rje nam gru ma*, another form of *dPal ldan lha mo*, is addressed as a "guardian of the teachings of the *bKa' gdams pa* sect" (*bKa' gdams bstan pa'i bsrung ma*). She is described as a one-faced, two-handed goddess, who holds a battle-lance and a skull-cup full of blood. Her dress is a brown cloak and she leads a lion at her side.[14]

There exists also a dark-yellow form of *dPal ldan lha mo* with nine heads and eighteen hands, who rides on a wolf. The veneration of this aspect of the goddess seems to be limited to the *rNying ma pa* sect.

Finally we may mention the goddess *bKa' srung lha mo rdo rje chen mo*, who is apparently a form or at least an "emanation" of *dPal ldan lha mo*. She is believed to have been the special, personal protectress of the famous *lotsāva Rin chen bzang po* (958–1055 A.D.).[15] She is described in the following way: the goddess has one face, and her colour is "like that of rain-clouds". Her appearance is slightly fierce, and usually her face bears the expression of a ferocious smile. With her right hand she brandishes a thunderbolt towards the sky and her left hand holds a vessel full of *amṛta* in front of her breast. She is dressed in a loose garment, adorned with wreathes of jewels and flowers, and she rides on a lion. She is accompanied on the right side by the *lHa mo rematī*, riding on a mule and carrying a magic notched stick and a sack with diseases. Her companion on the left is the goddess *Gar mdzad ma* who rides on a stag. *Ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs* follow in the train of these goddesses.[16]

Besides the deities enumerated above there are numerous others who, too, belong to the retinue of various forms of *dPal ldan lha mo*. Thus works of the *rNying ma pa* sect assign the group of the eight *'Bar ma* goddesses and that of the "four sisters" (*Sring mo bzhi*) to the train of this goddess. The names and the appearance of the eight *'Bar ma* goddesses, who are all depicted holding a skull-cup full of blood in the left hand, are as follows:

Name	*Colour*	*Attribute held in right hand*
'Bar ma nyi zhags thogs ma	white	snare of sun-rays
'Bar ma khyer glog 'phreng ma	yellow-red	torch

[13] 123, fol. 2a.
[14] 47, fol. 41b.
[15] On this personality see G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II; *Rin c'en bzan po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, Roma 1933.
[16] 47, fol. 69b.

'Bar ma gshin rje skar mda' gdong	blue	shooting-star
'Bar ma srin mo mdung 'phen ma	red	lance
'Bar ma klu mo lce 'bebs ma	red	poisonous snake
'Bar ma rlung bdag, also called *'Bar ma rlung stag gru 'dzin ma*	pale-blue	sword
'Bar ma gnod sbyin ba glang sna	dark-green	vessel filled with gems
'Bar ma gnod sbyin khyung thogs or *'Bar ma dbang ldan bdud 'dul ma*	pale-green	trident

The *Sring mo bzhi*, who are depicted in the shape of beautiful women of a proud bearing and holding a skull-cup in the left hand, have the following names:

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attribute held in the right hand*
East	*lHa'i sring mo byis pa'i dur byed ma*	white	hook
South	*gShin rje'i sring mo mtshan byed*	yellow	snare
West	*Klu'i sring mo rnam byed*	red	chain
North	*gNod sbyin sring mo rlung byin*	green	bell

Other companions of *dPal ldan lha mo*, mentioned in the works of the *rNying ma pa* and *bKa' rgyud pa* sects, are the *Srin mo za byed ma*, *Ma mo sgam pa ma*, *bDud mo kha 'bar ma*, *Mon mo lag dmar ma*, and *sGrol ging mthu chen ma*, further the four *dMag gi rgyal mo chen mo* and the group of the twenty-eight *dBang phyug ma*.

CHAPTER III

THE GROUP OF THE MGON PO

Tibetan iconographic texts claim that there are, according to various classifications, seventy-two or seventy-five forms of *mGon po* (*Nag po chen po*, Skt. *Mahākāla*). The group of the *mGon po* is believed to occupy the tenth rank among the deities of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, and many of its members are believed to belong to the branch of the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* as well as to the group of the *yi dam*. We shall base our enumeration of the more important forms of the *mGon po* on the iconographic works *Rin 'byung* and *Zur kha brgya rtsa.*[1] Except for a few divinities, which occupy a more prominent place in the pantheon of the *rNying ma pa* sect, or which were mainly worshiped by the *bKa' gdams pa*[2] sect, the greater part of the descriptions contained in these two works deals with those forms of *mGon po* whose cult was established by the *Sa skya* sect, but who are now important *dharmapālas* of the *dGe lugs pa* order. Though most of these figures have been created in India, there is nevertheless a number of forms which have originated in Tibet, as is obvious e.g. in the case of the so-called *mGon po tra kṣad 'brong zhal can*, who, as indicated already by his name, has the head of a wild yak.

Myur mdzad ye shes kyi mgon po phyag drug pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 191 b)

A six-handed *mGon po* and one of the main protective deities of Tibetan Buddhism. His importance is already recognizable from the fact that he traditionally occupies on religious paintings, depicting the "assembly-tree (of deities and saints)" (*tshogs shing*), a central position in the row of the protectors of the religious law.[3]

According to the rules of Tibetan iconography, he is depicted in the

[1] 157 and 158.

[2] Regarding this sect see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 88.

[3] On this form of *mGon po* and his companions see also Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, pp. 91–94; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 584–586 and notes 273–276, further R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Ein Beitrag zur tibetischen Ikonographie: *mGon po phyag drug pa* und seine Begleiter,' *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, V, Wien 1951, pp. 138–158.

following way: the colour of his body is dark-blue or black, he has one face, is three-eyed and six-handed. In the first right hand he holds a chopper with a thunderbolt-shaped hilt, in the middle one a rosary of human skulls – with this hand he lifts simultaneously the elephant hide, which covers his back – and with his lowest right hand he whirls a *ḍamaru*. The main left hand holds a blood-filled *kapāla* in front of his breast, his middle left hand, which holds also another corner of the elephant-hide, wields a trident, and the lowest one clutches a snare with two thunderbolts attached to its ends. The face of the deity is set in a most fierce manner, with a gaping mouth, the fangs bared and the tongue rolled backward; a blue snake winds itself around his hair and on his forehead is visible the ritual minium-mark. He treads on a white *Gaṇeśa* or on a defeated obstacle-creating demon. A tiger-skin, fastened by a green silk-scarf, serves him as a loin-cloth. The body of *mGon po phyag drug pa* is covered with numerous ornaments: bangles of bells are on his hands and feet, he wears a green necklace, red earrings, ornaments of human bone, a crown of five human skulls, and a garland of fifty freshly severed human heads; the whole figure is surrounded by fiercely blazing flames.

There are several important deities who appear in the retinue of the blue six-handed *mGon po*: his *yum*, the *dPal ldan lha mo 'dod khams kyi dbang phyug ma* – depicted as a black-coloured goddess, riding a three-legged mule, and brandishing the "black magic notched stick of the *bdud*" (*bdud kyi khram shing nag po*) in her right hand and a sack full of diseases in her left – and further a group of four gods, who are the "ministers" (*blon po*) of the chief divinity. Their names and appearance are as follows:

Jinamitra – is of a dark-red hue; his attributes are a *ḍamaru*, which he whirls with his right hand, and a skull-cup full of blood, held in his left.

Takkirāja – also of a dark-red colour; with his right hand he throws a snare, while his left hand rests in the *tarjanī-mudrā*.

Tra kṣad – "the great lord of the *bdud*" (*bdud mgon chen po*) – as the iconographic texts name him – is black; his right hand brandishes a lance with a trident-shaped point, and his left hand holds a skull-cup filled with blood. He bares his fangs, which are pressed against the lower lip. *Tra kṣad* is depicted wearing a garment of black silk and high boots. He rides on a "horse of the *bdud* with white heels".

Kṣetrapāla – whose corresponding Tibetan name is *Zhing skyong*,[4] "pro-

[4] Some Tibetan works mention a group of twenty-one *kṣetrapālas*, the *Zhing skyong nyi shu rtsa gcig*.

tector of the (cemetery-)field", and who belongs to the class of the *yakṣas*, is described as a fierce dark-blue god riding a bear and brandishing a chopper and a skull-cup. He is the foremost minister of *mGon po phyag drug pa*, about whom there is more material available than in the case of the three first-mentioned members of this particular group.

Before discussing the texts which refer to *Kṣetrapāla* it may be added that according to the *Rin 'byung* (Vol. II, fol. 207 a), *Kṣetrapāla*, *Jinamitra*, and *Takkirāja* – *Tra kṣad* is not named in this context – appear also in the retinue of another form of *Mahākāla*, known as the *mGon dmar dbang gi rgyal po*. These three figures are in this case depicted in forms different from those described above: *Kṣetrapāla* is red, his right hand holds a *ḍamaru*, and his left hand rests in the *tarjanī-mudrā*. *Jinamitra*'s colour is black, his attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup; and finally *Takkirāja*, who is yellow in this case, his right hand brandishing a trident and his left hand making the *tarjanī-mudrā*.

More frequently, however, *Kṣetrapāla* is depicted on religious paintings in his dark-blue form, in accordance with the following description: "On top of a sun-*maṇḍala* comes forth – from the syllable *kṣe* – *Kṣetrapāla* of a dark-blue colour, with one face and two hands. Lifting with his right hand a chopper skyward, he cuts with it the life-roots of enemies and obstacle-creating demons; his left hand holds a skull-cup, filled with the heart-blood of enemies and *vighnas*. His mouth is widely open and he bares his four sharp teeth, causing the enemies to wail aloud. Rolling his three bloodshot eyes, he stares full of hatred at the enemies and obstacle-creating demons. His eyebrows and the hair of his face are of a flaming yellow-red hue, the hair of his head is yellow-brown and it stands on end. He wears a dry human skull as head-ornament, a human skin covers the upper portion of his body, and a tiger-skin serves him as a loin-cloth. He has an ugly and extremely terrifying body. Riding on a black wild bear, he resides in the centre of a vehemently blazing fire.

At his left appears the *mahāśakti lHa mo nag mo*, with one face and two hands; she wears a long garment of black silk. In her right hand she holds a mirror, together with a snare for catching demons: having blinded the enemies with the mirror, she catches them with the noose. With her left hand she holds in front of her breast a skull-cup filled with the blood of enemies and *vighnas*. Her yellow-brown hair stands on end, and her eyebrows and the hair of her face are of a flaming yellow-red. She rolls her three eyes with the speed of lightning. Terrifying, wildly laughing,

she hastens towards the ten points of the world, reducing the enemies and obstacle-creating demons to dust. She resides on a sun-lotus, in the middle of vehemently burning flames. In the retinue of the "father and mother", these two, appear countless *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, *ma mo*, *ḍākinīs*, and *piśācīs*; they (both) reside surrounded by the multitude of these beings."[5]

The residence of *Kṣetrapāla* is claimed to be the cemetery *bSil ba'i tshal* (Skt. *Sitavarṇa*), which is supposed to lie close to Bodhgayā in India. In accordance with *Kṣetrapāla*'s wrathful nature, his legendary abode is believed to be a most terrifying place, its horrors being vividly described in the invocation here translated. "To the south of Bodhgayā is situated the great cemetery *bSil ba'i tshal*. At this supreme place, one can hear the mighty voices of the *gshin rje*, the magically-powerful howling of the *ma mo*, the splashing of the sea of blood, the sputtering of the lamps fed with human fat, there is visible the coiling smoke rising from the evil burnt offering, there sounds the thudding of the male *bdud* who are dancing a drum-dance, and the whirling of the female *bdud*, who turn in a ring-dance, the blaring of the thigh bone trumpets, the roar of wild animals; there is visible the quick flaring up of the great scorching lightnings, is audible the fierce rolling of thunder and the crashing of great yellow meteors; the horrible laughter of the multitude of *bdud* and *yakṣas* causes the earth-foundations to quake. At such a supreme place resides he, who has one face and two hands and possesses a terrifying body His mouth is open and he clicks his tongue. His three eyes blaze like the fire at the end of a *kalpa*. He is of a violently desirous nature, his body radiates and his limbs are strong. He roars like a dragon the horrible syllable *hūṃ*. The colour of his body is a brilliant sky-blue, like the hue of the world-mountain *Sumeru*. In his right hand he holds the chopper – with which he cuts out the hearts of enemies – and he drinks blood from a skull-cup, which he holds with his left hand. The trampling of his feet causes the three realms to quake and in the countless worlds he reduces all kinds of evil powers to dust. – *Kṣetrapāla* and you, the excellent *śakti*, mistress of all *ma mo*, you, *yakṣas* – cutting the lifethread of enemies –, guardians of the ten world-quarters, war-hordes of the ocean-like multitude of those, who were bound by an oath: come here, all of you, and partake of the offerings!"[6]

Another invocation of *Kṣetrapāla* may be rendered here as well, mentioning several of the titles by which he is sometimes addressed. The text gives also some additional information about the retinue of this god.

[5] 98.
[6] 98.

Yakṣa Kṣetrapāla,
dGra lha of the *yogīs*,
Protector of the magicians,
You, the protector who obeys the commands of the lamas,
Guardian of the Buddhist creed, you
Who reign over good and evil,
Who possess a terrifying body,
Who have a desirous face,
Who possess an eye of wisdom,
Lord of the *piśācas*,
King of the blood-drinkers,
Who cuts the life-thread of those, who act contrary to the commandments of their *guru*,
Executioner of oath-breakers,
You, who are surrounded by a retinue of one hundred thousand "black ones",
You, who are surrounded by a retinue of ten million *piśācas*,
You, who are accompanied on the right by a train of one thousand heroes,
You, who are accompanied on the left by a retinue of one thousand valiant women,
You, who possess a retinue of black goddesses, obeying your command, and a train of serving *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*,
You, who are accompanied by a multitude of ten million *ma mo*, *ḍākinīs* and *piśācīs*.[7]

Though *Kṣetrapāla*'s name, his classification as a *yakṣa* and the location of his legendary abode seem to indicate that he is an originally Indian deity, which had been accepted into the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism, there is nevertheless ample evidence that he is often brought into connection with early Tibetan religious practices, as will be shown later when discussing the ceremony called *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab*, "casting the *gtor ma* of *Kṣetrapāla*".

Lastly we may mention that according to *Klong rdol bla ma*[8] the names and appearance of the *śaktis* accompanying the four ministers of *mGon po phyag drug pa* are as follows:

Śakta	*Śakti*	*Attributes*
Kṣetrapāla	*Dus mtshan ma*	right hand: *mda' dar* left hand: human heart
Jinamitra	*dBang phyug khrag 'thung ma*	skull-cup full of blood
Takkirāja	*Ro langs ma*	skull-cup full of blood
Tra kṣad dmar po	*Rematī*	axe

7 98.
8 70, fol. 2a.

mGon po yid bzhin nor bu (R, Vol. II, fol. 200 b)

The place to the right of *mGon po phyag drug pa* in the *dharmapāla* row of the *tshogs shing* paintings is usually occupied by another form of the same deity, named after the wish-granting jewel (*yid bzhin nor bu*), the chief of its attributes. According to the Tibetan iconographic texts, the body of this god is of a brilliant white colour, and his face, which has three eyes, is contorted to a ferocious smile. His eyebrows, the hair of the face and the hair on his head are of a brilliant yellow-brown colour and his forehead bears the traditional Indian caste-mark made with minium. The deity's main first hand lifts a chopper skyward, the middle one holds the wish-granting jewel in front of the breast, and the lowest hand shakes a *ḍamaru* made of catechu wood. His first left hand holds a skull-cup full of *amṛta* into which a vessel filled with jewels is immersed; the middle hand brandishes a trident and the last one a snare. *mGon po yid bzhin nor bu* wears a flowing garment of varicoloured silks, a loin-cloth made of tiger-skin and an elephant-hide covers his back.

mGon ser nor srung blo 'phel zhal gsum phyag drug pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 204 b)

The colour of his body is yellow, with a slight admixture of red. This *mGon po* has three faces. The central one is yellow, the face on the right is white, the one on the left is red. The main pair of hands, which holds a chopper and a skull-cup, embraces simultaneously the *śakti*, who is shown in sexual union with her consort. The other two right hands hold a "banner of victory" and a blue lotus, while those on the left clutch a mongoose and a snake. The yellow *mGon po*, who is adorned with ornaments of bone, is depicted standing, with one leg bent and the other one stretched out. His *śakti* is called *lHa mo drag mo*; her body is smoke-coloured and her attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup.

mGon dmar dbang gi rgyal po (R, Vol. II, fol. 207 a)

A red form of *mGon po* which we had already mentioned before when speaking about the forms of *Kṣetrapāla*, *Takkirāja*, and *Jinamitra*, appearing in the *parivāra*. The red *mGon po* is one-faced, but has six arms, the main pair of hands holding a chopper, a skull-cup and embracing the *śakti* at the same time. His other attributes are a *te'u* – apparently the *cang te'u*, a small drum, is meant –, a trident, an iron hook, and a snare. He wears the usual attire of the fierce guardians of the religious law: bone and snake ornaments, a crown of skulls, a garland of fifty freshly severed heads, etc.

The corresponding *śakti* is the *Padma mkha' 'gro ma* (Skt. *Padmaḍākinī*)

who is depicted as a red, naked figure. While embracing her mate, she holds a *karttrikā* and a blood-filled *kapāla*. As regards the retinue we may add here that the place in front of *mGon dmar dbang gi rgyal po* is occupied by a black *mGon po* holding a chopper and a skull-cup, who stands here instead of the *blon po Tra kṣad.*

mGon ljang tshe bdag (R, Vol II, fol. 211 b)

"The green *mGon po*, the master of life", is one-faced and six-handed, and his attributes are identical with those of *mGon dmar dbang gi rgyal po*, only that he holds a rosary of skulls instead of the hook. Also the ornaments and the attire are the same as in the case of the before mentioned deity. His *śakti* is called the *rDo rje damkima*; she is blue and her attributes are a chopper and a *kapāla*.

Four minor goddesses form the retinue of the green *mGon po*; they are all adorned with bone-ornaments, human heads and hold a skull-cup in the left hand:

East –	*Buddha ḍāki(nī)*	– red, she lifts a wheel with her right hand
South –	*Ratna ḍāki*	– yellow, her right hand holds a jewel
West –	*Padma ḍāki*	– red, the right hand clutches a lotus
North –	*Karma ḍāki*	– green, brandishes a sword

The various colours of the five forms of *mGon po* which we just enumerated indicate that these five figures stand in a relation to an important group of Buddhas, the *pañcatathāgatāḥ*,[9] according to the arrangement given below:

mGon po phyag drug pa	– blue	– *Akṣobhya*
mGon po yid bzhin nor bu	– white	– *Vairocana*
mGon ser nor srung blo 'phel	– yellow	– *Ratnasambhava*
mGon dmar dbang gi rgyal po	– red	– *Amitābha*
mGon ljang tshe bdag	– green	– *Amoghasiddhi*

Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa grub chen Zhi ba sbas pa'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 216 a)

"The four-handed wise *mGon po*, according to the style of the *mahāsiddha Zhi ba sbas pa*". The colour of this four-handed *mGon po* is a brilliant black; his body is "like that of a *rākṣasa*" and he has one head with three eyes. His yellow-red hair stands on end and his four hands hold the following objects: a chopper, a flaming sword, a skull-cup and a trident, adorned with a thunderbolt. A freshly drawn tiger-skin is wrapped around his loins and on his head rests a crown of five human skulls. He wears

[9] See Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III/1, p. 78 sq., especially p. 153.

also the adornments of the wrathful deities, viz. a garland of fifty blood-dripping heads, snakes and bone-ornaments, etc.

The *śakti* of this form of *mGon po* is the *Mahākālī Dam tshig gi dbang mo*, who is shown embracing her consort. She is black, naked, of a proud and ferocious bearing. Her hair is yellow-red and she whirls a *ḍamaru* with her right hand, while her left hand, which is laid round the body of her mate, holds a skull-cup. The various beings, which this divine couple dispatches as its messengers, are raven and other birds, further dogs, jackals, lions and "a multitude of black women of the lowest classes" (*bud med gdol pa nag po'i tshogs*).

In the retinue of the two main deities appear: in front the black goddess *Tsamunti*,[10] holding a trident and a skull-cup. On the right the red-coloured goddess *Umā*, whose attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup. Lastly, on the left, the pale-blue goddess *Vārāhī* (*Phag mo*), who wields a *khaṭvāṅga* (?) and a human head.

We find in this *maṇḍala* also the following minor divinities: in front the black *gShin rje*, carrying a sword and a skull-cup; his *vāhana* is a buffalo. In the right corner appears a dark-brown *rākṣasa*, whose attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup filled with human flesh (Tib. *sha chen*, Skt. *mahāmāṃsa*); he rides on a black dog. In the left corner comes forth the *Mahāvīra* (*dBang phyug chen po*) of an ash-gray hue. He holds a *ḍamaru* and a trident; his mount is a tiger.

The text enumerates then the following eight deities, four gods standing in the main and four goddesses residing in the intermediary quarters:

Direction	*Name*	*Appearance*
East	*Tho ba 'jigs byed*	white: attributes: hammer, with a thunderbolt as handle, and a snare
South	*dByug pa 'jigs byed*	yellow; club with a thunderbolt as handle, and a snare
West	*Padma 'jigs byed*	red; a stalk of red lotus and a snare
North	*Ral gri 'jigs byed*	black; sword and snare
Southeast	*Kule*	yellow; hook and snare
Southwest	*Kurukulle*	red; arrow and bow
Northwest	*Phur 'debs ma*	blue; hammer and *phur bu*
Northeast	*'Phrog 'chang ma*	green; a *shagti* and a skull-cup

[10] The goddess *Tsamunti* seems to be known also under the name *rGan byed ma*, in the latter case she is represented as a fear-inspiring woman eating the corpse of a child.

bsTan srung chen po ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa Klu sgrub lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 228 b)

"The great guardian of the doctrine, the wise, fourhanded *mGon po*, according to the style of *Nāgārjuna*",[11] is black, has four arms and one face, which has three eyes. His two right hands hold a sword and a chopper, the two left ones carry a trident and a skull-cup. He has a crown of five skulls and all the other fearful ornaments worn by the fierce *dharmapālas*.

Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa rGva lo'i lugs (R. Vol. II, fol. 231 a)

"The four-handed wise *mGon po*, according to the style of *rGva lotsāva*".[12] His colour is a dark azure-blue, his three eyes stare full of hatred, his mouth is open, the teeth are bared, and the tongue is rolled backward. The attributes of this *mGon po* are a chopper, a skull-cup full of blood, a flaming sword, and a *khaṭvāṅga* with streamers of silk. The ornaments and the dress are the same as those of the before-mentioned form of *Mahākāla*.

To his retinue belongs the fierce, raven headed *Las kyi mgon po* of a dark-blue colour described on p. 48; he appears in front of the chief deity. On the right side stands the *Legs ldan nag po*, whose attributes are a club of sandal-wood and an iron bowl full of *amṛta*. He is dressed in a garment of black silk with a golden girdle, and he wears brown boots with long legs. On the left side resides the goddess *Tsandika* of a red colour, with one face and holding the following objects in her four hands: a sword, a skull-cup, a human head, and a bow together with an arrow. She is naked and appears in a most fierce aspect.

Next to the raven-headed *Las kyi mgon po*, in front of the chief deity, stands the *Sha za nag po*, "the black flesh-eater". He has the head of a lion and with his right hand he brandishes a sword while his left hand clutches a skull-cup. He is dressed in a garment of black silk and stands with one leg bent and the other one stretched out.

To the *parivāra* belong further eight naked, red, animal-headed *ḍākinīs* surrounded by flames, each standing on a corpse. They all hold a chopper and a skull-cup. The main quarters of the world, to which four of them are assigned, are enumerated contrary to the orthodox Buddhist manner, and this circumstance as well as the fact that they have the heads of animals seem to indicate, that they are Bon deities who have been assigned a minor position in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism.

[11] About 100 A.D.

[12] 1203-1282 A.D.

Direction	*Name*	*Head*
East	*Bya rgod kyi gdong pa can*	vulture
North	*Khyung gi gdong pa can*	*khyung*
West	*Khva ta'i gdong pa can*	crow
South	*'Ug pa'i gdong pa can*	owl
Southeast	*Phag gi gdong pa can*	pig
Southwest	*Khyi'i gdong pa can*	dog
Northwest	*sPyang ki'i gdong pa can*	wolf
Northeast	*sTag gi gdong pa can*	tiger

'Tshal lugs kyi ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 238 a)

"The four-handed wise *mGon po*, according to the style of *'Tshal*" – said to be of a dark azure-blue hue – has one ferocious, three-eyed head, and with his four hands he holds a cocoa-nut, a skull-cup, a flaming sword, and a *khaṭvāṅga*. He wears a crown of five skulls, a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, and the various fearsome ornaments previously enumerated.

The same deities, mentioned in the *parivāra* of the *Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa* (*rGva lo'i lugs*), appear also in the retinue of this form of *Mahākāla*, and in addition to it also the goddess *Rematī* – in a two-handed form, holding a sword and a mongoose – and the four-handed, dark-red *Ekajāti*.

Lugs gnyis gcig tu bsgril ba'i ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 245 a).

"The four-handed wise *mGon po*, the two (before-mentioned) styles having been united into one". This form of *Mahākāla* – addressed as the *dPal ye shes mgon po mahākāla dpa' bo chen po* – is identical in its appearance to the previously described aspect of the same deity, except for the attributes, as in the present case the divinity holds a chopper, a skull-cup, a flaming sword, and a trident. The retinue consists of the raven-headed *mGon po* and the eight animal-headed goddesses enumerated already in the before-last description.

mGon dmar rkang gling can (R, Vol. II, fol. 250 a)

"The red *mGon po* possessing a thighbone trumpet". A red *mGon po* named after the *rkang gling* which he holds in his right hand. His left hand clutches a skull-cup, filled with the blood of the four kinds of *bdud*. The deity wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, and the usual adornments as: snakes, jewels, etc. The *śakti* brandishes a sickle (*dgra zor*) with her right hand, with the left one she holds a *kapāla*. The red *mGon po* is also accompanied by the red form of the goddess *Ekajāti* – she holds a trident,

a freshly torn-out heart, and rides an ass – and further by four raven-headed gods; each of them is brought into connection with one particular class of demons. Their distribution in the four main directions is as follows:

East	– *bDud mgon bya rog gdong can*	– holds a sword and a skull-cup
South	– *bTsan mgon bya rog gdong can*	– his attributes are a *dgra zor* and a human heart
West	– *gNod sbyin bya rog gdong can*	– blows a *rkang gling* and brandishes an iron hook
North	– *Gying mgon bya rog gdong can*	– lifts a corpse above his head and holds a skull-cup filled with blood

The four last-named deities are red, possess wings of steel-blades and kneel on one knee.

Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa'i 'khor lha mo tsandika (R, Vol. II, fol. 253 b)

This paragraph of the *Rin 'byung* gives a detailed description of the goddess *Tsandika*, the *śakti* of the four-handed *mGon po.* Her body is slightly lean and of a black colour. Her two right hands hold a chopper and a trident, her two left hands clutch a bow with an arrow and the severed head of an enemy, from which blood is dripping. She has three eyes, her hair is loose, she wears a crown of skulls, a garland of heads which had been cut off, and a necklace made of hearts; black snakes are her ornaments. The goddess stands on a corpse, with her right leg bent and the left one stretched out. She is accompanied by a pair of black revived corpses: both are naked and their genitals are in the state of erection. Each holds a club in his right hand and gnaws the legs and arms of an enemy, which his left hand is lifting to the mouth.

Las mgon bya rog gdong can (R, Vol. II, fol. 257 b)

"The *mGon po* of *karma*, who has the face of a raven"; he is occasionally included among the more prominent *dharmapālas*, depicted on the *tshogs shing* and his worship is supposed to have been introduced by the *Sa skya* sect. The *sādhana* describes him as possessing a fierce, terrifying body of a dark-blue colour, with one face and two hands, his limbs being short and thick. He has the face of a raven, three-eyed and with a beak of meteoric iron. His right hand lifts a sacrificial knife with a thunderbolt-hilt, and with his left hand he leads towards his mouth a skull-cup filled with blood. His eyebrows and the hair of his face and head are radiant and stand on end. His sharp, blood-dripping beak is widely open and horrible shrieks as well as a fire-storm issue from it; a thunderbolt-

khyung (*rdo rje bya khyung*) comes forth amidst the hair on his head. The ornaments worn by the *Las mgon bya rog gdong can* are the same as those mentioned already when discussing the other forms of *mGon po*: a diadem of five human skulls, a garland of fifty human heads, etc. He is surrounded by flames.

Among the numerous spirits of his retinue, the text mentions one thousand black, raven-headed beings, one hundred thousand *piśācas*, a host of ferocious animals, and a multitude of evil *klu* of a black or azure-blue colour, who brandish choppers and snake-snares.

The *Rin 'byung* then describes the group of the *Gur mgon*, the "lords of the tent", who are worshiped especially by the Tibetan nomads.[13]

Gur mgon lcam dral (R, Vol. II, fol. 260 b)

"The lord of the tent, brother and sister". This *Gur mgon* is believed to dwell in the centre of a great cemetery, and he is depicted standing on top of defeated obstacle-creating demons. His body is of a brilliant black colour; he has one face and two hands, the right hand brandishing a chopper and the left one holding in front of his breast a skull-cup filled with blood. Across his bent arms lies a magic stick (*'phrul gyi gaṇḍī*). *Gur mgon lcam dral* has three eyes, he bares his fangs, and his yellow hair stands on end. He wears a diadem of five human skulls, a garland of fifty blood-dripping heads bone and snake-ornaments, etc. A tiger-skin is his loin-cloth and he is dressed in a flowing garment of silk.

At his right side appears a black bird, at the left side a black dog, in the back a black wolf, and in front a black man. Further belongs to his *parivāra* the goddess *Ekajāti* of a blue colour, who stands on the right side. She is one-faced and two-handed, holding a vessel full of *amṛta* in front of her breast; her dress covering the upper portion of her body is made of white silk, and a tiger-skin is her loin-cloth. Her hair is bound into a single lock, hanging down towards the left; she appears in a ferocious mood. Also the *dPal ldan lha mo 'dod pa khams kyi dbang phyug ma* appears in the train of the *Gur mgon lcam dral*.

Gur gyi mgon po lha brgyad (R, Vol. II, fol. 268 a),

also known as the *bsTan srung kun gyi sde dpon rdo rje gur*. This form of *Gur gyi mgon po* and his retinue have already been described by Tucci in his *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. III.[14] In the present study some remarks, based

[13] M. Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Wien 1949, p. 50.

[14] p. 122 sq.

upon the corresponding chapter of the *Rin 'byung*, should be added to his descriptions.

Our text calls this form of the "lord of the tent" also the *rDo rje nag po chen po* and claims that the god resides on top of defeated enemies and *vighnas*, in the centre of a great cemetery. The colour of the *Gur mgon* is black; he has one face and two hands, the right one lifting a chopper and the left one holding in front of the breast a skull-cup full of blood. A magic club rests across his bent arms. The black "lord of the tent" has three eyes, he bares his teeth, and his yellow hair stands on end. His ornaments are: a diadem of five skulls, a garland of fifty blood-dripping heads, the "six kinds of bone-ornaments", and snakes. He wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin as well as a cloak of silk, and his whole body is enveloped in flames. The god is accompanied on the right side by a black bird, on the left by a black dog, in the back runs a black jackal, and the place in front is occupied by a black man. Overhead soars a *khyung*, whom the black *Gur mgon* dispatches as his messenger.

The *parivāra* consists of the following figures: on the left side is the blue *Ekajāti*, in a human shape but in a fierce mood. She holds a vessel full of *amṛta* in front of her breast. The garment covering the upper part of her body is made of white silk, and a tiger-skin is her loin-cloth. Her hair is bound to a single lock. An ocean of blood issues from her vagina, and out of the blood emerges the *dPal ldan lha mo 'dod khams dbang phyug ma* in the usual, four-handed and dark-blue form, riding a mule and brandishing a sword, a skull-cup, a lance, and a trident.

From her emanate two other deities, a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī*; on the right side the *Nag po gnod sbyin*, brandishing a chopper in his right hand. On the palm of his left hand rests the disk of the sun. He is dressed in a human skin and has earrings of gold. On the left side comes forth *Nag mo gnod sbyin*, who holds a golden razor with her right hand, while the moon rests on the palm of her left hand. She wears a dress of black silk; she has red-coloured plaits.

Out of the latter two deities take their origin the three dark-blue (black) *Putra*, two brothers and their sister (*Putra ming sring gsum*). The *Rin 'byung* names first the *Putra nag po*, who is identical with Tucci's *gShin rje ma rungs pa mon bu putra*; he is described in our source as brandishing with his right hand a long sabre, and his left hand leads a skull-cup, full of warm brain and blood, towards his mouth; he wears a breast-band (*ga zha*) of *mon tri* fur and a dress of black silk. Next comes *Bhadra nag po* – corresponding to the *bDud ma rungs pa mon bu bhata* of the work quoted by Tucci – who has a breast-band of black silk and wears a tiger-

skin. His right hand holds a *dam shing*, the left lifts a heart to the mouth. Lastly, the text mentions the goddess *Srin mo ral gcig ma* – corresponding to Tucci's *Mon mo gser gyi spu gri ma* and to the *Sring mo khrag mig ma* of *Klong rdol bla ma*[15] – who holds a golden razor in her right hand and bowels in her left one. These three deities wear the dress of the Mon country. They are said to appear in a fierce aspect, with blood oozing from their eyes and flames issuing from the mouth. The bodies of all three are adorned with human heads and they dwell in the middle of a fire storm.

The *Putra ming sring gsum* have their own companions: hundred armed men march on the right, on the left proceeds a procession of one hundred fully-ordained priests (Tib. *dge slong*, Skt. *bhikṣu*), in the back walk hundred magicians, lifting their demon-daggers (*phur bu*), and in front they are accompanied by hundred black women. Then follow again various animals: black birds, black dogs, etc.

We may add here that *Klong rdol bla ma* mentions, apart from the above group, also a group of twelve deities called the *Gur lha bcu gnyis*, which consists of the eight figures just described and further of four animal-faced goddesses known as the *Seng gdong ma*, *gZig gdong ma*, *Dred gdong ma*, and *Dom gdong ma*.[16]

Gur mgon phur zhabs khyung gshog can (R, Vol. II, fol. 276 a)

"The lord of the tent, possessing *phur bu*-feet and *khyung*-wings". The colour of this deity is dark blue, and the attributes and ornaments are the same as those described in the case of *mGon po lcam dral*. Two peculiarities, from which the name of this deity is derived, are its flaming thunderbolt-wings (*rdo rje'i gshog pa 'bar ba*) and the *phur bu*-like feet which the deity "thrusts into the hearts of enemies".

According to the statement of one of my informants, this form of *mGon po* is supposed to have been worshiped especially among the Buddhists of Khotan (*Li yul*).

Gur yum can Klu sgrub lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 279 a)

"The lord of the tent possessing a *śakti*, according to the style of *Nāgārjuna*". The worship of this *mGon po* is said to have originated at the famous *Nālandā* monastery in India. Attributes and ornaments of this figure are the same as described in the previous cases, except that a trident rests in his left arm. The god is shown in sexual union with his *śakti*.

70, fol. 2b.
70, fol. 2b.

Gur rkyang rngog lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 283 a)

A form of *mGon po* whose worship had been introduced by *rNgog lotsāva.* In this case the *Mahākāla* is represented as having a human body of a dark-blue colour. His angry face has three eyes. Blood drips from his open mouth, in which the bared fangs are visible. His attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup. He stands on a corpse and wears the usual adornments of the wrathful *dharmapālas.*

The five forms of *mGon po* which follow occupy an important place in the pantheon of the *Sa skya* sect.

mGon po stag zhon (R, Vol. II, fol. 286 b)

"The lord who rides a tiger" is described as being big and strong-bodied, of a black colour, "like that of the cloud which appears at the end of time". With his right hand he brandishes a club of sandal-wood, with his left he leads towards his mouth a vessel, filled with human blood. He has three eyes and bares his four fangs of copper; the hair of his face, his eyebrows and the hair on his head glow like fire. *mGon po stag zhon* wears a cloak of black silk with nine folds, fastened by a girdle of gold.

mGon po beng dka' ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 290 b),

also called in iconographic texts the *Legs ldan nag po srid med kyi bu,* is dark blue. He has a three-eyed ferocious face and two hands; his right hand holds a huge club of sandal-wood adorned with jewels. – Other Tibetan works mention that "from the top of the club fire comes forth and from its lower part water gushes out; inside the club, the war-hordes of the gods and *asuras* are engaged in a battle".

With his left hand the *mGon po* holds an iron vessel – filled with various liquids – towards the side of his body. He wears a cloak of the kind called *za 'og gi ber chen,* a girdle of gold, and his feet are protected by high boots. *mGon po beng dka' ma* is adorned with the usual ornaments, worn by the high-ranking fierce deities as: a diadem of five human skulls, a garland of fifty human heads, etc.[17]

mGon po beng gter ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 293 b)

The deity is of a dark-blue colour, one-faced and two-handed, brandishing a huge club of sandal-wood in the right hand and holding in the left one a long lance said to have been made from the thighbone of a *rākṣasī* (*srin mo'i rkang gi mdung ring*). The dress and ornaments are the

On *mGon po beng* see also *Indo-Tibetica,* IV/1, p. 96.

same as in the case of *mGon po beng dkar ma*. The *mGon po beng gter ma* is believed to be accompanied by seven *ma mo*.

mGon po legs ldan mche gsum (R, Vol. II, fol. 296 b)

"The virtuous lord with the three teeth" is said to dwell in the middle of a cemetery. He is of a dark-blue colour and has a ferocious face with three fangs. His right hand brandishes a big club of sandal-wood, and he wears a garment of black silk with a golden girdle, high boots, snakes serving as ornaments, etc.

mGon po am gho ra (R, Vol. II, fol. 298 b)

Again a one-faced and two-handed, dark blue form of *mGon po*. He is dressed in a cloak of black silk with a golden girdle and is adorned with snakes and jewels. His attributes are a club of sandal-wood and a skull-cup, full of blood and intestines, which he holds towards the left side of his body. His boots are made of copper and he stands in the middle of a vehemently burning fire-cloud.

The companions of *mGon po am gho ra* are the *Legs ldan nag po*, who stands on top of a corpse; his attributes are the same as those of the chief deity. He appears on the right side. On the left appears the dark-blue *dPal ldan lha mo*, who rides on a red ass. She is dressed in silks, wears a human skin as her cloak, and her brow is adorned with a diadem of human skulls. Her attributes are a sword and a skull-cup. On the right side stand further the "five classes of *ḍākinīs*" (*mkha' 'gro sde lnga*), on the left side the "four great kings" (*rgyal po bzhi*), in the eastern direction appears the *drang srong* (Skt. *siddha*) *Kun tu ri ka*, and in the back stands the *yakṣa Nor bu bzang po*. In addition to it appear the following classes of divinities in the retinue: *rākṣasas*, *ma mo*, red *btsan*, *gying pho*, *smu bdud*, *bdud mo*, and the *gshin rje*.

mGon po lha chen dpal 'bar jo bo'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 301 a)

This *mGon po* "in the style of *Atīśa*"[18] was an important deity of the *bKa' gdams pa* sect; he is also called the *Legs ldan nag po* and his colour is black, with an admixture of purple. He wears high boots and a cloak of black silk with a golden girdle. His attributes are a club, which he holds in his right hand, and a lance, which he brandishes with the left.

Only two divinities are his companions: in the back the red *gSang ba'i mkha' 'gro ma* who holds a *karttrikā* and a *kapāla*, and in front *dPal ldan lha mo remati* (or the *bDe bskyed mkha' 'gro ma*) of a purple colour, who holds a tiger-head in her right hand and a pair of dice in the left one.

[18] Arrived in Tibet 1042, died 1054 A.D.; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 83.

mGon po gri gug dpa' gcig (R, Vol. II, fol. 303 a)

A black form of *mGon po* with one head and two arms, mainly worshiped by the *Sa skya* sect. His attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup; he wears a crown of skulls, a garland of heads, and the various other adornments previously enumerated.

lHo nub mgon po gri gug dmar po (R, Vol. II, fol. 305 a)

The worship of this form of *mGon po* is said to have been introduced by *Atīśa*. He is of a dark-red colour and holds a flaming chopper in his right hand. His left hand lifts a skull-cup full of blood and hearts, and throws at the same time a black noose around the neck of an obstacle-creating demon. The god has three eyes and blood drips from his mouth, in which the sharp fangs are visible. The *mGon po* wears a crown of five skulls, and his brow is adorned with the sun and the moon. A tiger-skin is his loin-cloth.

Four deities appear in the *parivāra*: on the right side stands the *yakṣa bShan pa*, "the butcher", of a purple-dark colour, who has the head of a goat. His right hand brandishes a chopper, with his left hand he lifts the "life-roots" (*srog rtsa*) of oath-breakers to his mouth. On the left stands a goddess, called *Māra snying za ma*, "*Māra* the heart-eater". She is red, with her right hand she wields a poisoned knife, while her left hand clutches the torn-out heart of an enemy of Buddhism. In the back appears the dark-red *gZa' bdud*, who has the appearance of a *rākṣasa*. His head and the whole body are full of eyes, and he holds a bow and an arrow. In front of the central deity dwells the dark-red, three-eyed *gSang ba'i mkha' 'gro ma*, whose attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup.

mGon po bzhi sbrags (R, Vol. II, fol. 308 b)

The colour of this figure is black; he has one face with three eyes and two hands, holding a sacrificial knife and a *kapāla*. *Mahākāla* wears also in this case the usual ornaments of the wrathful deities, and he is depicted standing on a corpse. His retinue consists of the following divinities: on the left side resides *dPal ldan lha mo* of a blue colour, holding a chopper and a skull-cup. She rides a red "*rākṣasa*-ass" (*srin po'i bong bu*). In front of the chief divinity dwells upon a "sun lotus", and on top of a corpse the *Las kyi mgon po* of a dark-purple hue. His right hand brandishes a club of sandal-wood – fire comes forth from its top and water drizzles from its lower end – and the left one supports an iron bowl filled with *amṛta*. He is dressed in a robe of black silk, held together by a golden girdle. The place on the left side is occupied by the purple-

coloured *Ekajāti*, whose right hand brandishes a sword with a scorpion-shaped hilt, while her left hand holds a skull cup. She rides on a three-legged mule.

mGon po gri gug kha che paṇ chen lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 312 a)

There is scarcely any difference between this *mGon po*, depicted in the "style of *Kāśmīra Paṇḍita*"[19] and the *Mahākāla* described in the beforegoing case. This deity is black too, he carries the same attributes and wears the same ornaments and dress as the *mGon po bzhi sbrags*, only that – according to the text – he has a dwarfish body.

mGon po zangs gri can lha bcu bdun ma gyi ljang lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 314 a)

The *Mahākāla* in the "style of *lJang*" is also called the *dPal legs ldan nag po chen po*, and his shape is said to be like that of a *vajrarākṣasa* (*rdo rje srin po*). The colour of his body is black "like the dark *bung ba* stone" and he possesses the brilliance of a thousand suns. In this aspect, *Mahākāla* is depicted with one three-eyed head. Blood drips from his mouth, and his yellow-red hair stands on end. His attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup filled with the blood of evil-doers. The ornaments and the dress are the same as in the previous cases, viz. a crown of skulls, a loin-cloth made from a tiger-skin, etc.

Eight pale-blue demons of the *gshin rje* class form the retinue, together with their eight black-coloured female consorts, who belong to the group of the *ma mo*. All the sixteen deities are depicted naked, each of them holding the same attributes as the presiding deity of the *maṇḍala*; their distribution in the various directions is as follows:

Direction	*Sakta*	*Sakti*
East	*Ya ba ti*	*Pho nya mo*
South	*Chos kyi rgyal po*	*mChe ba mo*
West	*Tel pa*	*Be con nag mo*
North	*A wa glang mgo*	*Dus mtshan ma*
Northeast	*Ral pa tshar dgu*	*lCags kyu ma*
Northwest	*rMig pa*	*Zhags pa mo*
Southwest	*Phyva sangs*	*lCags sgrog ma*
Southeast	*Mig dmar*	*'Bebs pa mo*

We note again that similarly to the *parivāra* of the *mGon po* in the style of *rGva lotsāva*, mentioned on p. 46, the enumeration of the intermediary

19 *Śākyaśrī*, 1063-1225; G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1953, pp. 1062-1071.

quarters, to which the four last-named deities are assigned, runs contrary to the usual Buddhist fashion.

mGon po gri gug lha dgu manyaja na'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 318 a)

A group of nine deities whose leader is a black *mGon po* depicted in a human shape, a chopper and a skull-cup being his main attributes. A human skin covers the upper portion of his body, a tiger-skin is his loin-cloth, and he stands on a corpse which rests on a "sun lotus".

In the inner circle of his *maṇḍala*, to the east of the chief god, stands the *lHa mo nag mo*; her attributes are a trident and a skull-cup. In front appears the dark-red *gSang ba'i las mgon* with the face of a jackal, holding a chopper and a skull-cup. On the right side dwells the dark-green *gShin rje* and on the left side the *mGon bdud bya rog gdong can*, both of them clutching the same attributes as the two before-named deities. The four quarters of the outer circle are occupied by four fierce goddesses:

East – the black *Mahākālī*, who rides a mule; she holds a sword and a skull-cup

South – the black *Vīrakālī*, riding on a raven; her attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup

West – the black *Purakālī*, whose mount is a revived corpse; she brandishes a thunderbolt and a *phur bu*

North – the black *Kangkaka*, who stands on a corpse; her attributes are a trident and a skull-cup

mGon po ber nag zangs gri can (R, Vol. II, fol. 321 b)

"The *karma*-lord with the copper-knife", *Las kyi mgon po zangs gri can*, is another name given to this deity. The colour of this *mGon po* is dark azure-blue and he is said to have the appearance of a *rākṣasa*. He, too, holds the two main attributes of *Mahākāla*, the skull-cup and the chopper; he wears high boots of a brown colour, a long flowing garment of black silk with nine folds and he stands on top of the corpse of a defeated enemy.

mGon po gcer bu zangs gri can (R, Vol. II, fol. 325 a)

"The naked *mGon po* with the copper-knife" has again the same attributes as the last-described form of *Mahākāla*. His colour is black, with a slight red tinge. He has the sun as the right eye, the moon is his left eye, and fire issues from the central "eye of wisdom".

Tshogs bdag mgon po seng ge'i gdan can[20] (R, Vol. II, fol. 328 b)

The name of this god, who is primarily worshiped by the *Sa skya* sect,

suggests that he rests on a lion, but this fact is not mentioned in the text itself. His colour is dark-purple, and four sharp copper-teeth are visible in his open mouth. The four hands of this *mGon po* hold a sword, a three-pointed lance, a "banner of victory", and a snare of the *bdud.*

In front of this *mGon po* dwells his *śakti*, the green *Vetālī* with loosely hanging hair. She eats bowels, which her right hand lifts to her mouth, and with the left hand she clutches a skull-cup filled with blood. On the right side appears the white *Pho nya mo*, whose hair is dark-brown. Her weapons are a *kīla* and a red snare. The place in the back is occupied by the bluish-green *bKa' sdod ma*, who is dressed in a human skin and brandishes a club (*dbyug to*) made of sandal-wood. On the left side resides the red *mNgag gzhung ma*, who has the face of a heron. She brandishes two corpses, a mummified body in the form of a club (*zhing dbyug*) and a vermilion-coloured corpse.

In the outer circle of the *maṇḍala* reside seven dark-red goddesses, who have the appearance of *rākṣasīs*. Each of them holds a trident and a *kapāla* filled with blood. Their names are: *Tshangs ma*, *dBang mo*, *gZhon nu ma*, *lHa chen ma*, *rTog 'dod ma*, *rGan byang ma*, and *sNa chen ma*. The *maṇḍala*'s four gates – constructed out of crystal, gold, copper and turquoise – are guarded by four *ma mo*, armed with thunderbolts and snares.

lHa chen mgon po lcam dral trakṣad gnyis lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 333 b)

A rather unusual, dark-purple coloured form of *mGon po*, with two faces, four hands and riding the "black horse of the *bdud* with white heels". One of the faces is that of a dog with crystal-eyes and the other is that of a pig. The god bares his teeth and clicks his tongue. His attributes are a censer emitting poisonous smoke, a snare of the *bdud*, a magic notched stick, and a skull-cup full of blood. Each of the faces has three blood-shot eyes, and the dark-brown hair of the heads stands on end. The *lHa chen mgon po lcam dral* wears a headdress consisting of black snakes and black silk, and in addition to it a crown of five skulls. His body is adorned with a garland of fifty heads. The dress consists of a cloak of black silk which had been folded thrice, with a design called the "*svastika* of obscurity" (*mug pa'i g.yung drung*) and held together by a golden girdle. The *mGon po* wears on top of his garment the fur of a bear and the drawn skin of a blue lion. His feet are protected by brown boots. From the ear of the deity sounds the roar of a thousand dragons, from its black, panting nose

[20] This *mGon po* as well as the two forms which follow are represented on plate 5 of Peter, 'Rin hbyung'.

issues a red wind, and fire comes forth from its eyes which stare full of hatred. In its mouths are wild oceans consisting of flesh and blood. Poisonous clouds descend from the nine apertures of the body and the crown of the head is adorned with the sun and the moon.

In front of the *mGon po* rests the black, one-headed and four-armed *dPal ldan lha mo* in her form known as *gNyan gyi remati*. Her attributes are a human corpse, a sword with a scorpion-shaped hilt, a mongoose – from whose mouth a rain of jewels is falling –, and a skull-cup, filled with blood. Besides these objects, she carries a bundle of arms, a load of red lables, a sack full of diseases, a pair of dice and the magic notched stick of the *bdud*. From her eyes drops a rain of blood, a "mist of illnesses" (*nad kyi na bun*) issues from her nose, in her navel rests the sun, and the moon lies on the crown of her head. She rides on a red "ass of the *rākṣasas*" (*srin po'i bong bu*).

Further belong to the retinue six black "messengers" (*pho nya*). These are demonesses who are brought into connection with the Mon region, and they are called therefore the *Mon mo shva na nag mo drug*. Their names are: *gSer mig ma*, "she, who has golden eyes", *dNgul mig ma*, "she, who has silver eyes", *Zangs mig ma*. "she, who has copper-eyes", *'Khar mig ma*, "she, who has eyes of bronze", *g.Yu mig ma*, "she, who has turquoise-eyes", and *mChong mig ma*, "she, who has cornelian-eyes" All these six goddesses are dog-headed, naked, covered with bone-ornaments and their hair reaches down to the heels. Each of them lifts with the right hand a thunderbolt towards the sky, while the left hand throws a black noose. They are accompanied by seven men and seven women from the Mon country and by numerous wild animals.

mGon po trakṣad dvags po'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 341 a)

A black, one-headed and two-armed form of *mGon po*, in the style of the Dvagpo (*Dvags po*) province, dressed in a garment of black silk, wearing high boots and depicted riding a black horse. The deity's right hand brandishes a black war-banner (*ru dar*) while a trident leans against the side of its neck. The *mGon po* lifts with the left hand a torn-out heart to his mouth.

mGon po trakṣad seng zhon jo bo'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 343 a)

As indicated by the name, this form of the *mGon po*, whose worship had been introduced by *Atīśa*, is pictured on religious paintings as riding a lion. The body of this god is dark red, and the two hands hold a club made of sandal-wood and the torn-out heart, lungs, and "life-roots" of an

evil-doer. The *Trakṣad seng zhon* wears a garment of black silk, a crown of skulls, and a garland of heads.

The companion of this *mGon po* is the black *Las mgon*, who rides a black horse. His right hand holds a trident, his left hand clutches a heart and also a black snare of the *bdud*. The *Las mgon* occupies the place on the right. The fierce, blue-coloured *śakti Vetālī* dwells on the left side. She is dressed in the drawn skins of men and tigers, and her attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup.

To the retinue belong also seven black male *dregs pa* (*dregs pa pho bdun*) who carry various weapons and wear the dress of men from the Mon country; they ride on a *khyung*, a cat, tiger, dragon, a poisonous snake, on black wind, and on water. They are followed by seven black, female *dregs pa* (*dregs pa mo bdun*), who are dressed in the attire of Mon women. Each of them is armed with a thunderbolt and a snare.

mGon po trakṣad gri gug sbrag sgrub ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 347 a)

A black divinity, depicted in the human form and holding a chopper and a skull-cup. Its hair is black and supposed to be of iron. Two deities accompany this form of *Mahākāla*: the black *Las kyi mgon po*, holding a trident and a heart together with a black *bdud*-snare, and riding a black horse; further, the black *lHa mo* whose attributes are a sword and a skull-cup. – This is another form of *mGon po*, which is said to have originated by fusing two different aspects into one.

mGon po trakṣad rkang thang ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 349 a)

"The *mGon po trakṣad* who goes on foot" is one-faced, two-handed, and dark red. He holds a club of sandal-wood, a heart, and wears a dress made of black silk, with a golden girdle and high boots. His feet tread upon a corpse.

The retinue consists of seven black Mon women – who wear ornaments of human bone and hold choppers and skull-cups – and of seven black bitches armed with snares and thunderbolts.

mGon po trakṣad ma ning ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 352 b)

The attributes of this black, one-faced and two-armed *Mahākāla* are a trident, a heart, and a black *bdud*-snare. His mount is a black horse. He is also armed with a black, iron bow and a big club of sandal-wood, which is stuck into his girdle. At his right side hangs a quiver of tiger-skin, and on the left a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard.

The *śakti* is the *rDo rje remati*, riding a black, three-legged mule; her

weapons are the magic notched stick of the *bdud* and a sack full of diseases.

mGon po trakṣad 'brong zhal can (R, Vol. II, fol. 355 a)

He is also called the *Las mkhan 'brong zhal nag po*. As already indicated by the name, this black form of *Mahākāla* is believed to have the head of a wild yak (*'brong*). The right hand of the divinity holds a flaming club, and its left hand lifts a blood-dripping chopper. The attire of the yak-headed *Mahākāla* consists of a robe of black silk with a golden girdle, a diadem of skulls, and high boots. A quiver of tiger-skin and a bow-case, made from the skin of a leopard, hang at his sides. His mount is a black mule with white heels.

mGon po trakṣad gsang sgrub shva na'i zhal can (R, Vol. II, fol. 356 b)

A dog-faced, dark-red *mGon po*, with a three-eyed face and two hands holding a trident with human heads on it, and a heart. The deity, which is depicted standing, is dressed in skins of men and tigers. Its *śakti* is the *Khyi mo gser mig ma*, "the golden-eyed bitch", who is accompanied by six goddesses, four of which we already encountered before, namely: *g.Yu mig ma*, *mChong mig ma*, *Zangs mig ma*, and *'Khar mig ma*. There are, however, two new names to be added: *Dung mig ma*, "she, who has conch-shell eyes", and *lCags mig ma*, "she, who has eyes of iron". They are all dressed in tiger-skins, wear bone-ornaments and are armed with thunderbolts and snares.

The *Rin 'byung* then lists a group of nine *mGon po*, who are mentioned as a class in themselves, separately from those forms of *Mahākāla*, which had been enumerated above. All these nine deities are depicted as four-faced beings with the exception of the one named in the last place.[21]

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa bsnyen dus dang 'brel ba (R, Vol. II, fol. 359 a)

The body of this four-faced *mGon po*, his central countenance as well as the face above it are all black, while the faces on the left and right are dark-green. The deity has four arms, holding a sacrificial knife with a thunderbolt hilt, a skull-cup filled with the blood and hearts of enemies and obstacle-creating demons, a flaming sword, and a rosary of human skulls. Each of the four faces is three-eyed, with an open mouth and protruding sharp teeth. A loin-cloth of tiger-skin, jewels, snakes, and anklets with bells are the attire of this deity.

On the right side dwells the *mahāśakti*, the black *g.Yung mo*; on the

[21] On the four-headed *mGon po* see further Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 589 590.

left appears the green *Las mdzad gtum mo*, in front the *Srin mo chen mo*, and in the back the dark-yellow *Sinnga gling ma*. All these four goddesses are naked and without ornaments. They are said to have the appearance of female messenger-demonesses (*pho nya mo'i cha lugs can*) and they are of a most wrathful temper. They are three-eyed and each of them holds a chopper and a skull-cup. The four *pho nya mo* are accompanied by butchers – "who are able to slaughter the *bdud* with a single stroke" –, by an immense army which is able to subdue the hordes of the *bdud*, and they are also followed by the *dregs pa sde brgyad*.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa sgrub dus dang 'brel ba (R, Vol. II, fol. 366 a)

A black form of *mGon po*. The central, most ferocious face is black, and its mouth chews a corpse. The right countenance is white and shows a broad smile. The left face is white, and its features are contorted to a terrifying smirk; the face on top is smoke-coloured and it bares its teeth. All four faces are three-eyed. The deity's four hands hold the following objects: a chopper, a skull-cup, a flaming sword, and a rosary made of bone, together with a trident. A golden vessel, filled with *amṛta*, rests in the crook of one of the arms. The dress and ornaments are the same as in the last-mentioned case, and also the *parivāras* of both deities are identical.

Zhal bzhi pa las sbyor mgon po (R, Vol. II, fol. 372 b)

The arrangement of the deity's four faces differs from that in the previous cases: there are two blue heads on the right side, one superimposed on top of the other, and the two green heads on the left side are arranged in the same manner. The four hands hold a chopper, a skull-cup, a flaming sword, and a golden vessel. Dress, ornaments, and even the divinities forming the retinue are again the same as in the two previous cases.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa dkar po tshe 'phel (R, Vol. II, fol. 378 a)

A white form of *mGon po*; the central face is white, the right one is blue, the left one is red, and the face on top is smoke-coloured. The deity's attributes are a vessel full of *amṛta*, a skull-cup – which is lifted towards the mouth –, a chopper, and a trident. Ornaments, dress, and the four goddesses of the *parivāra* are again the same, only that in this case *g.Yung mo* and her companions have white-coloured bodies and are holding a vessel full of *amṛta* and a jewel. – This *mGon po* and also the five forms which follow next originated within the *Sa skya* sect, but their cult was later on taken over also by the *dGe lugs pa* clergy.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa ser po nor 'phel (R, Vol. II, fol. 383 a)

A gem-protecting *mGon po*, whose body and central face are yellow; the face on the right side is white, the countenance on the left is red, and the face on top is smoke-coloured. His four hands hold a rosary made of human bone, a skull-cup full of jewels, a chopper, and a vessel with gems in it. He is dressed in a tiger-skin, wears anklets of bells, ornaments made of precious stones, etc.

In his retinue appear again the goddesses *g.Yung mo*, *gTum mo*, etc., only that in this case their bodies have the yellow colour of the *maṇḍala*'s reigning deity and their attributes are rosaries made of human bone and skull-cups.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa dmar po dbang sdud (R, Vol. II, fol. 388 a)

The body and the central face of this deity are red, the countenance on the right side is white, that on the left is blue, and the head, which rests on top, is smoke-coloured. One hand of the upper pair of arms tears the heart from an enemy's body with the help of a hook, and the other hand throws a snare around the neck of an adversary of the Buddhist creed. The lower pair of hands holds a bone-rosary and a vessel full of Tibetan beer. The dress and ornaments are the same as mentioned previously. Also the before-named four goddesses appear in the *parivāra* of the red, four-faced *mGon po*, only that in the present case they are all red-coloured and are armed with hooks and snares.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa sngon po nyams sgrol (R, Vol. II, fol. 393 b)

This *mGon po* has a blue body and a central face of the same colour, a white one on the right side, a red one on the left; and again a smoke-coloured head on top. His four hands hold a chopper, a skull-cup, a sword and a trident. The four goddesses of the *parivāra* are blue as well, and their attributes are swords and skull-cups full of blood.

dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa gdon gnyan can (R, Vol. II, fol. 398 b)

A very unusual form of *Mahākāla*. The body and also the central face, which has the normal features of the *mGon po*, are black. The text adds that this face has an expression fierce like that of *gShin rje*. On the right side is the head of a white elephant, on the left side the red head of a buffalo, and in the back is the head of a blue lion. Also the latter three heads bear a ferocious expression, the head of the elephant being "ferocious in the way of the *lha*" (*lha khros pa*), the face of the buffalo is "angry like a *rākṣasa*" (*srin po khros pa*), and the lion's countenance has the

expression of a "wrath of a *rgyal po* demon" (*rgyal po khros pa*). The six arms of the deity hold the following objects: chopper, skull-cup, club, battle-axe, snare, and one hand clutches one corner of the elephant-hide, which covers the upper part of the body.

The distribution and the colour of the four goddesses, who appear in the retinue of this *mGon po*, are as follows: on the right side is the blue *gTum mo*, holding a skull-cup in her right hand and brandishing a banner of black silk with the other hand. On the left side dwells the red *g.Yung mo*, who holds a small chain (*lu gu rgyud*) and a snare. In front resides the goddess *Srin mo* -- her colour and attributes are not mentioned – and the place in the back is occupied by the black *Sinnga gling ma*, bearing a chopper and a skull-cup.

Sha za ce spyang gdong can (R, Vol. II, fol. 404 a)

"The flesh-eater with the jackal-face" is dark-red and has three flaming eyes. His attributes are a chopper and a special skull-cup called *srin po'i thod pa*, containing human blood. He wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, a tassel consisting of snakes, and a girth made of bowels. A multitude of *piśācas* and jackals comes forth from each hair of his body.

The *Zur kha rgya rtsa* mentions the following forms of *Mahākāla*, not listed in the *Rin 'byung*:

bKa' srung brag lha mgon po (fol. 203 a)

This form of *mGon po* is dark-red, has one face and two hands. The forehead of the god is wrinkled in anger, and his three eyes stare full of hatred into the ten quarters of the world. The red *mGon po* bares his four teeth, his mouth is widely open, his tongue moves with the speed of lightning, and his yellow-brown hair stands on end. His right hand holds a club, adorned with jewels, with which he crushes the heads of enemies and obstacle-creating demons. His left hand clutches the heart of an enemy. *Brag lha mgon po* wears a diadem of five skulls, a garland of fifty-one human heads, the lower part of his body is covered by a loin-cloth made of tiger-skin, and over it he wears a cloak of black silk. He stands with the right foot bent and the left stretched out.

In front resides the "officer" *Mon pa nag po*, whose colour is dark-blue. He has one face, two hands, and three eyes. His yellow-brown hair stands on end. With the right hand *Mon pa nag po* brandishes a chopper, and his left hand holds a skull-cup filled with the hearts of enemies, which he lifts to the mouth of the chief deity.

. . .

Bu ston lugs dpal mgon beng dmar (fol. 203 b)

A form of *Mahākāla* whose worship had been introduced by *Bu ston.*[22] 'In this aspect *mGon po* is described as being dark-red and possessing the appearance of a most ferocious *rākṣasa*. He has one face and two arms, his eyes are bloodshot, he bares his teeth, and his yellow-red hair stands on end. With the right hand the red *mGon po beng* lifts a club of sandalwood adorned with jewels, and his left hand clutches an iron vessel filled with hearts of enemies, which are still warm. His dress is a cloak of black silk with four folds, held together by a golden girdle. In addition to it he wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, high boots and a garland of skulls and freshly severed human heads.

In front of the deity stands the "officer" *Mon pa nag po*, who holds a chopper with his right hand, while his left, which clutches a skull filled with the hearts of enemies, is stretched towards the chief divinity. He is adorned with ornaments made of human bone.

mGon po dkar po, (fol. 224 b),

"the white *mGon po*", whom the text also calls "the vanquisher of the death-lord" (*'Chi bdag 'joms pa*). He appears in a ferocious aspect, his forehead is wrinkled, the teeth bared, and his hair stands on end. The white *mGon po* has four hands; the main right lifts a vessel of crystal filled with *amṛta* which grants wisdom and life, while the left hand holds in front of the breast a skull-cup, containing the *amṛta* of immortality. The second right hand, which is ready to strike, holds a chopper with a thunderbolt-hilt – cutting to pieces the hordes of the *gshin rje* and *bdud* and the second left hand brandishes a trident. The ornaments of this form of *mGon po* are the usual garland of fifty heads, a diadem of five skulls, etc. The *śakti* is the white *Ye shes mkha' 'gro ma*, whose attributes are a chopper and a skull-cup full of blood. Her body is covered with jewels and bone-ornaments.

mGon po dmar po (fol. 227 a)

This red form of *mGon po* is said to have a ruby-like colour and its two right hands hold a hook and a flaming chopper, while the left ones carry a skull-cup and a trident. The divinity is surrounded by red *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, each of them carrying a wish-granting jewel.

mGon po ser po (fol. 229 b)

The attributes of this yellow four-handed *mGon po* are a jewel, a skull-

22 1290–1364; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 293 sq.

cup full of gems, a flaming sword and a trident. The *śakti* of this *mGon po* is the golden-coloured *Ye shes ḍākinī*, who carries a vessel and a mongoose.

mGon po ljang khu (fol. 231 b)

A green four-handed form of *mGon po*, carrying the following attributes: a sword "made out of the tongues of *vetālas*", a skull-cup, a chopper "similar to the tongue of a *yakṣa*", and a trident. The green *mGon po* is accompanied by the raven-faced *mGon po*, who is called in this case the *yakṣa Bya rog gdong pa*.

In the retinue of the four-handed *mGon po* represented in the style of *rGva lotsāva* we mentioned the lion-headed *Sha za nag po*. Another form of this god is the so-called *Zhing skyong sha za nag po;* the name under which he is mentioned most frequently is, however, *bDud mgon seng gdong*. Two other appellations of this *mGon po* are *Zhing skyong chen po kun dga' gzhon nu* and *Dam can zhing skyong nag po*. The *bDud mgon seng gdong* is worshiped mainly by the *rNying ma pa* and *Karma pa*. Though belonging to the *mGon po*-group - he is even given occasionally the Sanskrit name *Mahākāla-siṃhamukha* –, *bDud mgon seng gdong* is believed to have originated from the union of a *bdud* and a *rākṣasī*. The colour of this *dharmapāla* is said to be "black like rainclouds". He has the ferocious head of a lion, with three eyes and out of his open mouth, in which sharp red teeth and the red tongue are visible, comes the roar of thunder. In his right hand he holds a lance, in his left hand a skull-cup with a *gtor ma* in it. His dress is a wide cloak of black silk and a belt of jewels, from which a bow-case and a quiver are suspended. *bDud mgon seng gdong* is accompanied by his *śakti*, the *bDud mo seng gdong ma*, also called the *mKha' 'gro'i gtso mo kun bdag srog gcod ma*. As indicated by her name, she has the face of a lioness; her body is of a fiery red colour, and her hair is ablaze. She is naked except for a loin-cloth of tiger-skin. In her right hand *bDud mo seng gdong ma* carries a trident, and in the left hand a human heart. Her mount is a red horse.

Eight ferocious acolytes, who stand in the main and intermediary quarters of the world, accompany *bDud mgon seng gdong* and his *yum*. Among them are several important members of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* class, who will be discussed in a more comprehensive way in the chapters to follow. The distribution of these eight acolytes, who are called the *stobs ldan pho nya sde brgyad*, is as follows:

East – the black war-lord *Vajrasādhu;* this is another name for the well-known *dharmapāla rDo rje legs pa.* He rides a brown billy-goat, and his attributes are a hammer and bellows.

South – the dark-green *gShin rje'i rgyal,* brandishing a club, and throwing a snare made of bowels. His mount is a blue water-bull.

West – *Klu bdud nag po mgo dgu,* "the black nine-headed *klu bdud*". Eight snakes rise threateningly above his heads, and his hands throw a snare consisting of black poisonous snakes.

North – the black *bDud po bye ba gung ring.* He brandishes a sword and holds a snare. His mount is a black horse with white heels.

Southeast – the red *btsan gyi mgon Yam shud dmar po,* wearing a dress of red silk, and carrying a red lance and a snare. He rides a red horse.

Southwest – the smoke-coloured *srin po'i rgyal Na ra seng ha;* his right hand holds a *khram shing,* the left one a hook. An ass with a red spot is his mount.

Northwest – *Tshangs pa dkar po,* wearing a turban of white silk and a white cloak. In his right hand he holds a chopper, and in the left one a *ba dan.* He rides a white horse.

Northeast – the black *Ma mo rdo rje ba lam.* Her body is lean, she holds a sword and a sack full of diseases and rides proudly on a black mule.[23]

Works of the *rNying ma pa* and *bKa' rgyud pa* sects mention two other forms of *mGon po,* whose iconography is, however, still uncertain: the *'Jig rten gyi mgon po* and the *Phyis kyi mgon po.*

We may conclude the discussion of the various forms of *Mahākāla* by the description of a *mGon po* called the *dPal rdo rje nag po bstan bsrung yongs rdzogs,* mentioned in the first chapter of the *rNying ma pa* work listed under no. 78 of the Tibetan sources. This *mGon po* is dark-blue, has three heads, twelve arms and four feet. The face on the right side is white, that on the left is red and the central one is dark-blue. The right hands hold a club, thunderbolt, hook, demon-dagger, and a bell, the left ones grasp a *kapāla,* rosary, skull-club, heart, and a snake-snare; two attributes are not mentioned by the text. He is dressed in a cloak of black silk with a golden girdle and wears bone-ornaments.

On the right side appears a dark-blue, four-headed and four-handed

[23] 153, fol. 1b sq.

fierce deity called the *Rākṣa mthu bo che*, who rides on a blue turquoise-dragon. The two right hands of this divinity hold a club and a "banner of victory", the two left ones lift a sword of gold and a snare On the left side rides on an iron mule the goddess *dByings kyi ma mo*. Her colour is a dark purple. She has three faces, six arms and four feet. The central face is purple-coloured, her left countenance is red, and the face on the right side is white. Her right hands hold a thunderbolt, the corpse of a child, and a sword, the left ones carry a skull-cup, an ichneumon, and a bell. Her whole body is covered with ornaments made of human bone.

A host of deities surrounds these three figures: the "body-emanation" (*sku yi sprul pa*) who rides on a tiger (= *sKu yi mgon po*), the "emanation of speech" (*gsung gi sprul pa*) who holds a big (red) club (= *gSung gi mgon po beng dmar po*), the "emanation of mind" (*thugs kyi sprul pa*) who holds a chopper (= *Thugs kyi mgon po gri gug can*), the "virtue-emanation" (*yon tan gyi sprul pa*) riding on a lion (= *Yon tan gyi mgon po legs ldan nag*), and the black, fierce "*karma*-emanation" (*'phrin las kyi sprul pa*), identical with the *'Phrin las kyi mgon po trakṣad*. These five figures are jointly called the *sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las kyi mgon po sde lnga*. Further the raven-headed and the lion-faced *mGon po*, *Yama*, and the *gnod sbyin So ka rāja*: the latter is a minor companion of *Mahākāla*, black, and carrying a banner of silk and a skull-cup. The rest of the train consists of dark-red butchers, the seventy-five *mGon po*, the thirty chiefs of the *dregs pa*, the masters of the *mantras* (*sngags bdag*), and the four great kings, guarding the four gates.

The names of some other forms of *mGon po*, which have not yet been listed above, should be at least mentioned here: *Sa ra ha'i mgon po*; *Yang gsang dpal mgon dug ri nag phyag bzhi pa*, accompanied by two *yum* called *Dus mtshan ma* and *Tsamunti*; *Dur khrod mgon po yab yum*; *mThar skyes mgon po* and his *yum Mahākrita*; the *bKa' rgyud pa'i mgon po ber nag can*, *mGon po phyin kha*, and *mGon po gzag ldan*.[21]

21 Regarding the two last-named figures see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III 2, p. 93.

CHAPTER IV

VAIŚRAVAṆA, KUBERA, AND JAMBHALA

The important, complex figure of the Buddhist god of wealth, mainly known as *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Kubera*, and *Jambhala*, has already been discussed extensively in previous publications on Tibetan iconography.[1] As to the position, which the three above divine forms have been assigned in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism, it may suffice therefore to mention that *Vaiśravaṇa* (Tib. *rNam thos sras* or simply *rNam sras*) acts, in addition to his task as guardian and dispenser of wealth and treasures, as the *lokapāla* (Tib. *phyogs skyong*) of the northern quarter of the world. The name *Kubera* is usually associated with the aspects, in which the deity acts only as the supreme distributor of wealth and not as a *lokapāla*. The Tibetan name of this aspect is either *Lus ngan* or *Kubera*, the latter name being then rendered in Tibetan letters. *Kubera* absorbed apparently the figure of the *Nor lha*, who seems to have been the original Tibetan god of wealth. As for *Jambhala* – he has no Tibetan name – it has been alleged in Western publications that he is a *yi dam;* this has, however, been denied by my Tibetan informants. *Vaiśravaṇa* and the two other figures are regarded by the Tibetans as deities of the eighth rank.

The descriptions of *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Kubera*, and *Jambhala* which follow are based again on the iconographic work *Rin 'byung;* this source enumerates the following forms of these three figures:

rNam sras ser chen (R, Vol. II, fol. 82 b)

"The great yellow *Vaiśravaṇa*"; in this form the body of *Vaiśravaṇa* is yellow "like pure gold, radiating with the brilliance of a hundred thousand rising suns". In his right hand he holds a "banner of victory" adorned with the wish-granting jewel, and in his left hand rests the treasure-producing ichneumon (*gter gyi ne'u le*). In accordance with his position as a dispenser of wealth, he is richly dressed in flowing garments of silk and wears a diadem and ornaments of jewels. On his right

[1] See especially Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 571–577.

shoulder rests the disk of the sun, on the left shoulder the moon. He rides on a white lion.

In his *parivāra* are mentioned the following accompanying deities, depicted as richly dressed armoured riders who, in addition to the attributes mentioned below, are all holding a treasure-producing ichneumon in the left hand. These deities are called collectively the *rTa bdag brgyad*, "the eight masters of the horses". Their names and the directions in which they are supposed to stand are as follows:

Direction	*Name*	*Description*
East	*Jambhala*	of a yellow colour, holds a jewel in his right hand
South	*Gang ba bzang po*	yellow, his right hand lifts a vessel filled with gems; this is supposed to be the divine ruler of the *gNod sbyin gang bzang* mountain near Gyantse (*rGyal rtse*)
West	*Nor bu bzang po*	white, holds a jewel in his right hand
North	*Kubera*	black, brandishes a sword with the right hand
Southeast	*Yang dag shes*	yellow, his right hand wields a sword
Southwest	*'Brog gnas*	black, holds a red lance made of gems
Northwest	*lNga rten*	yellow-white, his right hand lifts a palace (*khang brtsegs*)
Northeast	*Dzam po 'khyil pa* (or *'Khyil pa*)	white, wields a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left.

Later on, we shall encounter the above-named eight deities several times again, but then mostly in different forms from those just mentioned. – The *Rin 'byung* names further, among the host of spirits accompanying the yellow form of *Vaiśravaṇa*, a group of twenty-eight "war-lords" (*sde dpon*) of a dark-red colour, armed with swords and carrying shields, and further thirty-two powerful, armoured fighters of a dark-green colour, brandishing lances and swords. All of them have again a mongoose as an additional attribute, which rests on the left arm.

rNam sras mdung dmar rta sngon can (R, Vol. II, fol. 91 b)

"The *Vaiśravaṇa* possessing a red lance and a blue horse". This form of the northern *lokapāla* appears as an armoured rider of a red colour, three-eyed and with a ferocious face. His chief attributes are a red lance adorned with silken streamers, which he brandishes in his right hand,

while his left holds the treasure-producing ichneumon. His horse – as mentioned in the title – is of a blue colour.

The following deities appear in his retinue: in the East the *gZa' mchog chen po rāhula* of a smoke-gray colour. The upper part of his body is that of a *rākṣasa*, the lower one has the form of a coiled snake-tail. On top of his nine heads rests the head of a raven. All his heads as well as the body are covered with eyes. In his right hand he holds a "*makara*-banner" (*chu srin gyi rgyal mtshan*), and in his left a snake-snare (*sbrul zhags*). The southern point is occupied by the *yakṣa Dhana*, the western one by the *yakṣa Kāla* and in the North stands the *yakṣa Kubera*.

To the retinue of the chief deity belong further the guardians of the four gates of the *maṇḍala*, depicted as fierce goddesses and named after their attributes, which are: *lcags kyu* (Skt. *aṅkuśa*), a hook; *zhags pa* (Skt. *pāśa*), a snare; *lcags sgrog* (Skt. *śṛṅkhala*), an iron chain; and *dril bu* (Skt. *ghaṇṭā*), a bell. In the East stands the white *lCags kyu ma*, in the South the yellow *Zhags pa ma*, in the West the red *lCags sgrog ma*, and the northern gate is guarded by the green-coloured goddess *Dril bu ma*.

rNam sras ljang ser be con can (R, Vol. II, fol. 96 b)

"The yellow-green *Vaiśravaṇa* who has a club". He is depicted as a fierce deity with a human body of a yellow-green colour, who holds in his right hand a club (*be con*) adorned with a gem, and a treasure-producing mongoose in his left. He is richly decorated with silks and jewels and resides – with his feet crossed in the meditation-posture – on top of a treasure-vessel (*gter gyi bum pa*). The description further mentions, that the sun rests on his right shoulder and the moon on the left one.

The *śakti* corresponding to this form of *Vaiśravaṇa* is the red *Padma gtsug phud ma*, who holds a gem in her right hand and a vessel in the left one. The lower part of her body is the coiled tail of a snake and above her head rise threateningly seven snakes.

rNam sras dmar po gar mkhan mchog (R, Vol. II, fol. 100 b)

"The red *Vaiśravaṇa*, the excellent dancer", has sixteen hands, the right ones holding the following attributes: a "banner of victory", a club, sword, arrow, trident, hammer, citron, and a red lance, while the left ones brandish: a mongoose, a snake-snare, wheel, thunderbolt-snare (*rdo rje'i zhags pa*), bow, vessel, mountain, and a twig.

The red *Padma gtsug phud ma* is named again as the *śakti* of this form of *Vaiśravaṇa*, and further several deities – among them also four, who appeared in the retinue of *rNam sras ser chen*, but this time in

forms differing from those given before – are mentioned as belonging to the train of the sixteen-handed *Vaiśravaṇa*. They are: *Srad nyi ma la dga' ba*, who is white and holds a jewel; *Nor bu bzang po* of a white colour, in this case described as possessing the head of a sheep and holding a "banner of victory"; *Gang ba bzang po*, yellow, having the head of a horse and holding a vessel; *Yang dag shes*, blue, has the head of a stag and a jewel is his main attribute; *Sred spong*, yellow-red, with the head of a goat, holding a knife (?); and lastly the "minister" *rGyal ba khyu mchog* of a green colour, having the head of an elephant and holding a bowl.

rNam sras gsung mchog lus ngan po (R, Vol. II, fol. 105 a),
is of a red colour, has one head and two hands. He blows a white conch-shell – coiled to the right – holding it with both hands. He is richly dressed in silks and adorned with jewels. In his retinue appear eight *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*, all of them blowing conch-shells.

rNam sras drag byed (R, Vol. II, fol. 109 a)
"The terror-causing *Vaiśravaṇa*". This form of *Vaiśravaṇa* is supposed to be black-coloured, of a most terrible appearance and surrounded by flames, possessing a three-eyed face and two hands. With his right hand, *Vaiśravaṇa* brandishes a thunderbolt-club (*rdo rje'i dbyug to*), to which streamers "made of cloth from Benares" are attached. With his left hand he holds a black *mchod rten* (Skt. *stūpa*) in front of his breast. Again, the sun and the moon are shown resting upon his shoulders. The upper part of his body is covered with a garment of silk, and he also wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin.

In his retinue appear eight great *klu* of a dark-blue colour, with ferocious faces. They all hold a gem in their folded hands.

rNam sras nag po rta sngon can (R, Vol. II, fol. 112 b)
"The black *Vaiśravaṇa* having a blue horse" is being depicted in the following way:

"The great king is dark-blue, he has one face and two hands, his two red, globular eyes stare full of hatred at the enemies and obstacle-creating demons. He bares his teeth and wrinkles his face angrily. His right hand brandishes a flaming sword, the left one lays upon the shoulder a saffron-coloured divination-arrow. On his body he wears a sacerdotal cloak of black silk and a cherry-brown cuirass of leather. On the head he has a helmet of iron with spots of gold. The hair of his face and the

eyebrows blaze like fire, on the feet he wears leather-boots with a pattern of turquoise. He rides a skilful horse having the colour of lapis-lazuli, carrying a saddle of gold and stirrups studded with jewels. He has the appearance of a most fright-inspiring *rākṣasa*. He dwells in the middle of a fire-storm.

In the middle of four lakes lying in the four cardinal points: in the East comes forth from the syllable *traka* the black *bDud mo gshin rje mgo dgu ma*, who holds a chopper of conch-shell in the right hand and a skull-cup full of blood in the left one. She has a diadem of five dry skulls and is adorned with jewels. She wears a white cloak and rides a wild bull with curved horns. In the South issues from the syllable *rag* the yellow *bDud mo gshin rje lag brgya ma*. Her fifty right hands brandish swords, and the fifty left hands brandish slings of the *bdud*. On the upper part of her body she wears a human skin, and on the lower part a tiger-skin. She rides on a buffalo. In the West comes forth from the syllable *sha* the dark-red *bDud mo phung khrol ma*. Her right hand holds a hook, and the left one the heart of an enemy. A tiger-skin serves her as a loin-cloth. She discharges a blood-*zor* from her mouth and rides on a black wild yak. In the North comes forth from the syllable *bhyo* the dark-green *bDud mo gsod byed ma*. Her five right hands hold magic notched sticks, the five left hands hold snares of the *bdud* together with hearts and lungs. On the upper part of her body she wears a human skin, and on the lower part the skin of a bear. She rides on a kyang with a white muzzle. All these are also adorned with garlands of human heads and with jewels. (Each of them) is surrounded by hundred thousand times hundred thousand women having the colour and appearance (of the particular chief goddess).

On the four spokes of the wheel: in the southeast comes forth from the syllable *nghri* the white *Yul 'khor bsrung*, holding a guitar and riding an elephant. In the southwest issues from the syllable *be* the blue *'Phags skyes po*, holding a sword and riding a buffalo. In the northwest comes forth from the syllable *bi* the red *Mig mi bzang*, holding a snake-snare and a *stūpa* and riding on a *makara*. In the northeast comes forth from the syllable *be* the dark-green *Ngal bsos po*, holding a club and a mongoose and riding a lion. All of them wear armour and appear in an angry mood."[2]

rNam sras dkar po tshe 'dzin (R, Vol. II, fol. 118 b)

"The white *Vaiśravaṇa*, the life-holder". This form of *Vaiśravaṇa* is depicted in the peaceful, but proud aspect, possessing a white human

[2] See Tibetan Texts, text B.

body, covered with silks and jewels. The deity holds an iron hook in the right hand and a vessel of clear crystal full of *amṛta* in the left one.

In the *parivāra* appear again the eight chief companions of *Vaiśravaṇa*, that is *Jambhala, Gang ba bzang po, Nor bu bzang po*, etc., as enumerated when describing the retinue of *rNam sras ser chen*, but in the present case they are all of a white colour and wear white garments. Each of them holds an iron hook in the right hand and a vessel in the left one.

rNam sras ljang gu seng zhon manyaja na'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 123 a)

The main attributes of the green *Vaiśravaṇa* riding a lion are a club adorned with a string of jewels and a treasure-producing mongoose held towards the left hip. The green *Vaiśravaṇa* is accompanied by his usual eight chief followers, who are depicted here in the same way as when occupying their places in the retinue of *rNam sras ser chen*.

rNam sras yang gsang phyag mtshan bzhi pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 126 a)

"The most secret *Vaiśravaṇa* with the four attributes" is red-coloured, he has one head and two hands. The right hand holds a "banner of victory" with the head of a tiger as its point (*stag gi rgyal mtshan*) and a red lance; the attributes carried in the left hand are an ichneumon and an iron hook. The train comprises the following deities:

East - *Nor rgyun ma* (Skt. *Vasudharā*)
South - *dByangs can ma* (Skt. *Sarasvatī*)
West - *Nor skyong ma* (Skt. *Maṇipālī*)
North - *Bharali*

All the above four goddesses are of a red colour, they are adorned with bone-ornaments, and each of them holds an iron hook in her right hand and a whisk (*rnga yab*) in the left one. Also *Gang ba bzang po, Nor bu bzang po*, etc., appear in the *parivāra*, in their usual colour. In addition to the attributes which they normally carry each holds also a red lance in the right hand and an iron hook in the left one.

Jambhala ser po gtso rkyang (R, Vol. II, fol. 132 a)

"The yellow *Jambhala*, the only lord"; the colour of this one-faced and two-handed deity is said to be like that of purified gold (*gser btso*). In the palm of his right hand, which rests in the posture of gift-bestowing, lies a citron. The left hand holds a mongoose, from whose mouth a rain of wish-granting jewels issues. The deity has black hair, wears a diadem of jewels and a flowing dress of multicoloured silks. A garland of blue

lotus hangs around his neck and he treads on a treasure of emeralds, rubies, and other gems.

gSang 'dus las byung ba'i jam ser (R, Vol. II, fol. 135 b)

A tantric form of *Jambhala*: a figure of a dark-yellow colour, with three faces and six hands, the upper pair of hands embracing the *śakti Nor rgyun ma*. The other two right hands hold the *bījapūra* and a sword, and the left ones a treasure-producing ichneumon and a lotus. A garland of blue lotus adorns the neck of this deity.

dPa' bo chig grub pa las byung ba'i jambhala lha mang (R, Vol. II, fol. 138 b)

Another tantric conception of *Jambhala*. The *gtso bo* as well as the deities of the *parivāra* are shown in sexual union with their *śaktis*. The distribution of the gods and goddesses is as follows:

Direction	*Śakta*	*Śakti*
Centre	*Jambhala*	*Nor rgyun ma*
East	*Nor bu bzang po*	*Zla shel ma*
South	*Gang ba bzang po*	*sByin ma*
West	*Nor sbyin*	*sByin bzang ma*
North	*rNam thos kyi bu*	*'Phags ma*
Southeast	*Kilimili*	*Rab bzad ma*
Southwest	*'Jam po 'khyil pa*	*Rab sbas ma*
Northwest	*Zhal gyi dbang po*	*lHa'i bud med*
Northeast	*sPyod pa'i dbang po*	*dByangs can ma*

The colour of all the above-named deities is golden, and they are richly adorned with jewels. Each *śakta* is depicted sitting in the *rāja-paryaṅka* attitude (*rol pa'i stabs*), holding the *bījapūra* on the palm of the right hand and a treasure-producing ichneumon in the left one. The right hand of each *śakti* rests in the *varada-mudrā* and the left hand holds an ear of rice.

Jambhala nag po Kha che paṇ chen lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 141 a)

"The black *Jambhala* according to the style of *Kāśmīra Paṇḍita*" is depicted as having a dwarfish body, naked, except for a few rags "as worn by low-class people". "His ear-lobes are not pierced", and he does not wear any ornaments. He has three eyes, and his teeth are bared. With his right hand he lifts in front of his breast a skull-cup full of blood, and with the left hand he holds a treasure-producing ichneumon towards the left side of his body. Residing upon a moon-lotus, he tramples under his feet a "treasure-owner" (*nor bdag*).

Jambhala dkar po lha lnga jo bo'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 145 a)

A white *Jambhala* according to the style of *Atīśa*. He has a fierce, three-eyed face, with the right hand he brandishes a lance with three points, and with the left a club adorned with jewels. The white *Jambhala* wears a garment of silk and jewels. His mount is a turquoise-blue dragon and he is surrounded by flames.

The following *ḍākiṇīs* appear in his retinue:

Direction	*Name*	*Appearance*
East	*rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma*	blue, holds a *vajra* in her right hand and a vessel, filled with various offerings, in the left one
South	*Rin chen mkha' 'gro ma*	yellow, in her right hand she holds a precious vessel and with her left hand she brandishes an iron hook
West	*Padma mkha' 'gro ma*	red, holds a lotus in her right hand and a "banner of victory", which is adorned with gems, in her left hand
North	*Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	green, her right hand brandishes two crossed *vajras* (*rdo rje rgya gram*) and with her left hand she holds a treasure-producing ichneumon

Jambhala dmar po srog sgrubs sa lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 149 a)

"The red *Jambhala* in the *srog sgrubs* style of *Sa skya*" has one three-eyed face and two hands, the right one holding a jewel and the left hand, which embraces the hip of his *śakti*, lifts a mongoose. The name of the *śakti* is *bDe rgyas byed ma*. She is shown embracing the *yab*, and she holds a skull-cup, filled with *amṛta*, in her left hand.

Grva pa mngon shes lugs kyi jambhala dmar po (R, Vol. II, fol. 152 a)

"The red *Jambhala*, in the style of *Grva pa mngon shes*". A red, three-faced form of *Jambhala*, with six hands and four feet. He is of a haughty appearance, his central red-coloured face bears the expression of a ferocious laugh. The face on the right is white, the one on the left is blue. The upper and middle right hands hold a jewel and an iron hook, the corresponding hands on the left side lift a skull-cup filled with jewels and a snare, while each hand of the lowest pair holds one treasure-producing ichneumon. His feet tread upon two *yakṣas* who vomit jewels.

In his retinue appear eight great water-spirits (*klu chen po brgyad*) and

further the goddess *Kurukulle*, who is represented in the following form: her body is red, the face bears a haughty expression and it is contorted to a fierce smirk. She has four hands; with the upper pair she prepares to shoot off a "blue lotus-arrow" (*utpala'i mda'*), while her two lower hands lift an iron hook and a snare, both being adorned with blue lotus-flowers. Her body is covered with bone-ornaments and countless jewels.

Jambhala ljang gu dus 'khor lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 157 a)

"The green *Jambhala* in the style of the *kālacakra*". He is either green or yellow-green, has one face which shows a peaceful but haughty expression, and his right hand holds the *bījapūra* fruit while the left one carries an ichneumon from whose mouth issues a rain of precious stones. The hair of the green *Jambhala* is black, and his head is adorned with a diadem of jewels. His other ornaments are a garland of blue lotus-flowers, jewels, silks, etc.

The main figures of his retinue are his *śakti*, the blue-coloured goddess *Nor rgyun ma* and the following goddesses, standing in the main quarters of the world:

East	- *Zla shel ma*
South	- *sByin ma*
West	- *sByin bzang ma*
North	- *'Phags ma*

Tne *Rin 'byung* then enumerates a number of minor deities, who stand in more or less close relation to the *Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera-Jambhala* group; several of these figures have already been mentioned above. To facilitate the identification of Tibetan iconographic material, they will be discussed here as well.

gNod sbyin nor bu bzang po (R, Vol. II, fol. 160 a)

The colour of the *yakṣa Nor bu bzang po* is yellow and he rides a blue horse. In the right hand he holds a flaming jewel, in the left one a treasure-producing ichneumon.

Sras gar mkhan mchog (R, Vol. II, fol. 161 a)

"The son, the excellent dancer". He has three faces - a yellow, a blue, and a white one - all bearing a fierce expression, and the colour of his body is red. He has sixteen hands, the right ones holding the following attributes: thunderbolt, wheel, jewel, lotus, sword, snare, arrow, and battle-axe; the attributes held by the left hands are: a bell, trident,

ichneumon, an ornament of flowers (*me tog gi phur ma*), a *ba dan*, skull-cup, bow, and a whisk. The deity wears a garment of silk, a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, snakes and jewels.

The retinue of *Sras gar mkhan mchog* comprises the following deities: on his right side stand *Brahmā* (*Tshangs pa*) and *Rāhu* (*Khyab 'jug*), on the left *Īśvara* (*dBang phyug*) and *Kubera* (*Lus ngan*). Four treasure-guarding *yakṣas* and four *yakṣīs* dwell in the spaces in between.

Sras rgyal ba khyu mchog (R, Vol. II, fol. 164 a)

"The son, the chief of the victorious ones". The colour of this deity is said to be brilliant like purified gold. *Sras rgyal ba khyu mchog* – who is also called the *gnod sbyin rGyal ba khyu mchog* – has one face and four hands. The upper pair holds a chest (*sgrom bu*) filled with jewels, the lower one lifts a club, adorned with a wish-granting jewel, and a mongoose.

lHa mo dpal chen mo (R, Vol. II, fol. 166 a)

A green goddess, smiling and haughty in appearance. With her right hand she lifts a lotus flower adorned with jewels, and with her left hand she makes the gesture of protection.

gZungs las byung ba'i lha mo nor rgyun ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 167 b)

"The goddess *Vasudharā*,[3] who originated from a *mantra*". A yellow form of the goddess *Vasudharā*, having one face and two hands. Jewels are dropping from the palm of her right hand, and her left hand holds an ear of rice.

Nor rgyun ma ba glang rdzi (R, Vol. II, fol. 176 a)

"*Vasudharā*, the keeper of bulls"; the colour of her body is yellow, her attributes are the same as those in the case of the just before-described goddess.

Yi 'phrog nor rgyun ma (R, Vol. II, fol. 177 a)

"The infatuating *Vasudharā*", a red form of the goddess, holding an iron hook and an ichneumon.

gNod sbyin zhang blon rdo rje bdud 'dul (R, Vol. II, fol. 178 a)

"The *yakṣa*, the royal minister Devil-Subduing Thunderbolt", also called "the commander" (*sde dpon*) *rDo rje bdud 'dul*. A wrathful deity

[3] Some of the *rNying ma pa* works speak of a group of eight *Nor rgyun ma* sisters, the *Nor rgyun lha mo mched brgyad*.

of a black colour, who holds a jewel in the right hand and a golden vessel, filled with jewels, in the left one. The *yakṣa* wears a diadem of gems, a dress of black silk with a girdle of gold, a garland of human heads, etc. He resides in the centre of a blazing fire.

His *śakti* is the blue *rDo rje kun 'grub ma*, who offers food to her consort with her right hand. Her left hand lifts a sack full of diseases. She wears a dress of white silk, and a garland of human heads hangs around her neck. The retinue of *rDo rje bdud 'dul* consists further of the following deities:

Direction	*Name*	*Appearance*
East	*Nor lha*	white, wearing a garment of white silk; his hands hold a gem, a chest full of jewels and he treads upon a *piśāca* and a *piśācī*
South	*mGon po*	black, of a most wrathful appearance, wearing a black garment with a green border; has snakes and human heads as ornaments, wields a club of sandalwood with his right hand and a hook with the left one. He stands on top of a male and a female *gshin rje*
West	*'Brog gnas*	red, has five heads: in the centre that of a lion, on the right those of a horse and sheep, on the left side the heads of a goat and a monkey. He has six hands; the first pair holds a box full of jewels, the second pair carries a golden wheel and a fruit and the last pair lifts a vessel, full of medicines. He stands on top of a male and a female *klu*
North	*rNam sras*	green, armoured, holds a horse-whip of gold (*gser gyi rta lcag*) and a pan filled with various medicines and jewels. He rides a yellow horse treading upon a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī*

Three other forms of *rDo rje bdud 'dul* are mentioned on fol. 180a of the *Rin 'byung*. Firstly, in the *phyi sgrub* aspect, the main attribute of *rDo rje bdud 'dul* is a club adorned with jewels. In the *nang sgrub* form the deity is of a dark-blue colour and holds a trident in the right hand, while

the left one carries a skull-cup. The right leg is bent, while the left one is stretched out; both feet tread upon a *rākṣasa* and a *rākṣasī*. In the *gsang sgrub* aspect he is described as a deity of a dark-blue colour, having a black, a white, and a red face, and holding in the three right hands a trident, a club, and a sword, while the three left hands brandish a skull-cup, a snare, and a hook.

In the last-mentioned case, *rDo rje bdud 'dul* is accompanied by the following *yakṣas*: on the right side by the black *rNon po*, who holds a battle-axe, a sword, a sack full of diseases, and a snare. On the left side appears the yellow-red *Kun gyi 'jigs byed*, brandishing the same attributes as the black *yakṣa* of the right side, only that he has a banner of black silk instead of the battle-axe. In the back dwells the dark-red *Nyi ma'ī mig*, who brandishes a chopper, a snare, a sack full of diseases, and a skull cup filled with blood. And lastly, in front, comes forth the *śakti rDo rje kun 'grub ma*, whose iconography had been discussed before.

rDo rje bdud 'dul is sometimes called the "chief of the *Rudras*". He is also worshiped as a "god of medicine" (*sman gyi lha*), and as such he stands in closest relation to the "Buddha of medicine" (*sMan bla*).[4] Text no. 162 calls him an "attendant of the medicine-Buddha" (*sMan bla'i bka' sdod*) and states that he is a member and commander of a group of nine deities acting as servants of the *sMan bla*, who are known as the *bka' sdod srung ma zhang blon dam can sde dgu*. In this case, however, *rDo rje bdud 'dul* is represented in a way different from the descriptions given above: he is dark-blue and has one three-eyed face. His hair stands on end, a diadem of five skulls adorns his head, he bares his teeth, and a garland of human heads hangs around his neck. With the right hand he brandishes a chopper decorated with a gem, his left hand lifts a skull-cup full of hearts. A cloak of black silk is his dress, a club made of sandalwood is stuck into his girdle, and his mount is a black horse with white heels, which stands amidst a vehemently burning fire. Also the other members of this group are all represented as wrathful deities surrounded by flames. They are distributed in the main and intermediary quarters in the following way:

East	– *Yum mchog ekajāti*
South	– *Khyab 'jug chen po rāhula*
West	– *mKha' gro'i gtso mo ce spyang ma*
North	– the coral-coloured *gNod sbyin bshan pa*

[4] On *sMan bla* and his companions see R. F. G. Müller, 'Die Krankheits- und Heilgottheiten des Lamaismus,' *Anthropos*, XXII, Posieux 1927, pp. 956-991.

Southeast - the *dam can* with the life-chopper
Southwest - the dark-red *Srin po 'jigs byed*
Northwest - the smoke-coloured *Shan ting ro zan*
Northeast - *Srog bdag hob se*, who has the colour of the *ha la* poison

A fifth form is the red *rDo rje bdud 'dul*, who has black locks. He is dressed in a garment of black silk, rides on a dark-brown mule, and his hands hold two objects called *khrag thun* and *nyungs thun.*

gNod sbyin aparājitā (R, Vol. II, fol. 183 b)
The text calls him a *mahā-yakṣa* (*gnod sbyin chen po*); his colour is white "like a snow-mountain". Also his dress is white. He holds an iron hook in his right hand, while his left hand lifts a treasure-vessel (*gter gyi bum pa*).

The *Rin 'byung* continues then its enumeration of deities belonging to the *Vaiśravaṇa-Kubera-Jambhala* group by describing the following three forms of *Gaṇeśa* (*Tshogs bdag*):

'Zur 'gegs sel ba'i tshogs bdag chags pa rdo rje (R, Vol. II, fol. 185 a)
His central face is that of an elephant, the right countenance is that of a cat, and on the left side is the face of a monkey. He has six hands, holding a vessel, full of Tibetan beer, a jewel, a sword, etc. The deity and his monkey-faced *śakti* are both depicted naked.

Tshogs bdag dkar po phyag bzhi pa jo bo'i lugs (R, Vol. II, fol. 187 a)
"The white four-handed *Gaṇeśa* in the style of *Atīśa*" has an elephant-head and brandishes a shield, a rosary, an ichneumon, and a battle-axe. He is dressed in a tiger-skin and stands on a rat.

Tshogs bdag dmar po phyag bzhi pa (R, Vol. II, fol. 188 a)
The red, four-handed *Gaṇeśa* is described as riding a rat. He holds a shield, a battle-axe, a conch-shell, and a rosary.

Lastly, three other deities belonging to the group here discussed should be mentioned as well:

Klu rgyal sog ma med (R, Vol. II, fol. 189 a)
Seven snakes rise above his head. The lower part of his body is the coiled tail of a snake, his two hands hold a vessel filled with *amṛta* in front of his breast. His retinue consists of his son, his *śakti* – who is,

however, not addressed with the customary polite term *yum*, but simply as *chung·ma* – and of his servants, "altogether sixty thousand of them".

dByug gu ma spun gsum (R, Vol. II, fol. 190 b)

A group of three sister-deities, the middle one being called *Nor ster ma sngon mo*, "the blue bestower of jewels". Her sister who stands on the right side is the *Gos ster ma dkar mo*, "the white bestower of garments", and the goddess standing on the left bears the name *Zas ster ma dmar mo*, "the red dispenser of food". All three hold a jewel in the right hand and lift a vessel full of *amṛta* with the left one.

Khol po kundhali (R, Vol. II, fol. 191 a)

The "serf *Kundhali*" is a *yakṣa* of a white colour, holding a hook in his right hand and leading with his left hand an elephant by the trunk. – Representations of this *yakṣa* can occasionally be seen painted on the wall of a monastery next to the main entrance.

To the retinue of *Vaiśravaṇa* belongs further the deity *gNod sbyin nor gyi rgyal po*, worshiped mainly by the *rNying ma pa*. The *gNod sbyin nor gyi rgyal po*, also called the *rDo rje khyung rgyal*, is described as a white figure wearing a cloak of bear-skin. He holds the snare of the *bdud*, a chopper, and his mount is an elephant with a long trunk.

Under the name *Nor bdag chen po kubera* the Buddhist god of wealth is worshiped also by the Bon. The Bon work listed under no. 52 of the Tibetan sources describes him as a wrathful figure of a dark azure-blue colour, one-headed and two-handed. He wears a golden cuirass, a helmet made of the same material, and he rides on a black horse with white heels

CHAPTER V

GSHIN RJE AND RELATED DEITIES

Yama, the judge of the dead and ruler of all beings who were reborn in one of the cold or hot hells in order to expiate the sins committed in a previous existence, is usually addressed in Tibetan as *gShin rje*, "lord of death" – this term is, however, also applied to denote a whole class of death-bringing demons –, further as *Chos kyi rgyal po*, "king of the religious law", an expression corresponding to Skt. *Dharmarāja*, or, by uniting both these terms, as *gShin rje chos kyi rgyal po*. He is supposed to be a deity of the eighth rank. There are various forms of *Yama*, the main aspects being those called *phyi sgrub*, *nang sgrub*, and *gsang sgrub*, or jointly as *phyi nang gsang gsum*.

In his *phyi sgrub* or "outer" form, *Yama* is depicted as a blue, bull-headed god, whose right hand brandishes a club with a skull on top (*thod dbyug*) and a snare with the left one. He stands upon a blue-coloured bull, who is kneeling on top of a woman. Usually, the animal is depicted crushing the prostrate human figure, but sometimes paintings and images are seen which leave no doubt that the woman and *Yama*'s mount – in expression of tantric conceptions – are actually engaged in sexual intercourse. I have, however, not yet come across a Tibetan iconographic text expressly mentioning the latter particularity. To the left side of *Yama* stands frequently his sister *Yamī*, who offers him a skull-cup full of blood. *Klong rdol bla ma* calls this form of *Yama* the *Chos rgyal phyi sgrub ma he'i gdong can* and mentions eight male and eight female *gshin rje (gshin rje pho brgyad mo brgyad)* as his companions.[1]

The *nang sgrub* or "inner" form of *Yama* is dark-blue too, but in this case the ruler of the hells has the head of a fierce *rākṣasa*, and his hands hold a chopper and a skull-cup. His feet tread upon a corpse. According to *Klong rdol bla ma* the name of this form of *Yama* is *Nang sgrub srin gi gdong can;* in his retinue appear four other forms of this god, the

[1] 70, fol. 2a.

Zhi ba'i gshin rje, *rGyas pa'i gshin rje*, *dBang gi gshin rje*, and *Drag gi gshin rje*.

In the *gsang sgrub* or "secret" aspect the colour of the bull-headed *Yama* is red and he treads upon a bull of the same colour. His attributes are a jewel and a skull-cup.

There is further a group of four *Yamas* of different colour, all of them brandishing a *ḍamaru* and a divination-arrow. Each of these figures is brought into relation with one of the four cardinal points: the *Yama* who dwells in the eastern quarter is white, that one of the southern direction is yellow, the *Yama* of the West is red, and the northern one is green (or blue).

The *Rin 'byung* describes the following forms of *Yama* with their *śaktis* and acolytes:

Chos rgyal las kyi gshin rje mthing ga (R. Vol. II, fol. 435 b)

"The *Dharmarāja*, the azure-blue Death-Lord of the *karma*", who is identical with the *Las gshin dpa' gcig* of the *Zur kha brgya rtsa* (fol. 205). The *Rin 'byung* describes him as a figure of "a most terrifying appearance"; he corresponds to the before-mentioned *phyi sgrub* form of *Yama*. He is dark-blue and has the face of a bull. His right hand holds the *thod dbyug*, which is adorned on its hilt with a thunderbolt, and the left hand – its fingers are set in the *tarjanī-mudrā* – brandishes a black snare. The deity, who is depicted naked with his penis erect, stands on the back of a buffalo.

To the left side of *Yama* stands the black *śakti Tsamundi*. Her breasts are emaciated and her hair hangs loosely in streaks. *Tsamundi*'s dress is an ox-skin and black silks, her attributes are a *triśūla* and a skull-cup. The *Dharmarāja* and his *śakti* are surrounded by eight divinities; the first four we mentioned already when discussing the retinue of *mGon po zangs gri can lha bcu bdun ma*:

Name	*Attribute*
Ya ba ti	club
Phyva sangs	wheel
dMigs pa	pointed stake for empaling criminals (*gsal shing*)
Ral pa tshar dgu	short lance (*mdung thung*)
gShin rje'i pho nya	iron hook
Dus kyi zhags pa	snare of the *bdud*
Yama dandi	club
Yama dakṣdi	flaming tooth

Las gshin dmar po ma ru rtse bzhis skor ba (R, Vol. II, fol. 440 a)

A red, fierce *Yama*, armed with a sword and a "flaming wind-wheel" (*rlung gi 'khor lo 'bar ba*). He is dressed in the skins of a man and of a tiger, and stands on a buffalo. His *śakti* is the black-coloured goddess *Ekajāti*, whose dress is a human skin. She carries an iron hook and a skull-cup.

Four red deities, armed with knives as sharp as a razor, snares, and riding on birds of the kind called *bse bya* accompany this form of *Yama*. Each of them stands in connection with a particular class of demoniacal beings; they are distributed in the four directions in the following way:

East – *Srin po ma ru rtse*
South – *gShin rje ma ru rtse*
West – *bDud po ma ru rtse*
North – *gNod sbyin ma ru rtse*

Las gshin dmar po khrag mdog (R, Vol. II, fol. 443 a).

As indicated by the name, the colour of this form of *Yama* is blood-red. His right hand holds a five-pointed thunderbolt together with a human heart, and the left hand, which is in the *tarjanī-mudrā*, brandishes a snare. The deity is naked except for a loin-cloth of tiger-skin. On the left side stands the *śakti Dus mtshan ma* of a dark-red colour; her attributes are a sword and a skull-cup. She rides a mule, treading on clouds from which red lightning issues.

Las gshin lha bcu gsum,

according to a description contained in the *Zur-kha brgya rtsa.* The chief divinity of this group of thirteen gods and goddesses is *Yama*, appearing in the same form as that described under the heading *Chos rgyal las kyi gshin rje mthing ga*, only that this time his *parivāra* is different.

In the four main quarters reside:

Direction	*Name*	*Appearance*	*Attribute held in right hand*
East	*Ya ba ti*	like a king	club
South	*Phyva sangs*	minister	wheel
West	*dMigs pa*	commander	three-forked stick
North	*Ral pa tshar dgu*	messenger	short lance

These four deities are dark-blue, have one head and two arms. The objects which each of them holds with the right hand have been mentioned

above, while those held in the left hand are not specified in the text.

In the four intermediary quarters reside four *ma mo*, dark-red, of a frightening appearance, ugly, each of them holding a pair of dice in the left hand. Their names and the attributes they carry in the right hand are:

Name	*Attribute*
Ka ra ra tri	mirror of *karma*
bSod byed nag mo	sack full of diseases
Nag mo chen mo	magic ball of thread
Nam gru chen mo	magic notched stick of the *bdud*

The four gates of the *maṇḍala* are guarded by four white deities addressed as the *sgrol 'gying chen bzhi*, of a terrifying appearance:

	Attributes	
Name	*right hand*	*left hand*
Ya ma dati	hook	skull-cup
Ka la pa ṣa	snare	
Yama taṣti	skull-club	
Yama diṣti	flaming tooth	

Las kyi gshin rje

A form of *Yama* "yellow like pure gold". *Yama* has in this case the head of a fierce buffalo with horns of lapis-lazuli; flames issue from their points. He has three ferocious looking eyes, his mouth is widely opened, and he bares his teeth which are sharp like icicles. A diadem of five skulls adorns his brow, and a garland of fifty blood-dripping heads hangs around his neck. In the right hand he brandishes a club with a human skull on top and the left one, which holds a black snare, makes the *tarjanī-mudrā*. His right leg is bent – the foot treads on the head of a white lion – and the left leg is stretched out.[2]

A few additional words should be said about the various companions of *Yama*. In his form known as *Chos rgyal phyi sgrub* he is accompanied by twelve great *ma mo*. The names of eleven of these have been given by Tucci: *gShin rje'i pho nya mo, Dus kyi zhags pa ma, gShin rje dam sri ma nag mo, gShin rje sreg ma, Dus mtshan ma, gSod ma, Nag mo, Nam gru, Sha ga li, gShin rje phebs ma*, and *gShin rje mtshan mo*.[3] When comparing this list with the names of the deities belonging to the train

[2] 82, fol. 7a.
[3] *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 582.

of *Yama* and mentioned in this chapter we find, that in six cases the appellations are nearly identical.

Two well-known acolytes of *Yama* are the *Dur khrod bdag po* (Skt. *Citipati*), a pair of skeletons shown in a dancing attitude. A similar figure is the deity *Keng rus dkar mo*, "white skeleton", whose attributes are a pair of crossed thunderbolts and a bell.[4] *Yama* has also a number of stag and owl-headed spirits at his disposal, who are said to be his "emanations" and whom he dispatches as his messengers (*pho nya*). The various forms of *Yama*, the stag-headed messengers, and also the *Dur khrod bdag po* play an important part in the Tibetan religious dances (*'cham*).

After enumerating the better-known forms of *Yama* the *Rin 'byung* mentions a group of *dharmapālas* who are mainly worshiped by the *rNying ma pa*. The deities named here in the first and third places are undoubtedly forms of Yama, while the second *dharmapāla* stands in closest relation to the *Mahākāla*-group.

Dur khrod bdag po lcam dral (R, Vol. II, fol. 446 b)

"The master of the cemetery - brother and sister", or "the hero, the master of the cemetery – *śakta* and *śakti* (in sexual union)", *dPa' bo dur khrod bdag po yab yum*, are the usual forms of address of this divinity and his mate. The text, however, gives a description only of the *śakta*, a white skeleton of "a most frightening appearance". He has three eyes, wears a diadem of jewels, and the lower part of his body is covered with varicoloured silks. His attributes are the skull-club (*thod skam gyi dbyug pa*) and a *kapāla* containing blood. Both deities reside in the centre of a vehemently blazing fire and they are surrounded by countless *ḍākinīs*.

Pu tra lcam dral (R, Vol. II, fol. 450 a)

Name and appearance of this deity suggest that he is related to the group of the *Gur mgon*, especially to the divinities which we discussed when speaking about the *Gur gyi mgon po lha brgyad*. The *Pu tra lcam dral* is black, and he is accordingly addressed as the *rDo rje nag po*. His right hand lifts a chopper, the left one holds a skull-cup in front of his breast, and across his forearms lies a magic stick (*'phrul gyi gaṇḍī*), which we have already mentioned as the typical emblem carried by various forms of *Mahākāla*. The face has three eyes, the teeth are bared, the yellow hair stands on end. The dress and ornaments of *Pu tra lcam*

[4] 6, fol. 37b.

dral are a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, a garment of varicoloured silks, a crown of skulls, a garland of fifty heads, bone-ornaments, and snakes. At his right side appears a black bird, on the left side runs a black dog, in the back follows a jackal, in front walks a black man, and above soars a *khyung*.

The *śakti* of *Pu tra lcam dral* is the blue *Ekajāti*, who holds with both hands a vessel full of *amṛta*. A tiger-skin is wound around the middle of her body, and she wears a garment of white silk.

Bran bdud gshin rje nag po (R, Vol. II, fol. 456 b)

A black god, holding a black trident with four heads stuck on it and a blood-dripping heart, at which two black poisonous snakes are sucking. He stands in a dancing attitude and is dressed in a garment of black silk, held together by a girdle of snakes. On his feet he wears high boots and a *khram shing* is stuck into his girdle. *Bran bdud gshin rje nag po* is accompanied by the ash-gray *śakti lHa mo spu gri ma*. She is depicted naked, without ornaments and her hair hangs loosely down. Flames issue from her mouth, her two hands are lifted upward threateningly, and from both palms issue fire-clouds. She sits in a crouching way, turning towards her mate.

dKar mo nyi zla lcam dral (R, Vol. II, fol. 460 a)

The name of this white *dharmapāla* is derived from a necklace, consisting of a thousand suns and moons, which he wears round his neck. He lifts Mt. *Sumeru* with the right hand. In addition to the beforementioned necklace, the *dharmapāla* wears also a garland of nine hundred ninety-nine suns and moons, which are strung up in an alternating way. On his head he carries a crown of skulls with a sun and a moon on it. He is dressed in a tiger-skin and a garment of white silk, and his body is adorned with jewels and snakes.

This protector of the religious law is accompanied by a divinity called *bDud rgyal dpa' bo thod 'phreng can*, "the king of the *bdud*, the hero with a rosary of skulls", who is black and rides the black horse of the *bdud*. The second part of his name is derived from the main attribute, a rosary of human skulls, which he holds in his left hand.

CHAPTER VI

LCAM SRING

A *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, which in many of his characteristics corresponds more to the type of those protective deities who are supposed to be still residing within the wordly sphere, is the divinity *lCam sring*, "brother and sister", or *Beg tse*, "hidden coat of mail", which occupies the position of a war-god.[1] Indeed, one encounters frequently among Tibetans the opinion that *lCam sring* has risen from an existence among the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* to his present higher rank only in more recent times. This gives therefore further stress to Tucci's claim that "the late origin of this god seems to be confirmed by the fact that no trace of him is found in the most ancient liturgical handbooks".[2] Judging by a legend narrated by Grünwedel,[3] which tells about the defeat which *Beg tse* (*lCam sring*) suffered when trying to obstruct the journey of the Dalai Lama *bSod nams rgya mtsho* to Mongolia in 1575, we would have to assume that the worship of this *dharmapāla* came probably into vogue among the Tibetans only in the second half of the 16th century. Moreover, the contents of this legend also suggest that *Beg tse* was originally a pre-Buddhist deity of the Mongols, who began to be venerated by the Tibetans after *bSod nams rgya mtsho* had turned the defeated enemy of Buddhism into a protector of the Buddhist creed. The foreign origin of this war-god becomes obvious also by an analysis of *lCam sring*'s two main alternative names, *Beg tse*, "hidden shirt of mail", or *Beg tse can*, "he, who possesses a hidden shirt of mail", as had been shown recently by Tucci.[4]

On the other hand, however, a reference to the tantra *dMar po khrag mda' 'phen* contained in the collected works of *dKon mchog bstan pa'i*

[1] On *lCam sring* see, apart from the texts quoted in the list of Tibetan sources, also the works mentioned under nos. 5558/26, 5625/19, and 6935 of the Catalogue of the Tohoku University, Collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism, Sendai 1953.

[2] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 594.

[3] Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 81.

[4] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 595.

sgron me[5] mentions that this text, dealing with the performance of magic ceremonies under the auspices of *lCam sring*, is a *gter ma* or "treasure-book", which had been discovered by the *ācārya Nyi 'od grags pa*; through three generations the knowledge of this tantra came eventually to the famous *Marpa lotsāva*.[6] It seems, however, highly probable that this statement is only the invention of some later author.

Besides the names *lCam sring*, *Beg tse*, and *Beg tse can*, there are several other appellations by which this *dharmapāla* is known as well, as *Beg tse lcam dral*, "the hidden shirt of mail – brother and sister", *dGra lha'i rgyal po lcam dral*, "the king of the *dgra lha* – brother and sister", *sGrol gying chen po srog bdag beg tse can*, "the great *sgrol gying*, the life-master, he who has a hidden shirt of mail", and *gNod sbyin sgrol gying bshan pa*, "the *yakṣa*, the *sgrol gying*, the butcher".

On fol. 3b of Text no. 34 he is called a *mahā-yakṣa* (*gnod sbyin chen po*), while the same work, on fol. 4b, addresses him by the name *Chos skyong dregs pa lcam sring*; on fol. 9b he is invoked under the following titles: *dgra lha* of India, *gnas srung* of the *Ma ru rtse* country, religious guardian of Khotan, and obediant servant of *Mahādeva*. Further, on fol. 10a of the source here quoted, he is addressed as the lord-commander of all *ma mo* and of all the *btsan* who dwell in rocks, chief of the eight classes of gods and spirits, the most perfect of all the *yakṣas*, war-lord of the red *btsan*-hordes, head of all the *gshin rje*, vanquisher of the *bdud* and *rākṣasas*, butcher of enemies and *vighnas*, the one who takes away the breath of those who commit a perjury, messenger of the *yogīs*, and watchman of Buddha's teachings.

Colloquially he is often called the *Srog bdag dmar po*, "the red life-master", which usage is responsible for a great deal of confusion, since the chief acolyte of *lCam sring*, whom we shall discuss presently – and also several other divinities – bears the same name.

According to the story of *lCam sring's* legendary descent, the father of this *dharmapāla* is the *gNod sbyin zangs kyi ral pa can*, "the *yakṣa* who has locks of copper", and his mother is the goddess *Srin mo khrag gi ral pa can*, "the *rākṣasī* with the blood-locks". Their son is called in this case the *gNod sbyin chen po zangs kyi beg tse can*. The place where *lCam sring* is supposed to live is – according to Text no. 34 fol. 4b – a sea of blood, in the centre of which stands a mountain of copper. Numerous corpses of men and carcasses of horses are spread out there, and the

[5] 34.

[6] On Marpa see J. Bacot, *La vie de Marpa, le "traducteur"*. *Buddhica*, VII, Paris 1937.

blood of human beings and horses streams together forming a lake. All around lie chains of mountains, and on the peak of the central mountain is situated a "leather castle" (*bse mkhar*) of a purple-brown colour, with parapets of cornelian and pinnacles of skulls.

In other works *lCam sring* is invoked to approach from his abode on the *Ma ru rtse* cemetery, which lies in the northeastern direction. Further, in Text no. 62, on fol. 12a, the residence of *lCam sring* is described as a most terrible cemetery, where the blood of enemies had been spilt and where their flesh and brain, which had been cut to small pieces, are lying scattered around. Black clouds, consisting of the smoke which rises from burning human flesh, are gathering there, and black revived corpses, whose horrible laughter sounds afar, perform a dance at this place. Tigers, leopards, bear, wild dogs, and many other ugly, ferocious animals roam there, and smelling the stench of blood, which rises from this cemetery, they come to gnaw the corpses lying on this spot. Numerous *yakṣas* as well as "*rākṣasas* and *rākṣasīs* of the four seasons" (*dus bzhi'i srin pho mo*) roam about, searching for enemies and obstacle-creating demons. The great ferocious black cemetery-birds are flying there, as well as "leather-falcons" (*bse khra*), "falcons of conch-shell" (*dung khra*), and "iron falcons" (*lcags khra*), who screech horribly and who carry the brains of destroyed enemies in their beaks. Moreover, there are ash-coloured *rākṣasa*-birds (*srin bya*), whose ferocious laughter is a bad omen for the enemies of religion.

In the centre of this place lies a wildly excited lake formed by the blood of men and horses, and in the middle of it is situated a red, four-cornered mountain of copper, on top of which appears, emerging from a sun-lotus and standing on the corpse of a man and on the carcass of a horse, the *gNod sbyin sgrol ging bshan pa* (*lCam sring*). The colour of his body is a brilliant red, like that of a ruby, and his limbs are thick and short. His mouth is widely open and in its corners warm blood is bubbling. His tongue is rolled backward, he bares his sharp fangs of copper, and his eyebrows as well as the hair of his face are yellow-red; they are all aflame like meteors and they move with the speed of lightning. His three eyes stare full of hatred at the enemies. With his right hand he brandishes towards the sky a flaming sword of copper, with which he cuts the life-roots of enemies and *vighnas*. His left hand leads the yellow-red heart of an enemy to his mouth, clutching at the same time a bow and an arrow. In the crook of his left arm rests a stick of coral as well as a lance – "glittering like the foot of a *rākṣasa*" – with a fluttering banner of dark-red silk attached to it.

lCam sring wears on his body a cuirass of copper, a garment of red silk and a cloak made of the brownish skin of a he-goat. His headdress is a copper-helmet – from which sun-light radiates – with a turban wound around. He carries a garland of fifty freshly severed human heads, his feet are protected by high boots of red leather, and his whole figure is surrounded by purple flames.

According to a note contained in the tantra quoted above, *lCam sring* can also be depicted in the shape of a "wild *btsan*" (*btsan rgod*), in which case he rides a horse.

To the left of *lCam sring* appears usually, on top of a "sun-lotus", his sister (*sring ma*) – and simultaneously his *śakti* – the *Ma gcig srid pa'i lha mo gdong dmar ma*, also known as the *Rig pa'i lha mo gdong dmar ma*, or shortly *gDong dmar ma*, "the one with the red face". She has the appearance of a *rākṣasī* and her body is dark-blue, like the colour of rain-clouds. Her leathery face is red and flames issue from it. She wrinkles her forehead angrily, her mouth is open, and her tongue is rolled backward. She bares her four sharp teeth of conch-shell, with which she chews a corpse. Her eyebrows consist of blue turquoise. Her bloodshot eyes stare at her enemies. Her red, flame-like locks are in plaits and bound to a tuft, which is adorned with a conch-shell and with precious stones of the kind called *mu men*. She has golden earrings. With her right hand the goddess *gDong dmar ma* points a sharp sword of copper towards the enemies, and with her left she thrusts a *phur bu* of meteoric iron at the *vighnas*. Her breasts are fully developed, and she is adorned with skulls, freshly severed heads, and bone-ornaments. She is dressed in a human skin and rides a man-eating black bear. – According to a work composed by the *Paṇ chen bla ma Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan pa'i nyi ma*, quoted by Tucci,[7] her mount is, however, a lioness treading upon a prostrate man.

To the right of the chief deity stands the *las mkhan Srog bdag dmar po*, "the red master of life", also called the *Las mkhan dmar po*, "the red officer", or, by his full name, *Las mkhan chen po srog bdag ma rungs pa gying chen dregs pa'i rgyal po*, "the great officer, the atrocious life-master, the great *gying*, the king of the *dregs pa*". His mouth is widely open, he bares his teeth, and eats the red flesh of enemies. He wears a coat of mail and a helmet, his right hand holds a red lance, and the left one thrusts a red snare of the *btsan* at the enemies quickly like an arrow; his mount is a wolf. Text no. 48 (fols. 29b-31a) gives a somewhat different descrip-

[7] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 594–596.

tion of *Srog bdag dmar po*. Here he is described as a god with a leathery face and black like rain-clouds. His eyebrows are of turquoise, his teeth are made of conch-shells, and his hair is aflame. He brandishes a sword of copper – just like *lCam sring* himself –, he thrusts a *phur bu* of iron against the obstacle-creating demons, and he rides on a mad jackal. He can, however, also ride on a billy-goat, according to a statement contained in Text no. 48 (fol. 10a).

In the "inner circle" of *lCam sring*'s *parivāra* appear eight deities, known as the *gri thogs bshan pa brgyad*, "the eight butchers who wield swords", or as the *srog gcod kyi gying brgyad*, "the eight life-cutting *gying*". They are all depicted as fright-inspiring ugly men of a red colour, who have the form of fierce *gshin rje*. They are naked, their dark-brown hair is thrown backward, and the penis of each stands erect. Each of them holds a sword of copper in his right hand and a skull-cup, full of brain and blood, in the left one. They devour the flesh, blood and the "life-breath" (*srog dbugs*) of enemies. The names – alternative ways of spelling are indicated in brackets – and the distribution of these eight deities are as follows:

Direction	*Name*
East	*Mi dmar khra ma*
South	*Ri tsi mi dmar*
West	*Kro ti* (or *dhi*) *mi dmar*
North	*Srog bdag ko 'o sha* (*Srog bdag ko sha*, *Srog bdag ko shing*)
Southeast	*Am kri mi dmar*
Southwest	*Ro kri mi dmar*
Northwest	*Ha* (or *ham*) *shang mi dmar* (*Ha sham mi dmar*)
Northeast	*Srog bdag thal ba*

In the retinue of *lCam sring* appears further the group of the "twenty-one butchers" (*bshan pa nyer gcig*). They are red, dressed in human skins and hides of oxen, and wear skulls and ornaments of human bone. Each of them brandishes skyward with his right hand a sword of copper, while the left hand twists bowels. They all take away the "life-breath" of enemies. The names of these twenty-one deities are:

gShan pa ma ru rtse
Srog bdag bdud kyi bu (*Srog gcod bdud kyi bu*)
bSe bdud ngu ru ki (*bSe bdud ngu ru keng*)
Srin po mi zan
gShin stag 'thab (*gShin rje brag thabs*)

Srin po mi ring (*Srin po mi rengs*)
Sog po sha zan
Mi dmar gshar pa (*Mi dmar bshan pa*)
Tkeb 'mying pa rdeg (*Tho ba gyid bdag*)
Dung gi rdo rje
sGrol ging dbang sdu (*sGrol ging dbang bsdud*)
Ging chen sna khrid (*Gying chen sna 'khrid*)
rDo rje ging chen (*rDo rje gying chen*)
Srog bdag la li pa (*Srog bdag la li*)
gShan pa mi zan (*bShan pa mi zan*)
'Jigs byed rdo rje
Shug sgrogs mgyogs byed (*Shugs sgal? mgyogs byed*)
Legs nyes stangs 'dzin
bDud po sha zan
gShin rje stag mgo can
gShan pa sku mdog can (*bShan pa glang mgo can*)

Some of these are said to nibble at a heart, a lung, or a liver, others sip heart-blood and brains, claw the blood-covered flesh, gnaw at bones and feet, draw gory skins, and spread out pieces of red flesh as a carpet.

There are numerous other beings who, too, accompany this *dharmapāla* huge red yak-bulls with horns of thunderbolts, who are strong like dragons and who trot quickly like a cloud; red sheep with golden eyes and horns of saphire; black *ma mo* with a pale mouth and a white crown of the head; red billy-goats with horns of malachite; excellent red horses with yellow-red muzzles and flying manes, which rush away with the speed of wind; red *btsan*-birds, which soar like the *khyung;* red men, full of strength, who have the appearance of *rākṣasas* and who run quickly like lightning; falcons, cemetery-birds (*dur bya*), owls (*srin bya*), stags, tigers, leopards, and brown and yellow bear.

A popular Tibetan tradition claims that the owl sometimes serves as the mount of *lCam sring*. To hear the voice of an owl is generally regarded as a very bad omen. Only for those persons who regard *lCam sring* as their special guardian-god, the call of the owl is said to be an auspicious sign.

CHAPTER VII

PE HAR AND COMPANIONS

According to the conception of the *dGe lugs pa*, the main place among the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* is assigned to the *dharmapāla Pe har*, who occupies, however, a somewhat inferior position with the other sects of Tibetan Buddhism. Thus e.g. the clergy of the *rNying ma pa* sect classifies some of the most important protective deities into the following nine groups:

1. A trinity of deities, comprising the *dharmapālas Ma mo ekajāti*, the planetary god *Rāhu* (*gZa' chen rāhu*) – whom the *rNying ma pa* regard as a god still residing within the wordly sphere – and further *Dam can rdo rje legs pa*. These three are jointly called the *Ma gza' dam gsum*.
2. Next in rank is *dBang phyug chen po* (Skt. *Mahā-Īśvara*), a deity of Indian origin, whom the *rNying ma pa* regard as an "emanation" of *Buddha Amitābha*. He is believed to be a *nor lha*, a "god of wealth". *dBang phyug chen po* belongs, however, to the class of the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*.
3. The goddess *Nyi ma gzhon nu* is worshiped as a powerful guardian of religion especially by the *rDzogs chen pa* sect. She is depicted as a one-headed and two-handed figure of a white or saffron-yellow colour. Her attributes are a divination-arrow and a flat pan full of jewels. She has no mount.
4. Next to her in rank stands *gNyan chen thang lha*, said to be the most important of all the numerous mountain-gods worshiped in Tibet.
5. The group of the *sKu lnga* led by *Pe har*, which occupies the foremost position with the *dGe lugs pa*, is named by the *rNying ma pa* only in the fifth place. The explanation given for this strange classification is that *Pe har* and his companions were originally foreign deities, and, though they occupy about the same rank as *gNyan chen thang lha* and the goddess *Nyi ma gzhon nu*, precedence is given to the latter two divinities since they are deities of purely Tibetan origin.

6. The *yakṣa Tsi'u dmar po*, in spite of his appellation "*yakṣa*", one of the most important *btsan*.
7. The goddess *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* and her eleven companions, who are jointly known as the *brTan ma* (or *bsTan ma*) *bcu gnyis*. Some Tibetans regard the above-named goddess as the chief of this group, while others claim that the highest one among these twelve divinities is the goddess *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*.
8. The *Dur khrod bdag po*, a pair of skeletons appearing in the retinue of *Yama*. The *rNying ma pa* and also the *Sa skya pa* classify the *Dur khrod bdag po* among the more important *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*.
9. The last place in this classification is occupied by numerous mountain-gods, led by *rMa chen spom ra* and *Yar lha sham po*.

The *rDzogs chen pa* sect, though recognizing apparently the above classification, has nevertheless several special protective deities supposed to be guarding the particular teachings and institutions of this sect; one of the more important among these *dharmapālas* is the *rDzogs chen pa'i gter bdag*, "the treasure-master of the *rDzogs chen pa* sect", also called the *gTer bdag chen po gshog rgod rtsal*. His residence is believed to be a temple of lead, which lies in the eastern direction. The god is dark-blue, his attributes are a thunderbolt and a heart, and he is dressed in a voluminous cloak. The headdress of *gTer bdag chen po gshog rgod rtsal* is a turban of multicoloured silks, and on his feet he wears high boots with a covering of heavy silk. His mount is a white lion, and he dispatches three hundred sixty messengers: "officers", armoured riders and the "great *ging*".

The origin and iconography of *Pe har*,[1] the chief *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* according to the teachings of the *dGe lugs pa*, had already been the subject of several studies.[2] The figure of this important *dharmapāla* presents indeed a great number of questions, some of which have been answered satisfactorily, while many others still await solution, which in a few points will perhaps never be achieved, as the roots of these problems have to be followed up into the obscurity enshrouding the early history of Tibet. It would lead too far to deal here in detail with all the material on *Pe har* and his companions which had so far been published, and we

[1] Apart from the texts on *Pe har* and his companions mentioned in the list of Tibetan sources, see also the works quoted under nos. 5625/18, 5625/67, 5625/69, 5625/87, 5816, 6216, 6217 and 6249 of the Tohoku Catalogue.

[2] See the list of sources in R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Das tibetische Staatsorakel,' *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, III, Wien 1948, pp. 136–155.

shall limit therefore the present study to a short outline of the conclusions reached so far, endeavouring, however, as well to offer some new material on this interesting subject, especially in regard to the iconography of *Pe har* and his retinue.

The spelling of the name *Pe har* is not uniform, and though the form which will be applied throughout this book is frequently encountered in Tibetan works, the appellation of this *dharmapāla* is also frequently given as *dPe kar*, *Pe dkar*, *sPe dkar*, *dPe dkar*, *Be dkar*, *dPe ha ra*, and *Pe ha ra.* Other names of this deity are *Chos skyong ba'i rgyal po*, "king of the *dharmapālas*", *Chos skyong chen mo* (or *po*), "great *dharmapāla*", *'Phrin las rgyal po*, "the *karma*-king", *dKor bdag rgyal po*, "the king (or *rgyal po* demon), the treasure-master" – a title given to him on account of the position he occupied at Samye (*bSam yas*) –, *Srog bdag dkar po*, "the white master of life", further *sKye bo yongs kyi dgra lha*, "*dgra lha* of all men", and *Zhal gsum mi bo che* or *Zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che*, "the great (superior) man with the three faces". According to Text no. 31 (fol. 4b) *Pe har* is given three different names when assuming the following forms: as a *rgyal po* demon he is addressed as the *Pe dkar chen po*, as a *chos rgyal* (Skt. *dharmarāja*) his name is *dGra lha chen po*, and in the *srog bdag* form his appellation is *Tshangs pa dkar po. Pe har* is also called occasionally the *Dam can shel ging dkar po* and *dGra lha'i rgyal po gnas chung.* He is the chief of all the *rgyal po* demons, who are divided into two main groups, the *rgyal chen* and the *rgyal phran*, the "great" and the "minor *rgyal*", each group numbering three hundred sixty members.

By adherents of the Bon faith *Pe har* is sometimes called the *Zhang zhung gi srung ma*, "the guardian-god of the *Zhang zhung* country", which is according to Bon tradition one of the areas where the Bon took its origin.

A number of names by which *Pe har* is supposed to be known in various countries are mentioned on fol. 3a of Text no. 32: in the language of India he is called the *Rāja shel ging dkar po*, and in the tongue of the *ḍākinīs* his name is *Rāja chen po*. In the country of *Mar pa*[3] he is addressed in the *Mar pa* language as the *g.Ya' spang mtshams kyi skyes gcig po*, in the land of the *rākṣasas* his name is *Glang gi rāja*, the inhabitants of Minyag (*Mi nyag*) call him in their idiom *Rāja zla ba*, and in Nepal he is supposed to be known by the name *Sa yi rāja.* The Chinese are said to call him *'Dun rāja ha*, and in the language of Hor (*Hor*) his appellation

[3] Apparently *Mar yul* is meant; regarding this term see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, p. 15.

is *Rāja shing bya dkar po*. Similarly, Text no. 177[4] claims that in India *Pe'har* was called *Ekadara skyes cig po*, and in *Zhang zhung* he was known as the *gTsang gi khu le lag dgu*. *Padmasambhava* gave him the secret name *dBang phyug ye shes mgon*, and the *lha* called him *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can*.

The history of *Pe har*'s acceptance into the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism is most complex, and there are several versions explaining in which way the cult of this deity began to be practised in the Land of Snows. According to one – rather artificial – conception, *Pe har* had resided originally at *Za hor* in Bengal, the alleged birth-place of *Padmasambhava*, from where he eventually reached Tibet. Another version claims that *Pe har*, after residing at *Za hor*, transfered his seat to a monastery or "meditation-school" (*sgom grva*) at *Bhata Hor* or *'Bandha Hor*, situated in the country of the Uigurs (*Yu gur*), or, more precisely: in the territory of northern *Mi nyag*, as had been shown recently by Stein in his valuable treatise on the history of *Mi nyag* and *Si hia*.[5] At *Bhata Hor* the *dharmapāla* exercised his power as a tutelary deity of the Hor tribes, to whom he is supposed to have been known under the name *Pho lha gnam theb dkar po*. Again, there are several versions of this name: *gNam thib dkar po*, "the white, clouded sky", *gNam lha dkar po*, "the white sky-god", *gNam rde'u dkar po*, *gNam sde dkar po*, *gNam thel dkar po*, *gNam the dkar po*, and *gNam the'u dkar po*. The three last names refer to the *the*, *the'u*, or *the'u rang*, a class of ancient Tibetan divinities which we shall discuss later on.

Under the name *lHa chen gnam the dkar po* this ancient form of *Pe har* is still being worshiped as a local protective deity, though the work containing the description of this god does not expressly mention the particular place which the *lHa chen gnam the dkar po* is supposed to be guarding.[6] He is described as a god of a proud bearing and smiling angrily. His body, which is white like snow, is protected by a cuirass. A helmet consisting of jewels covers his head. *gNam the dkar po* wears high riding-boots and carries a battle-lance and a divination-arrow. He is accompanied by a local protective deity, the *dregs pa'i sde dpon rGyal chen bsod nams dpal*, a fierce red-coloured figure, dressed in a human skin and wearing a red turban. *rGyal chen bsod nams dpal* is armed with a battle-lance, a bow, and an arrow. His *śakti* is called *sMan dkar gdong ma*. – In another case *gNam the dkar po* is described as wearing a cloak

[4] Fols. 5b–6a.
[5] Stein, 'Mi-ñag et Sihia', p. 252.
[6] 55.

with blue spots, of the kind called *za 'og ber*. He rides on a white horse and brandishes a sword of crystal. The Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum* mentions him on fol. 188 as an illness-bringing god.

gNam the dkar po is usually named together with two other divinities, known as *Sa the(l) nag po*, "the black earth-*the(l)*" – who is seven-headed (***Sa the nag po mgo bdun pa***) –, and ***Bar the(l) khra bo***, "the spotted *the(l)* of the sphere lying in-between". The latter two gods are mentioned on fol. 212b of the ***gTsang ma klu 'bum*** under the names ***Bar thil khra bo*** and ***Sa thil smug po***.

This threefold division shows some similarity to a classification contained in the Chronicle of the fifth Dalai Lama, which claims that three "royal demons" (*'dre rgyal*) of a white, black, and yellow colour existed in the country of the *Yu gur* out of whom one – and apparently the white one is meant – was eventually transfered to Tibet under the name *Pe har* or *Pe dkar*.[7] – I may add here that I have come across an oral tradition claiming that not *Pe har* but rather his "chief minister" *rDo rje grags ldan*, whose position and iconography we shall discuss presently, was originally identical with the ancient deity known as *gNam the dkar po*, or that both *Pe har* and *rDo rje grags ldan* were in the beginning deities who had their seat at *Bhata Hor*, from where they later reached Tibet.

Work no. 32 (fol. 2a) mentions the names of *Pe har*'s parents: his father *gNam lha dkar po (byang chub)* – also called *gNam lha byang chub* or *gNam gyi dkar po* – and his mother the *klu mo dByings khyug nor 'dzin ma*, or shortly *Klu mo nor 'dzin ma*. In the Text no. 176 (fol. 2b) her name is, however, given as *Shug lcam rgyal mo*, a term identical with that which had been published by Tucci.[8] Two other names are given in a work describing the arrangements which have to be made for offering the "thread-cross of the *rgyal po* demons" (*rgyal mdos*). When speaking about the legendary parents of the *rgyal po* figure, which stands in the centre of all the offerings and effigies – apparently *Pe har* himself, compare with the description on p. 377 –, the father of the *rgyal po* is called politely the *Chu srin pa'i rgyal po lags*, "the respected king of the *makaras*", and the mother the *Klu yi bu mo mgo dgu ma*, "the nine-headed *nāga*-girl".[9] Another work, however, also giving instructions about the offering of a *rgyal mdos*, alleges that the father of *Pe har* – the latter bears here his alternative name *Shel ging dkar po* – was called *gNam*

[7] Stein, 'Mi-ñag et Sihia', p. 249.

[8] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 736.

[9] 127.

gyi yo cha dkar po chen po, while his mother was the *g. Yu'i sman gcig ma.*[10]

According to Tibetan conception the positions which *Pe har* is supposed to have occupied at various periods of time are as follows: in the past, *Pe har* resided in the height of the blue sky, and at that time he was the *Tshangs pa*, known as "the one who has a toupet of hair with a conch-shell in it" (*dung gi thor tshugs can*). At that time he was the ruler of the thirty-three gods. In the middle-*kalpa*, he dwelled in the country of Hor, where he was known as the *Shel ging dkar po*, and at that time he ruled the meditation-school of *Bhata Hor*, where he was venerated as a figure wearing a characteristic hat of leather. At last, he descended upon the land of the Tibetans, taking his residence at Samye, from where he began to rule over the whole of Tibet.

Text no. 176 (fol. 2b) gives a similar account: out of the union of *gNam gyi dkar po* with the goddess *Shug lcam rgyal mo* a son originated, known as the *brGya byin dkar po*, who went to the eastern country of Hor, where he became known as the *gNam lha dkar po*. After having taken his residence in the meditation-school of *Bhata Hor*, he received there the name *Srog bdag dkar po*. Then, in the last *kalpa*, when on the red rock of Samye numerous shrines and *stūpas* were erected by king *Khri srong lde'u btsan* and the *slob dpon Padmasambhava*, he became – after the meditation-school of *Bhata Hor* had been conquered – a guardian of the monastery's treasures and scriptures and resided in the northeastern *dPe kar gling*.

We encounter here therefore two diverging claims, one of them alleging that *Pe har* was originally a form of *Tshangs pa* or *Brahmā*, and the second one suggesting, by giving him the name *brGya byin*, that he was identical with *Indra*. In this context we have to mention that *brGya byin dkar po* or *gNam gyi brgya byin dkar po* is, too, a member of a triad, the other two divinities being *Sa yi brgya byin nag po*, "the black *brGya byin* of the earth", and *Bar snang brgya byin khra bo*, "the spotted *brGya byin* of the sphere in-between". We find here, therefore, once more the threefold division which we have just discussed; another source, however, mentions even a group of nine *brGya byin*. When describing presently the various companions or "emanations" (*sprul pa*) of *Pe har*, we shall encounter the name *brGya byin* once more. It has been stated elsewhere that under *brGya byin*, "the hundred-giver", the Indian deity *Indra-śatakratu* is to be understood;[11] though the name *Indra* is usually

[10] 177, fol. 5a.

[11] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 163; Csoma de Körös (ed. E. Denison Ross and M. S. Ch. Vidyabhusana), 'Sanscrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, being an edition and

rendered in Tibetan texts as *brGya byin*, I hesitate to identify the particular form of *Pe har* with this Indian deity, as it appears to me that we have actually to differentiate between the above-mentioned groups of probably ancient Tibetan deities and the god *Indra*, for whom the same name is being used. It seems to me that in this case, as in several others, an old Tibetan name had been adopted as the appellation of an Indian deity introduced by the Buddhists, and it would not seem improbable that some of the early translators, when creating Tibetan terms for the gods and goddesses of Indian origin, occasionally used already existing Tibetan words which were originally the appellations of divinities belonging to the pantheon of pre-Buddhist Tibet.

The transfer of *Pe har* from *Bhata Hor* to Samye, one of the oldest monasteries in Central Tibet and his first residence within the borders of the Land of Snows, is again being explained by the Tibetan sources in several different ways. One of these accounts claims that, after building Samye monastery, *Padmasambhava* decided to appoint a deity as guardian of the shrine's treasures. He addressed himself first to a king of the *klu*, named *Zur phud lnga pa*, "the one with five toupets of hair"[12] – a deity mostly identified with the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha* –, who refused, however, this position. Then *Padmasambhava* himself, in accordance with a suggestion of *Zur phud lnga pa*, went to *Hor* (*Mi nyag*) with an army, bringing eventually the deity, which became from then on known as *Pe har*.[13]

A more detailed version of this legend has been given by Tucci.[14] This legend brings *Pe har* into connection with *rNam thos sras* and his eight companions, the *rta bdag brgyad*. This tradition claims that *rNam thos*

translation of the Mahāvyutpatti,' *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IV, no. 2, p. 161, *mChod sbyin brgya pa* = Śatakratuh.

12 The name *Klu'i rgyal po zur phud lnga pa* occurs also on fol. 73b of the Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. This book mentions various other kings of the water-spirits, each of them possessing characteristic toupets. On fols. 58a–59a of the latter work are enumerated the following eight kings of the *klu*:

Direction	*Colour*	*Toupets*
East	white	one toupet of conch-shells
South	blue	two toupets of turquoise
West	red	three toupets of copper
North	green	four toupets of red and green jewels
Northeast	red	five toupets of coral
Southeast	like iron	six toupets of iron
Southwest	azure-blue	seven toupets of pearls
Northwest	like five kinds of jewels	eight toupets of *gzi* and cornelian

13 Stein, Mi-ñag et Sihia p. 249.

14 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 734.

sras had lent his support to prince *Mu rug btsan po*[15] who conquered with the help of this deity China, Hor, and *Gru gu*. In the course of one of these war-expeditions *Pe har* was put to flight. He tried to escape, having changed his body into that of a vulture, but he was brought down by an arrow released by a *yakṣa* in the retinue of *rNam thos sras*. The latter then conveyed *Pe har* to Samye. This is not the only instance in which *Pe har* is supposed to have changed into a bird, since on another occasion he is said to have assumed the shape of a white dove. According to the source quoted by Tucci the above story about *Pe har*'s transfer to Tibet was in vogue in the *lJang* country. To this we have to add that, according to a Tibetan popular belief, *Pe har* had acted at one time as the personal protective deity of the king *Sa tham* of *lJang*, who was defeated by the legendary hero-king *Ge sar* of *Gling*.[16] In order not to displease *Pe har* by reminding him of the defeat he had suffered, it is forbidden to sing the *Ge sar* epos at Nechung (*gNas chung*) monastery, *Pe har*'s present main seat, and also not at the neighbouring Drepung monastery (*'Bras spungs dgon pa*). This verifies an observation made by Waddell,[17] though the latter author gives a different reason for this peculiar prohibition, claiming that *Pe har* had been subjugated by *Ge sar* while being a deity of the "Turki" tribes. It should be mentioned in this context that the part of the *Ge sar* epos which tells about the fight of the king of *Gling* against the ruler of the Mon country, *Mon shing khri rgyal po*, contains the account of a similar defeat which another royal tutelary deity had suffered. The protective spirit of this Mon king was a *the'u rang* – we may recall here that in his early form *gNam the dkar po*, *Pe har* was a member of this class of demons – named *The'u rang rkang gcig*, "the one-legged *the'u rang*". He is said to have put up a fierce fight against the adversary of his protégé, trying to frighten him by causing various apparitions and mirages. All his endeavours, however, proved of no avail and he, too, was eventually subdued by *Ge sar*. According to Tibetan belief also *The'u rang rkang gcig* was nobody else than *Pe har* himself.[18]

Tucci, in his magnificent work, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, gives yet another version of *Pe har's* transfer to Tibet:[19] *Padmasambhava* compelled *Pe har* by means of supernatural forces to leave his abode and to come to

[15] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 735, 742 (note 62).
[16] On *Ge sar* see G. N. Roerich, 'The epic of King Kesar of Ling,' *JASB*, VIII 7, Calcutta 1942, pp. 277–311, and the sources quoted there.
[17] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, London 1895, p. 478.
[18] Compare also Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 719.
[19] II, p. 643.

Tibet. The god obeyed and, mounting a wooden bird studded with jewels, travelled to the Snowy Land in the company of numerous other supernatural beings. After *Pe har* had reached his destination, *Padmasambhava* placed a thunderbolt on the crown of his head, thus turning *Pe har* into a *dharmapāla*. – I have heard from Tibetans the same legend, their account diverging only in the claim that *Pe har* and his companions were subdued for the first time by the *yi dam rTa mgrin* and that *Padmasambhava* only renewed and strengthened the oath by which they had been bound to protect the Buddhist religion in Tibet.

According to another legend *Pe har* came to the Snowy Land on the occasion when a messenger had been dispatched from Tibet to *Bhata Hor*, in order to obtain there an image of turquoise.[20]

An interesting account of the origin of *Pe har* and his stay in Samye is being told in the work quoted in the list of Tibetan sources under no. 100 fol. 13a. According to this text *Pe har* was originally called *Bi har rgyal po*, and he was born from one of thirteen eggs which had been produced by a white *klu mo* inhabiting lake Manasarovar (*Ma dros mtsho*). At that time he had a human body, but the head of a *khyung*. Later he came to stay at *Bhata Hor*, and after his arrival in Samye he was called the *dKor bdag rgyal chen bi ha ra*; here he acted as a guard of this holy place and its treasures (*gnas dang nor srung*).

And lastly an account of *Pe har*'s transfer to Tibet should be mentioned, which is contained in the introduction to the Narthang (*sNar thang*) edition of the *bKa' 'gyur*; a translation of this passage has already been published by Thomas.[21] The text claims that after the destruction of the "meditation school" of *Bhata Hor* by Tibetan troops, *Pe har* – or perhaps rather a medium of the *dharmapāla* residing at this shrine – was taken by the victors to their homeland. They also carried away a number of sacred objects, which had formed a part of the shrine's treasures.

The Tibetan sources mention especially that a miraculous image of turquoise, a lion of crystal, a wooden bird, and a leather-mask (*bse 'bag*) were some of the objects kept at the residence of *Pe har* at *Bhata Hor*.[22] Surprisingly enough, according to information received from members of the Tibetan Government, some of the treasures which are supposed to have been brought from *Bhata Hor* to Samye are still being preserved in the latter monastery. As to the images, they seem to be kept, together with various instruments used in the early days of *Pe har*'s worship at

20 Stein, 'Mi-ñag et Sihia', p. 249.
21 Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts*, p. 300.
22 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 643.

Samye – e.g. a basin of turquoise (*g.yu'i gshong pa*) and a "coral-tree" (*byi ru sdong po*) –, in a room of the building known as the *Pe har gling* or *Pe dkar gling*. This was the house where formerly the treasure of the monastery was stored, and where in ancient times *Pe har* is supposed to have resided exercising his function as *dKor bdag rgyal po*, guarding the monastery's possessions. The objects stored here nowadays are being kept under the seal of the Lhasa Government, and the permission to see them is being granted only very rarely.

The ancient mask which is called a *bse 'bag*[23] or "leather-mask" – also known among the Tibetans as the *srid pa'i smug chung* or *bse 'bag smug po*, "the purple-brown leather-mask"– is at present kept in a building at Samye, known as the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang*. We shall deal later on with the legends concerning the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang* and for the time being it may suffice to say that the mask is to be found in the *mgon khang* – the chapel where the worship of the *dharmapālas* takes place – called in this instance *Tsi'u dmar mgon khang*, which is situated on the lower floor of this edifice. A great number of old masks, representing the faces of various protective deities, is being preserved in this room. Most of the masks are fastened to the horizontal beams forming a part of the ceiling. The *srid pa'i smug chung* is, however, kept apart, thoroughly wrapped in cloth, inside a small wooden chest. Its lock is secured by a seal of the Tibetan Government. So far only a few high dignitaries of the Tibetan state and church have been allowed to examine closely this sacred mask. The chest is said to have been opened for the last time when *Rva sgreng rin po che*,[24] the ill-fated former Regent of Tibet, paid a visit to Samye. On this day the chest was unlocked and the mask – after ceremonial scarfs had been draped all around it – was shown to the Regent and his suite. One of the Tibetan officials who saw the mask on this occasion gave me the following description: the *srid pa'i smug chung* has the normal size of the masks used by the lamas in their religious dances. It has a rather old appearance. It shows the face of a ferocious demon, with three eyes and a widely opened mouth. My informant was under the impression that the mask was made of strips of cloth, which had been covered with glue and then pressed together, a technique sometimes applied for the manufacture of Tibetan masks. This observation stands

[23] In Tucci's *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 742, note 64, the *bse 'bag* is, however, mentioned as "the leather-mask of *gNod sbyin brTse dmar*".

[24] On the events which lead to the death of *Rva sgreng rin po che* (Reting Rimpoche) see A. de Riencourt, *Lost world: Tibet, key to Asia*, London 1950, and H. Harrer, *Sieben Jahre in Tibet*, Wien 1952.

of course in contradiction to the statement of the written sources, which speak about a leather-mask. On the other hand a popular tradition claims that coagulated blood was used to make this mask. The strong magic powers which the *bse 'bag* is supposed to possess make it sometimes appear that its features become alive, the eyes suddenly beginning to roll, and drops of blood becoming visible on its surface. I have heard, however, also the opinion expressed that the mask preserved in the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang* is no longer the original mask brought from *Bhata Hor*, but a replica which had been made at the time of *dGe 'dun grub pa* (1391–1474).

Pe har is believed to have stayed at Samye for seven centuries, moving eventually under the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho* (1617–1682) to his present residence at the Nechung monastery near Drepung. The way and manner in which he reached his present abode are being explained by a legend. There are again several versions of this tradition. Some of these have already been published previously. We shall reproduce here four versions, which had so far remained unrecorded and which differ somewhat from the accounts given previously.

After residing at Samye for many centuries, *Pe har* is supposed to have moved to the monastery of *Tshal gung thang* (*chos 'khor gling*)[25] or shortly *Gung thang*, an establishment of the *rNying ma pa* sect lying on the bank of the Kyichu (*sKyid chu*)[26] river, about half a stage to the east of Lhasa (*lHa sa*). During his stay at *Tshal gung thang*, *Pe har* began to quarrel with a learned priest of this monastery named *Bla ma zhang* – *Bla ma zhang tshal ba* according to the *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* –, who for some reason had taken a strong antipathy towards this *dharmapāla*. It thus happened that, when a new monastery was built under the direction of *Bla ma zhang*, the latter ordered the painters, who were designing the frescoes inside the new shrine, not to paint a single picture of *Pe har*. The god, angered by this insult, decided to take revenge and, assuming the form of a boy,[27] began to assist the painters in their work in a most obliging way. The artists were very pleased with their young helpmate,

[25] *Pag sam jon zang*, Calcutta 1908, p. 309; Tucci (*Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 652) mentions that this temple was built by *brTson grags* of *Zhang* (perhaps identical with the *Bla ma zhang*).

[26] On the spelling of this name see G. Tucci, *Tibetan folksongs from the district of Gyantse*, *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum VII, Ascona 1949, p. 45; the spelling *sKyid chu* is also given on p. 312 of the *Pag sam jon zang*.

[27] The story of *Pe har* assuming human shape is also mentioned on p. 80 (Vol. I) of Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals; see also p. 253 of the same work (transformation of *dPe dkar* into a whirlwind).

and when their work neared completion, they asked the boy how they could reward him for his help. The boy then replied that his only wish would be that they should paint somewhere on a wall of the shrine the small figure of a monkey holding a burning incense-stick in its hand. The painters readily complied with this strange request. One night, after all the work in the temple had been finished, *Pe har* slipped into the shape of the painted monkey, and with the burning incense-stick he set the whole sanctuary on fire.

Infuriated by the destruction of the shrine, *Bla ma zhang* performed a special magic rite and thus succeeded in bringing *Pe har* into his power. He compelled then the *dharmapāla* to enter a *rgyal mdos*, a thread-cross made for deities of the *rgyal po* class. Having caught the god in this contraption, the lama locked the thread-cross in a box, which he threw into the nearby Kyichu river. The box was quickly swept away by the current, and when reaching the neighbourhood of Drepung, one of the four abbots of this greatest Tibetan monastery espied the casket which was just drifting past. As he recognized by means of his supernatural powers that *Pe har* had been imprisoned in this box, he ordered a priest to pull it out of the water and to bring it immediately into the monastery. The lama succeeded in retrieving the casket, but while carrying it became overwhelmed by curiosity and lifted its lid. At once the imprisoned *dharmapāla* escaped, and assuming the shape of a beautiful white dove flew to a nearby birch (*gro ba shing*), where he vanished. Later the Nechung monastery was built around this tree. *Pe har* began to manifest himself from now on at this place, assuming possession of the body of a priest, who was eventually appointed to the office of a state oracle by the fifth Dalai Lama.

A second account has it that the fifth Dalai Lama himself, while staying one day at Drepung, saw from the window of his room the box in which *Pe har* was imprisoned drifting down the Kyichu river. He ordered the abbot of the *bDe yangs* college of Drepung to run down to the stream to pull the casket out of the water and to bring it into his presence, but he strictly prohibited the abbot from opening the box, whatever might happen. The priest succeeded in recovering the object from the river, but while carrying it towards the monastery his load grew gradually heavier and heavier. Becoming curious, the abbot lifted the lid of the box a little, but at this moment a pidgeon flew out of the casket and headed for a nearby tree. Frightened, the abbot ran back to the monastery to report his mishap to the Dalai Lama, who reproached him severely when hearing what had happened. He then ordered a shrine to be built around

this tree and out of this first edifice in the course of time a whole monastery developed.

According to a third account *Pe har* moved to his present residence to fulfil a promise he had made to one of the chief disciples of *Tsong kha pa* and the first abbot of Drepung, *'Jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis* (1379–1449), whom the *dharmapāla* is supposed to have assured that he would protect this great monastery which at that time was being built (1416).

A tradition, which an official of the Tibetan Government claimed to be the correct version about the origin of the Nechung monastery, relates that not *Pe har* personally had moved from Samye to *Tshal gung thang*, but only his "emanation", the "chief minister" *rDo rje grags ldan*. The latter had hoped to become an important and honoured protective deity of this monastery, and he began therefore to manifest himself at *Tshal gung thang*, causing various apparitions before the eyes of the lamas. The monks were, however, rather displeased with the troublesome *dharmapāla*, and instead of inviting him to take up his residence at their monastery, they abused him calling him a *'dre ngan*, an evil spirit. Finally, as even insults did not suffice to drive him away, they exorcised *rDo rje grags ldan*, forcing him to enter a wooden box which they threw then into the river.

After the box had been opened by a lama, who had recovered it from the water and was carrying it towards Drepung monastery, *rDo rje grags ldan* escaped and vanished in a tree, around which later on the Nechung shrine was built. Its priests after some time decided that, since they had already the "chief minister" of the *sKu lnga* group dwelling in their shrine, they had better invite the head of this group of *dharmapālas* as well. *Pe har* complied with their request and moved soon afterwards from Samye to Nechung.

As regards the versions of the legends which had been recorded by other authors, we may mention shortly that according to Waddell[28] an inhabitant of *Tshal gung thang* became possessed by *Pe har*, and after he had fallen into a death-like state was laid into a box, which was thrown into the Kyichu. The box was eventually recovered from the water by monks from Drepung, and after the box had been opened, a flame shot out of it and then vanished in a nearby tree, while the man lying in the casket recovered his senses and was brought by the lamas to their monastery. Lastly, after *Pe har*'s shrine had been built, this man became the deity's first medium at its new abode. – According to another account *Pe har*, after escaping from the box, jumped on a nearby tree

28 *Buddhism*, p. 479.

shouting "Nechung, Nechung" (*gNas chung* = "small place"). From this exclamation the name of the new monastery is supposed to have been derived.[29]

Before discussing the iconography of this important *dharmapāla* and that of his companions, a few words should be said about the meaning of the appellation *Pe har*. The derivation of this name seems to have been at last established, as Tibetan sources, which have been made available recently, indicate that the word *Pe har* = *Bi har* (*rgyal po*) was derived from Skt. *vihāra*, "monastery";[30] the forms *Bi har rgyal po* and *Pe ha ra* for *Pe har* occur also frequently in the Tibetan works quoted in this chapter. Apparently, the originally foreign deity received this appellation after assuming the new function as protector of the treasury at Samye. Though the question of the origin of the *dharmapāla*'s name seems to have been solved, it should be mentioned nevertheless that attempts had also been made to derive the word *Pe har* from the Turkish *bäg*, further from the Chinese *pai*, "white", or, as had been done recently by Bleichsteiner, from the Persian expression *paihar*, "picture, idol" (middle-Persian *pahhar*, Soghdian *patkr'g*, Avestian *paitikara*), or from *paikar*, "war, fight" (middle-Persian *patkar*, Avestian *paitikara*).[31]

According to Tibetan religious conceptions, *Pe har* is regarded to be the head of a group of five deities, known by the collective name of *rGyal po sku lnga*, "the kings, the five bodies", or shortly *rGyal lnga* and *sKu lnga*. The word *rgyal po*, which means otherwise "king, ruler", classifies in this case the five deities also as members of the group of higher-ranking spirits known as the *rgyal po*, and the appellation *rGyal po sku lnga* can therefore also be rendered with "the *rgyal po*-demons, the five bodies".

The first enumeration of the chief members of *Pe har*'s retinue was given by Schlagintweit,[32] but the names recorded in his publication prove to be only partly correct. Though a list of some of the gods and their consorts who appear in *Pe har*'s *parivāra* was published recently,[33] details of the appearance, attributes, mounts, etc. of these deities, as codified by Tibetan religious texts, were not yet available. It may be

[29] Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 479.
[30] Tucci, *Tombs*, p. 56.
[31] R. Bleichsteiner, 'Srog bdag, der Herr des Lebens,' *Archiv fur Völkerkunde*, V, Wien 1952, pp. 104–137.
[32] E. Schlagintweit, *Le bouddhisme au Tibet*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 3, Lyon 1881, p. 99.
[33] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 730; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 163. Bleichsteiner, 'Srog bdag,' pp. 105–112.

therefore useful to give here a description of the chief *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* and the accompanying deities, based on Tibetan works. The first delineation is taken from a work of the *dGe lugs pa* sect. It begins with a description of *Pe har*'s companion *brGya byin*, who is said to appear in the centre of the *maṇḍala*, while the chief god of the *sKu lnga* group is mentioned only towards the end of the text, since he is believed to be residing in the northern quarter, traditionally enumerated in the last place. To make the identification of the various figures easier, the name of each of the five principal divinities has been placed at the head of the corresponding paragraph.

brGya byin

"The "king of the mind" (*thugs kyi rgyal po*) *brGya byin* is of a dark-blue colour; he has one face and two hands. His mouth is open and he bares his teeth. From his eyebrows and the hair of his face issue flames of a yellow-red colour. With his right hand he throws the snare of the *bdud* at the enemies, with the razor held in his left he cuts the life-roots of the inimical obstacle-creating demons. On his body he wears a fur-coat of bear-skin and a garment with a train of black silk. On his head he wears the *theb zhu* of black silk, and he is adorned with jewels. He is in the mood of a happy dance and rides an elephant with a long trunk – similar to a huge, broken-off piece of a snow-mountain – which is being led by the *Mon bu pu tra*, who conducts the mount, surrounded by lightning and fire-tongues. He sends hail and lightning and resides in the centre of a fire, fierce like the conflagration at the end of a *kalpa*.

In front of this deity resides the *mahā-yakṣa*, the *srog bdag Yang le ber;* he is red in colour, radiating the light of a thousand suns, and his appearance is wrathful. He lifts the flesh, blood, and the "life-spirit" of enemies to his mouth. Sometimes, his upper teeth are pressed against his lower lip, and his forehead and eyebrows are angrily contorted. He wears a cuirass and a helmet of leather. With his right hand he thrusts a red lance at the enemies, and with his left hand he brandishes the snare of the *btsan*. He rides a horse possessing the speed of wind, which has a saddle and bridle of jewels and is adorned with a head-ornament of silk.

The *śakti* (of *brGya byin*) *Shan ti ro zan ma*, the red one, wears a short trouser-like garment (*ang ring*) of silk. She is smeared with blood and fat and holds an iron hook and a skull-cup with a heart in it. The "emanation" (*sprul pa*) or messenger has the external appearance of a lay-devotee (Tib. *dge bsnyen*, Skt. *upāsaka*). He is dressed in a garment

of red silk, and is adorned with a rosary of crystal which he wears around his neck: His right hand, set in the *tarjanī-mudrā*, is stretched towards heaven, his left lifts a copper-knife in the manner of striking. The "minister" (*blon po*), the *srog bdag bKa'i bya ra ba*, "guardian of commandments", wears a brown cloak and brandishes a battle-lance with a pendant of black silk. He rides a white lion.

Mon bu pu tra

In the eastern quarter, in a heavenly palace of conch-shells, on a sun-lotus, and on a seat of destroyed inimical *vighnas* comes forth from the syllable *tri* the "king of the body" (*sku'i rgyal po*) *Mon bu pu tra*. He is black in colour, has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a thunderbolt of gold, and in his left the staff *bseg shang* made of the wood called *sher shing*. He wears a dress of black *men tri* fur and carries a *theb zhu* of black silk on his head. He rides a white lioness, leads a black mad bear at the side, and dispatches tigers, leopards, black and brown bear (for killing the enemies of religion).

His *śakti* is the *bDud mo ro langs ma*, "the *bdud*-demoness Revived Corpse", who is white in colour and wears a white garment. She holds a *dam shing* and a skull-cup with a heart in it. His "emanation" is a young *dge slong* (Skt. *bhikṣu*), who had conquered the passions. He wears a religious garment of an orange colour and the cemetery-ornaments, he lifts a *bseg shang* of *sher shing* and a knife. He carries a *kapali* on his back and the kind of vessel called *spyi blugs* hangs in front. The "minister" *Bya khri mig gcig po*, "the one-eyed with a bird-throne", is naked, wears a snake-turban and throws a thunderbolt of crystal. He rides an excellent blue-coloured horse with a black back.

Shing bya can

In the southern quarter, in the centre of a heavenly palace of gold, comes forth from the syllable *tri* the "king of virtue" (*yon tan gyi rgyal po*) *Shing bya can*,[31] "he, who has a wooden bird". He is black in colour, has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a battle-axe, and in his left a snare. On his body he wears a cloak of snake and tiger-skins, and his head is covered by the *tshar zhu* made of cane. On top of this hat he wears the skin of a *khyung*. He rides a black horse with white heels and is accompanied on the side by the turquoise-green world-dragon. He sends long-tailed monkeys, gray-haired apes, and rats as his messengers.

[31] A prophecy concerning *Shing bya can* is supposed to have been made by the goddess *Yum brtan 'od srung;* Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 262.

The *śakti* is the black *gSer gyi spu gri ma*, with one face and four hands. In her right hands she holds a sword and a red banner, in her left hands a lance and a trident. Her headdress consists of black silk, and she wears a trouser-like garment of rough yellow cloth with a belt of snakes. In her right ear she carries as an ornament a lion, and in her left ear a snake. A bell is tinkling on her neck, her two feet are adorned with iron fetters. Mounting a donkey with a red spot on the forehead, she roams at night. The "emanation" is of a light-blue colour, wears a bandolier of red fur, and holds a long stick (?). The "minister" *Bya rgod thang nag*, "the black-tail vulture", has the appearance of a young lay-devotee. He wields a thunderbolt and a hammer.

dGra lha skyes gcig bu

In the western quarter, in a heavenly palace of red coral, comes forth from the syllable *tri* the "king of speech" (*gsung gi rgyal po*), the red *dGra lha skyes gcig bu*, with one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a stick of cane, in his left he wields a club of sandal-wood. He wears a garment of black silk, with a train, and a cane-hat. He rides on a black mule with white heels. The task of a mount-leader is carried out by *Mon bu pu tra*. The chief deity is accompanied by a wolf on the side, and it dispatches iron eagles as messengers.

The *śakti* is the red *mDzes byed padma can*, who holds a *dam shing* and a skull-cup and who possesses beautiful ornaments. The "messenger" is of a dark-blue colour. His red hair stands on end, the beard is of a flaming yellow colour; he is dressed in a tiger-skin and brandishes a wooden stick as well as a "banner of victory" with the head of a jackal on its point. The "minister" is *rDo rje grags ldan*, who wears a sacerdotal garment of red silk etc., has the external appearance of a young *dge slong*, brandishes the stick called *bseg shang* made of *sher shing*, and rides a camel with a white patch on its forehead.

Pe har

In the northern quarter, in a blue (or green) heavenly palace made of turquoise, comes forth from the syllable *tri* the "king of the *karma*" (*'phrin las rgyal po*), *Zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che*, "the three-faced, high-ranking, great man", with three heads and six arms. He has a white, a sky-blue, and a red face, in his three right hands he holds an iron hook, an arrow, and a sword. His three left hands lift a knife, a bow, and a stick (*ber ka*). He wears an upper garment of white silk, a drawn (human) skin, and a tiger-skin serves him as a loin-cloth. On his head

he wears a hat of cane, similar to a parasol. He rides on a white lion, and the *Mon bu pu tra* acts as the leader of his mount. He is accompanied by a *'chub ma* and he sends the jackdaw as his messenger.

The *śakti* is the *bDud gza' smin dkar mo*, of a dark-blue hue, who is dressed in the fur coat of the *bdud* (*bdud kyi slog pa*). She wields a *dam shing* and a skull-cup. The "emanation" is black, wears a drawn human skin, and is adorned with snakes. He brandishes a "banner of victory" with the head of a tiger on its point and the *rgyal mtshan* bearing the head of a wolf. The "minister" *Pu tra nag po* wears a *ral ka* garment of black silk and holds a knife. He rides a black mule.

On the outside, in the main quarters and in the spaces lying in between appear ministers, hangmen, slaves..., and lions, *ācāryas* of Mon, and monkeys. There are one hundred *dge slong* lifting their rattling-staffs,[35] and one hundred black-hat magicians wielding their demon-daggers; one hundred women shake out their hair, and one hundred men brandish their swords and shields."[36]

We see from the above description that the five chief deities are believed to originate – in accordance with Buddhist conceptions – from a "seed-syllable", and further that Buddhist titles[37] have been prefixed to their actual names, according to the following scheme:

Direction	*Title*	*Name*	*Colour*
Centre	*thugs kyi rgyal po*	*brGya byin*	dark-blue
East	*sku'i rgyal po*	*Mon bu pu tra*	black
South	*yon tan gyi rgyal po*	(*gnod sbyin*) *Shing bya can*	black
West	*gsung gi rgyal po*	*dGra lha skyes gcig bu*	red
North	*'phrin las (kyi) rgyal po*	*Zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che* (= *Pe har*)	white

The relation of the chief deities of the *sKu lnga* group to their mount-leaders, *śaktis* and ministers is then, if arranged in a table, as follows:

Śakta	*Mount-leader*	*Śakti*	*Minister*
brGya byin	*Mon bu pu tra*	*Shan ti ro zan ma*	(*srog bdag*) *bKa'i bya ra ba**

[35] Tib. *mkhar bsil*, Skt. *khakkhara*; see Mahāvyutpatti, p. 237.

[36] 12, Tibetan Texts, text C.

[37] For an explanation of the terms *sku*, *gsung* and *thugs* see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, I, p. 25. On the term *'phrin las* (here rendered as "activity", one of the "five-fold divisions of Buddhism") see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 741, note 48.

Mon bu pu tra	—	*bDud mo ro langs ma*	*Bya khri mig gcig po*
* *(gnod sbyin) Shing bya can*	—	*gSer gyi spu gri ma*	*Bya rgod thang nag*
dGra lha skyes gcig bu	*Mon bu pu tra*	*mDzes byed padma can*	*rDo rje grags ldan*
Zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che	*Mon bu pu tra*	*bDud gza' smin dkar mo*	*Pu tra nag po*

* And a companion called *gnod sbyin chen po Yang le ber.*

We observe an irregularity in the case of *brGya byin*'s retinue, as in addition to his mount-leader, *śakti*, "emanation", and "minister" he is being preceded by the *mahā-yakṣa Yang le ber*, while such an additional figure is not mentioned in the case of the other four chief divinities of the *sKu lnga* group. This particularity, as well as the fact that *brGya byin* occupies in the above description a central position, indicates that in this instance he is to be regarded as the main, ruling deity (*gtso bo*) of the *maṇḍala*, while *Pe har* appears here only in a subordinate position. Accordingly, on a painted scroll (*thang ka*) in possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, *brGya byin*'s figure is painted bigger than the others and also occupies the centre of the picture.[38] On another *thang ka*, however, belonging to the same collection, *Pe har* – since he is shown in one row with his four chief companions – occupies a central position.[39] Also on the picture reproduced in Grünwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* *Pe har* is shown surrounded by his smaller companions.[40]

As regards the "emanations" mentioned in the text here translated, it has to be explained that, according to a Tibetan belief, *Pe har*, in order to fulfil conscientiously and effectively the task of protecting Buddhism and to be able to cope with the dangers which might arise simultaneously in various parts of the country, is said to have split himself into a number of "emanations" (*sprul pa*), and from the latter again numerous "secondary emanations" (*sprul pa'i sprul pa*) issued. According to this conception the companions of *Pe har*, his *śaktis*, "ministers", and all the other mem-

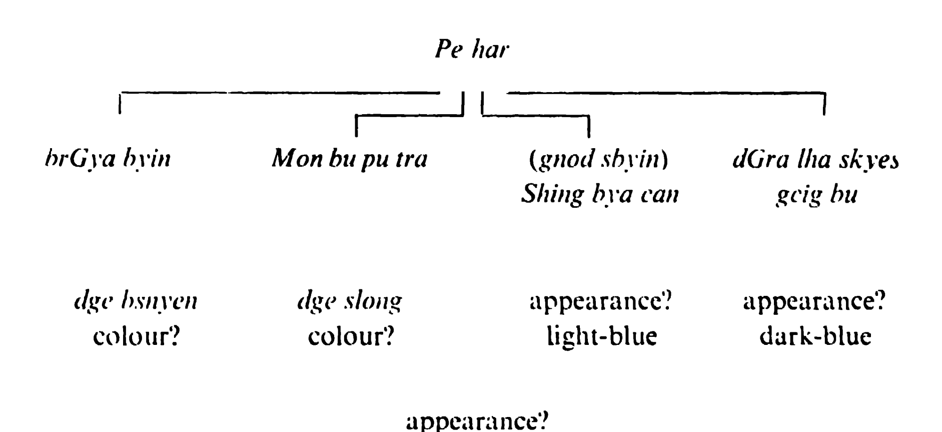
38 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Staatsorakel,' facing p. 144.

39 Bleichsteiner, 'Srog bdag', facing p. 122.

40 p. 183. For other representations of *Pe har* and his companions see in S. T. Cybikov, *Buddhiskij palomnik u svjatynj Tibeta*, Petersburg 1919, p. 31; Schlagintweit, *Bouddhisme*, p. 101; Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 150; H. H. Juynboll, 'Mitteilungen aus der tibetanischen Abteilung des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums in Leiden,' *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin 1914/15, p. 252.

bers of his retinue are to be regarded only as reproductions of *Pe har* himself, which originated from rays emanating out of his body. These creations could be, should the *dharmapāla* desire it, reabsorbed into his own form again. A rare aspect of *Pe har*, symbolic of the latter conception, is the so-called *Kun 'dus rgyal po*, "the all-gathering king". A statue of *Pe har* in this his form is being preserved in the *mgon khang* of the Nechung monastery. So far I have not yet had the opportunity to examine a picture or image of *Kun 'dus rgyal po*, nor have I found a text giving his description. According to Tibetan ecclesiastical dignitaries who have seen this statue at Nechung, it is supposed to depict *Pe har* in the shape of a black man. The *dharmapāla* is in an angry mood. His right hand wields a chopper above a *kapāla*, which the left hand holds in front of the breast. – The oneness of *Pe har* with his four chief emanations is also expressed when they are called in some works, as e.g. Text no. 16, the *dPe dkar sku'i rgyal po*, *dPe dkar gsung gi rgyal po*, *dPe dkar thugs kyi rgyal po*, and *dPe dkar yon tan rgyal po*.

The various "emanations" enumerated in connection with each member of the *sKu lnga* group are only the main and characteristic representatives of the countless forms, which each of these five deities can produce in order to fulfil easier his tasks. In conformity with this division – and when taking now into regard only the figures, classified in our text as *sprul pa* – we obtain then the following scheme:



An interesting division of *Pe har* and his chief emanations, which omits, however, his form known as *thugs kyi rgyal po*, is given on fol. 2a of the *rNying ma pa* work, quoted under no. 32 of the Tibetan sources:

Title	Śakta	Śakti
sku'i rgyal po	*Nyi sang pad*	*Yum chen 'bar ma glog phreng ma*
yon tan rgyal po	*Kye te re*	*g.Yu phreng rgyal mo*
gsung gi rgyal po	*La sya*	*bTsun mo zangs kyi phreng ba can*
(')Phrin las rgyal po	*sByi ring khri*	*bTsun mo dpe 'phreng ma*

Another description of the *sKu lnga* group is to be found in Text no. 33 (fol. 3a), a work used in the rites of the *dGe lugs pa* sect. The account is given in the form of an invocation and runs as follows:

"You, who are of a dark-brown colour and who wear a dress of fur, who brandish in your right hand the snare of the *bdud* and a razor in the left one, who wear moreover a loose garment of black silk and ride an elephant with a long trunk, – please come, "great king of the mind", and carry out your work.

Mon bu mthing nag, "dark-blue son of Mon", carrying the black sword of Mon, brandishing a thunderbolt in the right hand and a golden sabre in your left, you, who wear the *'thebs* (*zhva*) hat and lead a wild black bear – please come, "great king of the body", and carry out your work.

gNod sbyin nag po, "black *yakṣa*", adorned with tiger and snake-skins, who throw a snake-snare with both your hands, you, who bring into your power the *khyung* and who lead the turquoise-green world-dragon (*srid pa'i g.yu 'brug*) – please come, "great king of virtue", and carry out your work.

dGra lha skyes gcig, who wear a flowing garment of black silk, who hold a cane stick in your right hand and a club of sandal-wood in your left, who lead a she-jackal and who send an owl as your messenger – please come, "great king of speech", and carry out your work.

dPe har, with three faces and six hands, who wear the *sag zhva*, who hold an iron hook, an arrow, a sword, a knife, a bow, and a stick, who are dressed in a garment of white silk and who ride a lion – please come, "great king of the *karma*" and carry out your work.

You, the "great *rgyal po*, the five bodies", with your *śaktis* and retinue, come and partake of the wine, blood, meat, and of the blood-*gtor ma* offered to you."

When comparing the descriptions contained in the two above-mentioned *dGe lugs pa* works, we find that in both cases the five chief members of the *sKu lnga* group are described in nearly the same way, except that *brGya byin*'s colour is given as being dark-blue in the first instance, while in the second case the deity is supposed to be dark-brown, and further that as regards *Shing bya can* (= *gNod sbyin nag po*) the battle-

axe, which this divinity is supposed to hold, is not being mentioned by the second source.

Further, work no. 62, on fol. 10b, addresses the *sku'i rgyal po* as the *gNod sbyin dgra lha chen po pu tra* and besides enumerating his *śakti* and "minister" the text also mentions that *Khyab 'jug* (*Rāhu*) acts as the "officer" of the chief deity. In a *rNying ma pa* manuscript[41] which I found in the possession of a Lepcha lama, the names of *Pe har* and his train are rendered in the same way as in the two *dGe lugs pa* works quoted above, and the five chief gods of the group are again addressed by their religious titles, which are slightly changed in this instance, viz. *thugs kyi rgyal chen* instead of *thugs kyi rgyal po*, *sku'i rgyal chen*, etc. There are, however, two noteworthy differences to be mentioned in the way in which these five deities are described in this *rNying ma pa* text: firstly, the *yon tan rgyal chen Shing bya can* rides a turquoise-coloured dragon, while according to our *dGe lugs pa* sources his mount is a black horse with white heels, the turquoise-dragon accompanying him on the side; and secondly *Pe har* – whose name is here spelled *Pe ha ra* – is riding a parrot. On the right side appears *rDo rje legs pa* – a *dharmapāla* worshiped primarily by the *rNying ma pa* – together with his three hundred sixty brothers, while the space on the left flank is occupied by a host of *btsan* demons. Other members of the train are numerous "country gods" (*yul lha*) and "foundation-owners" (*gzhi bdag*). The names of the *śaktis*, who are here addressed as *gsang yum* (Skt. *guhya-śakti*), "secret consort", are essentially the same as those given before, except that *Shing bya can*'s consort is shortly called *sPu gri nag mo*, instead of *gSer gyi spu gri ma*, and that the name of *Pe har*'s *śakti* is here – but most probably by mistake – written *bDud gza' sman dkar*, which would mean "the *bdud gza'*, the white *sman* goddess", instead of the usual *bDud gza' smin dkar*. As regards the five "ministers", their appellations are, except in the case of *Pe har*'s "minister" *Pu tra nag po*, who is addressed in this *rNying ma pa* manuscript as *Mon bu pu tra*, again the same as those given already before. The text describes also the supernatural abodes in which the five chief members of the *sKu lnga* group are supposed to reside. In four instances the descriptions agree with those recorded above, while in the case of *brGya byin*, whose abode had not been mentioned in the texts discussed before, it is said that he dwells in the "*dharma*-palace" (*chos kyi pho brang*).

The *rDzogs chen pa* work listed under no. 115 of the Tibetan sources describes on fol. 2a another – and so far unrecorded – form of *Pe har*:

[41] 118.

"*dPe dkar*, the king of the *dharmapālas*, white in colour, one-faced and two-handed, appears full of splendour. On his head he wears a round hat of bamboo (or reed) with fringes. In his right hand he holds a golden stick, with his left he grasps the *spar bum* vessel of silver. He wears a vermilion-coloured garment, he is adorned with many jewels, and rides a white lion. He conquers and rules the three worlds. He is surrounded by one hundred heroes, clad in tiger-skins, who approach on the right side and who act as a flank-guard; on the left appears a flank-guard of one hundred religious disciples who have conquered the passions. In the back follows a rear-guard of one hundred black-hat magicians holding demon-daggers. In front goes an advance-guard of one hundred black women. In the inner circle of the deity appear in full ceremonial attire the "minister of internal affairs" (*nang blon*) *Pu tra rdo rje*, the "minister of external affairs" (*phyi blon*) *Mon bu pu tra*, and *dPe dkar*'s queen (*śakti*), who rides on a monkey. – You, (*dPe dkar*) and your retinue, countless in number, come all from the thirty-three lands of the gods, from the great meditation-school of (*Bhata*) *Hor* and from the noble monastery of *bSam yas lhun grub*, to partake of the offerings of wine, blood, and the *gtor ma*."

It is interesting to see that in this case not one, but two "ministers" are named, one for the "internal" and the other for the "external" affairs, and further that *Bhata Hor*, the destroyed and long-forgotten former residence of *Pe har*, is still mentioned as one of the places from which the *dharmapāla* and his train should come in order to receive the sacrifice offered to them.

The description of *Pe har*'s two-handed form is repeated, with a few deviations, on fol. 3a of the same *rDzogs chen pa* manuscript: "In the thirty-three lands of the gods resides the nobly-born *Ging ka ra*, the king *dPe dkar*, the *srog bdag*. He has one face, two hands, and is white in colour. Peaceful and angry at the same time, he appears full of splendour. In his right hand he brandishes a golden stick, in his left he holds a (*s*)*par bu* vessel of silver. On his head he wears a hat of reed (*snyug zhva*), with a border of black silk, and his body is covered with a smoke-coloured garment. He is adorned with earrings of gold, and a girdle studded with jewels is tied round his body. From his belt hangs a sword, sharp like white crystal, and he wears high boots. He rides a trotting lion."

Similar to this description of *Pe har* is a short portrayal of the *dharmapāla* in Text no. 176 fol. 2a; here he is addressed as "the great king *Pe ha ra*, whose colour is white like a snow-mountain". His face

is contorted to a smirk and it bears the expression of ferocious passion. He rides on an elephant with a long trunk, his body is covered by a cloak of white silk, and his headdress is a hat of red-brown colour. The right hand lifts the *bseg shang*, ready to strike, the left holds the *(s)par bu(m)* vessel – which is full of blood – in front of his breast. The *dharmapāla* dispatches three hundred sixty "emanations". Besides the members of his retinue which are mentioned usually – as the "minister of internal affairs" and that of "external affairs", his *śakti*, and the four groups of the *ru 'dren pa* – he is also accompanied by one hundred Mon women who lift gory bowels, and by one hundred water-spirits carrying bags full of diseases.

The various tasks which *Pe har* is supposed to carry out are mentioned on fol. 4a of the same manuscript: "You, the *dharmapāla*, king *sPe dkar*, lord of *Jambudvīpa*, guardian of the temple-property, you, who destroy completely those who break the religious vows, you, who act as the *dgra lha* of all men, you, the religious guardian of all the Buddhists and Bonpos (sic!), executioner of the sacrilegious enemies, friend of all *yogīs*,... please come when called, you, the great *dPe dkar*, whom the religious teacher *Padmasambhava* forced by means of secret *mantras* to take an oath (of protecting the Buddhist religion)."

When comparing *Pe har*'s one-faced aspect with the figures of his companions, it seems to me that the picture of this one-faced and two-handed form of the *dharmapāla* harmonizes better with the representations of the other four chief divinities of the *sKu lnga* group – who are all depicted as one-headed and two-armed beings – than *Pe har*'s usual three-faced and six-handed figure. I am therefore inclined to believe, that the two-handed form of *Pe har* represents possibly a more ancient type of this *dharmapāla* and that perhaps later, after the deity had been incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon and was given the Buddhist title *'phrin las rgyal po*, the way of representing *Pe har* was changed: thereafter, he was depicted in a new shape, resembling by its three faces and six hands more the conventional picture of *Mahāyāna* deities, and, as he was believed to have been charged with a new and most responsible task, the number of his weapons destined to fight the forces inimical to Buddhism was accordingly increased.

A highly interesting description of *Pe har* and his retinue, according to conceptions of the *rNying ma pa* sect, is given in a text contained in Vol. *phi* of the collection of religious works called *Rin chen gter mdzod*. This work, listed under no. 31 of the Tibetan sources, describes the ceremony of erecting white thread-crosses, upon which *Pe har* and his compan-

ions are invited to descend. The first section of this text contains the following description: a temple (*lha khang*) with a pinnacle on each of its four corners is to be imagined lying in the centre. To the east of it is situated a temple of crystal, in the South one of gold, in the West lies a sanctuary built of coral, and in the North a *lha khang* consisting of turquoise. Then, in the spaces lying in between are situated four *stūpas*, made of conch-shells, further four turquoise-springs and gardens full of flowers. In the middle, on a spot adorned with silks and jewels, appears the great king *Pe ha ra*. He is white in colour, has one face and two hands; the right one holds a thunderbolt and the left one a rosary. His mount is an elephant. On his head he wears the *sag zhu*, and a sword dangles from his girdle. He is dressed in a garment of heavy silk with long sleeves, in a sacerdotal robe as well as in a cloak of red silk. To his right resides the goddess *'Brog bza' lha lcam ma*, who holds a divination-arrow and a mirror. She rides on a mule. On the left side dwells the goddess *Pho gyong bza'*, who clutches a divination-arrow and a mirror of silver. She rides a water-buffalo. In the back rides on a lion the *gNam lha byang chub*. His attributes are a parasol and a "banner of victory". In front appears the *phyi blon Bhadra dkar po*, who lifts a key and rides on a black horse. Further, there is the *nang blon Putra dkar po*, who carries a pair of dice and a *khram shing*. He dwells upon a pedestal of earth. The cup-bearer (*gsol dpon*) *Ga ba dgu brtsegs* lifts a vessel with tea. The goddess *rDo rje sna yon ma* carries a rosary of crystal, a flageolet of copper, and rides on a whitish-gray cow.

To the east of this group of deities appear white birds with red crests, in the South are white goats possessing red horns, in the West bark white dogs with red snouts, and in the North neigh white horses which have red manes. On the outer side dwell *bhikṣus* dressed in religious garments, dancers whose hands are set in *mudrās*, nobly-born women carrying skull-cups, magicians who beat black drums, women who sing loudly, religious disciples blowing white conchs, youths whirling stone-slings, and novices holding religious disputes. Moreover there appear men who lift flags and blow trumpets. Others pronounce the magic syllable *phat* and some ring a *gshang*.

In the eastern sanctuary dwells the king *Nyi sang pad* of a white colour, who holds a thunderbolt and a begging-bowl. His mount is a tiger. His *śakti* is the goddess *'Bar ma glog 'phreng ma*, the white one. Her attributes are a lotus and a "banner of victory". She rides a female wolf white like a conch-shell.

The southern shrine is occupied by the white king *Kye te re*. He holds

a begging-bowl made of jewels and rides on a dragon. His *śakti* is the white *g.Yu phreng ma*, who lifts a mirror and a "banner of victory". Her mount is a golden wild dog.

In the western temple resides the king *bSe te re*. His body is flesh-coloured, he holds a wheel and a begging-bowl, and rides on a water-buffalo. His consort is the *śakti Zangs phreng ma*, who is red-coloured. Her attributes are a divination-arrow and a banner of victory. She mounts a vixen of iron.

The sanctuary which lies in the North is the abode of the white king *sByi ring khrid*, whose attributes are a hook and a begging-bowl. He rides on a black bear. His *śakti* is the goddess *Pad phreng ma*, who is white and carries a *ba dan* as well as a "banner of victory". She rides a leathern female bear.

Four gates lead to the place where the sanctuaries are situated, and each of these doors has its own guardian. The keeper of the eastern gate is *dKar mo spyan gcig*, who lifts a hook and rides a white lion. The guardian of the southern gate is *Bye ba rkang ring*, who brandishes a lance with a covering of leather and whose mount is a golden stag. The western gate is guarded by *Yam shud dmar po* - who holds a snare and rides a mule of copper - and the keeper of the northern gate is *Khu le lag dgu*, who brandishes a sword and rides a bull.

In front of this group appears the executioner *Putra nag po*, who holds a *chu gri* and rides on a leopard. In the four spaces lying in between stand white men with red turbans, on four sides come forth four white monkeys with white faces, and at the four gates dwell four giants. All intervals between these are filled by *'gong po* fiends possessing iron noses which are turned upward, by *'gong mo* demonesses who have eyebrows of turquoise, by *the'u rang* demons whose feet are snake-like, men of Mon who climb trees, servants leading monkeys, grey-nosed custodians of Bon shrines who are called *a mchod*, Bon priests known as *chu mig chos 'bar*, beggars, Buddhist renegades (*ban log*), etc. Outside of the area just described reside the following deities: on the right side the red *bTsan mda' ra ba*, who lifts a leather-hat and rides on the horse of the *btsan*. On the left appears the black *bDud mdung khyim*, who brandishes an iron spear. His mount is a horse of the *bdud*. In front dwells the blue *Zhang po klu rgyal ghi ha;* his attributes are a snare of snakes, a sack full of diseases, and he rides a *makara*. The group of beings previously enumerated is surrounded by the following classes of demons: the "four red sisters" (*Sring mo dmar mo bzhi*), the nine black *dam sri*, the nine *'gong po* brothers, the brotherhood of the nine *the'u rang*, etc. All the

latter are surrounded by horses, hybrid yak, bulls, and mules – "these being the four kinds of animals which can be used for transport" –, further by stags, monkeys, goats, and dogs, "who are the animals which cannot carry loads". There are also nine kinds of beings which fly in the sky, and the ten kinds of animals which slip into the earth.

In the circle which lies farthest to the outside stand to the right hand one hundred nobly-born men, dressed in garments made of tiger-skin, and on the left appear one hundred fully-ordained monks wearing dresses which are in accordance with their religious precepts. The place in front is occupied by one hundred women dressed in bridal apparel, in the back stand one hundred magicians clad in the ritual attire for casting the *zor*, and ahead of these walk one hundred *ācāryas* carrying censers which emit smoke.

A second text, also dealing with the ritual erection of the *rgyal mdos* describes *Pe har* under his alternative name *Shel ging dkar po* as a human figure wearing a coat made from the skin of a red lioness and a *gong lag* made from the skin of a blue lioness. A golden scarf is wound around his head, a snake serves him as a girdle, and his boots are made of crystal. He dispatches the *gNam the dkar po* as his messenger; however, as we had seen before, the latter deity is believed to be only one of the forms in which *Pe har* himself appears.

About the symbolism of *Pe har*'s attributes and his various aspects Text no. 31 (fol. 4b), makes the following statement: "As a sign of keeping your oath, you hold a golden thunderbolt; as a *yi dam*-token you hold a rosary of crystal, and as an *abhiṣeka*-sign you carry a *phur bu* of iron; come to this place, great *dharmarāja*! As the sign of a war-lord you brandish a "banner of victory" with a tiger's head on top, as a token of bodhisattvahood you lift a *gseg shang* stick and a *par bu* vessel, as a token of your position as a *dharmapāla* you wear the hat called *sag zhu* and high boots; come to this place, you, the *dKor srung rgyal po!* To express your peaceful mood you show a smiling face, a sign of your fierce nature are the bloodshot eyes, a sign of your wrathful mood is the ferocious "ha, ha" laughter; you, the great fierce one, come to this place! In order to guard the religious precepts, you ride on a white lion. To subdue the enemies and obstacle-creating demons you ride on an elephant with a long trunk; in order to carry out magic actions, you mount a three-legged mule; come and partake of the offerings, presented to you! Great "*śakti* of pleasure" *'Brog bza' lha lcam ma*, great "*śakti* of bestowing" *Pho nya rgya lcam ma*, great "*śakti* of beauty" *rDo rje sna yon ma*, partake of the food and offerings! You, the white *Putra*, the minister

and master of the three worlds, you, the black *Putra*, protector of jewels and master of the world, *Ga ba dgu brtsegs* – come like lightning and accept the purified thread-cross offered to you!"

At the time of worship, various offerings are made to *Pe har* and his retinue; some of these are: the rattling of magic instruments, the burning of flesh and incense, a banner of black silk, offerings to the five senses, dance and music, fat of corpses, organs of the five senses, the sea of blood, *amṛta*, beer and tea, and a *gtor ma*.

We shall give now a few additional remarks concerning several of the gods and goddesses belonging to the *sKu lnga* group.

a. *brGya byin* and companions

In the retinue of *brGya byin*, who is also known as the *Bi har nag po*,[42] we encounter the "mount-leader" *Mon bu pu tra*. When discussing the so-called *Gur mgon lha brgyad* we mentioned already a group of three related deities, jointly called *Pu tra ming sring gsum*, the *Pu tra* brothers and their sister; further, we described on p. 86 a deity called *Pu tra lcam dral*. Here, in the *parivāra* of *Pe har* we find – besides the before-mentioned "mount-leader" of *brGya byin* – seven other deities bearing the name *Pu tra* (*Putra*): *Pe har*'s eastern companion *Mon bu pu tra*, the two "mount-leaders" of *dGra lha skyes gcig bu*, and *Pe har*, who are both called *Mon bu pu tra*, further the "ministers" of the chief *dharmapāla*, *Pu tra nag po* or *nang blon Pu tra rdo rje* (according to some sources: *nang blon Putra dkar po*), and the *phyi blon Mon bu pu tra*: and lastly the executioner *Putra nag po*. The name Mon, which forms a part of their appellations, indicates that they are divinities which, just like *Pe har*, have also originated outside of Tibet, in their case in the Mon country.

The *mahāyakṣa Yang le ber*, the companion of *brGya byin*, bears the title "master of life", *srog bdag*, short for *srog gi bdag po*, an appellation which is sometimes used for *Pe har* himself, since the chief *dharmapāla* is occasionally addressed as the "white master of life", *srog bdag dkar po*. The above-mentioned *rDzogs chen pa* work calls *Yang le ber* also the *bgegs srog gi bdag*; *brGya byin*'s minister *bKa'i bya ra ba*, too, is said to be a *srog bdag*. Later on when enumerating the divinities of the group called *dregs pa sde brgyad* we shall encounter a deity named *Srog bdag rgyal po snying sbyin*, which some Tibetans regard as a form of *Pe har*. Outside the group of the *sKu lnga* we find a great number of divinities to whom the title *srog bdag* is given or who bear the term *srog bdag* in their name. In the retinue of the guardian-deity *lCam sring* we encoun-

[42] 100, fol. 6b.

tered already the *Srog bdag dmar po*, and in the chapter on *Vaiśravaṇa* we mentioned the *Srog bdag hob se*. The *dharmapāla Tshangs pa dkar po* is also called in one of his forms the *Srog bdag dung gi thor tshugs can*, "the master of life who has a toupet with a conch-shell in it". The *dharmapāla Yam shud dmar po* bears the title *srog gi bdag po chen po*, and later we shall enumerate the members of a group called *Srog bdag gi dmag dpon gsum*. A *srog bdag* whose position and iconography are still unknown is the *Srog bdag 'o ma dkar po*.

Though details about the mediums of *Pe har* and some of his companions will be given later on, it should be mentioned already here that the oracle-priests who are being visited by the *thugs kyi rgyal po brGya byin* occupy positions of minor importance, and they are not consulted by the Tibetan Government.

b. *Mon bu pu tra* and companions

The *sku'i rgyal po Mon bu pu tra*, also called *gNod sbyin mgon po mon bu pu tra*, is said to be the special guardian of the Lhasa cathedral, the *Jo bo gtsug lag khang*. He is believed to take possession of the medium residing at the *sKar ma shar* shrine in Lhasa. This is a prophet consulted mainly by the authorities of Sera (*Se ra*) monastery and one of the best-known oracle-priests of Tibet. Also *Bya khri mig gcig po*, the "minister" of the *sku'i rgyal po*, is said to descend into the body of the *sKar ma shar* seer; judging by an annotation on fol. 13b, chapter *ya* of the collected works of *Klong rdo bla ma*, this *dharmāpala* is also known as the *Bya ru*. In the case of *Bya khri mig gcig po*, whose name means in translation "the one-eyed with the bird-throne", we observe that this god is supposed to have a physical anomaly typical of many of the ancient Tibetan divinities. Thus we mentioned already that the goddess *Ral gcig ma* is depicted as a figure possessing one foot, one emaciated breast, one tooth, one eye, and a single lock, and we also spoke about a *the'u rang* demon called *The'u rang rkang gcig*, "the one-legged *the'u rang*". Further the mother of the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha* is said to be a goddess called *g.Yu bya gshog gcig*, "the one-winged turquoise-bird". Other such misshaped deities are the *sPrel nag mig gcig*, "the black one-eyed monkey", the one-eyed form of *Li byin ha ra*, a companion of *Tsi'u dmar po* called *lHa mo hrol ma spyan gcig ma*, the local protective deities *Klu bdud rdo rje spyan gcig ma* and *rDo rje dbang drag rtsal* – the latter has in a certain aspect only one eye and one tooth –, further the *ma mo rDo rje spyan gcig ma*, the *'Jigs pa'i zer mo mig gcig ma*, etc.

There exists also a minor god with a name similar to those given above, whom some Tibetans regard, too, as a "minister" belonging to the *sKu lnga* group; I did not find, however, his name mentioned in any of the texts which were at my disposal. The appellation of this deity is *bDud nag rkang gcig*, "the one-legged black *bdud*". It is believed that in case the oracle-priest of Nechung has to reply to some less important questions, neither *Pe har* nor *rDo rje grags ldan* – the "minister" attached to the *gsung gi rgyal po* who also takes possession of the state prophet – will condescend to give a reply in such a minor matter, and in their stead *bDud nag rkang gcig* will answer. We may add in this context that another so-called "minister" of the *sKu lnga* group, who also speaks occasionally through the mouth of the Nechung medium, is a horse-headed deity named *rTa mgo thog btsan*.

c. *Shing bya can* and companions

The appellation of this deity is according to Tucci[43] one of the names by which *Pe har* himself is addressed, and the legend which gives the reason for the use of this appellation has already been given above. One of the traditions elucidating the descent of the Sikkim royal family, as found in the Chronicle of the kings of Sikkim, claims that a relation exists between the rulers of Sikkim and the *dharmapāla* of Samye, who is called in the Chronicle the *Shing bya can*. This allegation is therefore a parallel to the claim of the princes of *'Phyong rgyas* who, too, as has been shown by Tucci,[44] allege to be descendants of the *dharmapāla* of Samye and consequently to be the progeny of the legendary kings of *Za hor*. The passage in the Chronicle of the Sikkim rulers reads: "The king of *Za hor* named *Dza* had a son called *Śākya Putri*. The third in descent from *Śākya Putri* was *Dharmapāla*, who went to China through Bengal and passed his life at *Gan gru* in *Bhata Hor*. His descendants were called *Dharmapālas*. Subsequently, when the king *Khri srong lde'u btsan* was building *bSam yas* monastery ... the descendant of this *Dharmapāla* was also brought from *Mi nyag*. He had a family-spirit who guarded him and watched over his property, named *rgyal po Shing bya can*, who was thenceforth installed the keeper of *bSam yas* monastery and its property."

The *yon tan rgyal po Shing bya can* is believed to take possession of the oracle-priest attached to the Gadong (*dGa' gdong*) monastery. This seer is renowned for his influence on weather and his services are for this

43 *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 742, note 66.
44 *Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 57; II, p. 734.

reason engaged occasionally by the Tibetan Government.[45] *Shing bya can* is said to hold in high esteem the "minister" *rDo rje grags ldan*, to whom he often refers through the mouth of his medium at Gadong. In this case he usually addresses this most important "minister" of the *sKu lnga* group as the *zla grogs mahārāja*, "the friend, the great king", a highly polite term for "companion".

The name *gSer gyi spu gri ma*, given to the *śakti* of *Shing bya can*, had been encountered already once, when describing the various divinities listed under the title *Gur gyi mgon po lha brgyad.* There we had mentioned a two-handed goddess known as *Mon mo gser gyi spu gri ma.* Though the two figures are described in a different way, it appears nevertheless as quite probable that they are related.

It is interesting that the name of *Shing bya can*'s "minister" *Bya rgod thang nag*, "the black-tail vulture", does not correspond to the actual appearance of this deity, who is described in a distinctly Buddhist fashion as a young lay-devotee with a thunderbolt as one of his attributes. Among the legends dealing with *Pe har*'s early history we had mentioned briefly an account reporting how the *dharmapāla* tried to escape his pursuer *Vaiśravaṇa* by assuming the shape of a vulture. Should perhaps the name *Bya rgod thang nag* stand in some connection to this tale? It would appear then that – apart from the derivation of the name *Pe har* from Sanskrit *vihāra* – at least in three cases appellations relating to the early stages of the *dharmapālas* historical development have been recorded (perhaps by the authors who later systematized the *sKu lnga* group in accordance with Buddhist conception into *śaktas* with corresponding *śaktis*, "ministers", "emanations", etc.) and preserved in the names *brGya byin*, *Shing bya can*, and *Bya rgod thang nag.*

Judging by an annotation made by *Klong rdol bla ma*, a name by which *Bya rgod thang nag* is probably known in one Tibetan district (or perhaps the name of his chief medium) is *Kyor lung chos skyong.*[46]

d. *dGra lha skyes gcig bu* and companions

He is also called the *Bi har dmar po dgra lha skyes gcig.*[47]. The expression *dgra lha*, "enemy-god", forming a part of the name by which this acolyte of *Pe har* is known, will be explained later on. *dGra lha skyes gcig bu*'s "minister" *rDo rje grags ldan* (also: *dregs ldan*), "the renowned thunderbolt", is one of the most important figures in the retinue

45 Harrer, *Sieben Jahre*, p. 157; G. Tucci, *A Lhasa e oltre*, Roma 1950, p. 81.
46 70, fol. 14a.
47 100, fol. 6b.

of *Pe har*, since he is believed to occupy the position of a "chief minister" of the *sKu lnga* group. He is a god venerated especially by the *rDzogs chen pa* sect. When narrating the various legends concerning *Pe har*'s early history, we mentioned already that happenings brought into connection with the chief *dharmapāla* are sometimes attributed to *rDo rje grags ldan*. The prominent position of *rDo rje grags ldan* is primarily due to the fact that this divinity, too, takes possession of the Nechung oracle, *Pe har*'s most important medium; the latter fact is also recorded on fol. 13b, chapter *ya*, of the collected works of *Klong rdol bla ma*. A Tibetan popular belief claims that *Pe har*, who will become shortly a *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, feels more and more reluctant to speak through the oracle-priest of Nechung, and that in many cases *rDo rje grags ldan* answers in his place.

Apart from the form of this deity, mentioned in one of the texts translated above, there exists another – and more frequently depicted – aspect of *rDo rje grags ldan*. The residence and appearance of the *dharmapāla* are in this case described as follows: "In the middle of a heavenly palace built of red coral, amidst the vehemently beating waves of the far-extending "sea of blood" – consisting of the cut-up bodies of enemies and obstacle-creating demons – where parts of human bodies are decaying, where human skins are stretched as panoplies and lungs and hearts hang in garlands, where decorations are hanging made of bowels, amongst spread-out skeletons, on a "sun-lotus" and on top of a seat of defeated inimical *vighnas*, there comes forth from the syllable *hhrum* the *snang srid dregs pa'i sde dpon*, the *chos skyong rDo rje grags ldan*, of a red colour, radiant and of a terrible, horrifying appearance. He has one face and two hands. With his right hand he lifts a red banner, with his left he brandishes a snare, catching with it the "life-breath" of enemies and obstacle-creating demons. His mouth is open and his tongue moves with the speed of lightning. He bares his sharp teeth and wrinkles strongly his forehead. His eyebrows and the hair of his face are aflame. He wears a cuirass and a helmet made of rhino-leather. On his right side he carries a quiver of tiger-skin, and on his left side a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. He is adorned with jewels, ornaments made of human bone, and wears high boots; he dwells in the middle of a vehemently blazing fire-cloud, standing with the right foot bent and the left one stretched out."[48]

Some of the Tibetan priests are of the opinion that *rDo rje grags ldan* is an "emanation" of the war-god *lCam sring*. Indeed, the form of *rDo*

[48] 12, fol. 6b.

rje grags ldan described above is very similar to that of *lCam sring*, and moreover it is nearly identical in appearance with *Srog bdag dmar po*, the chief acolyte of the Tibetan war-god. The probable relation of the *sKu lnga* group to *lCam sring* is perhaps expressed in a *thang ka* in the Tibetan Collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, where the latter deity appears in the left upper corner of the picture, above the figure of *Pe har*.[49]

With the help of the new material presented in this book we are now in the position to solve also a number of questions which had been raised by my late teacher Robert Bleichsteiner in his learned study of a rare Tibetan painting preserved at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna.[50]

In the centre of this picture, amidst ranges of green-coloured mountains, stands a fierce, red-hued divinity clad in armour and wearing high boots. Its head is covered by a helmet, adorned with a number of triangular flags and bearing five human skulls in front. The deity holds a red banner in the right hand, and the left one brandishes a snare. The whole figure is surrounded by flames. In front of it are depicted two small figures, a man holding a stick and a woman who stretches her hair with the left hand; between them stands a skull-cup, containing organs of the five senses.

Contrary to the customary grouping of figures on Tibetan paintings, the image in the centre is depicted smaller in comparison with the five deities represented in one row on the uppermost part of the *thang ka*. These five divinities are *Pe har* and his four main companions, the image of the chief *dharmapāla* having been placed in the middle of the row, thus that it stands directly above the before-described smaller divinity. A skull-cup with its usual gruesome contents stands also in front of *Pe har*, but it is bigger than the *kapāla* offered to the central deity of the painting. The latter god is surrounded by five female figures, holding different attributes as: a ceremonial scarf, a conch-shell filled with fragrant substances, a mirror, etc.; these beings were easily identified as the so-called *mChod pa'i lha mo*, goddesses who offer to the higher divinities objects pleasing their senses. On the left and right sides of the painting, immediately below the row of the *sKu lnga*, are depicted altogether eight *dge slong*, each holding a rattling-staff and a begging-bowl. Below these eight priests are represented dancing black-hat magicians, four on each side; they wield demon-daggers and freshly drawn scalps.

49 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Staatsorakel,' facing p. 144.
50 Bleichsteiner, 'Srog bdag', see note 31 of this chapter.

The place below is occupied by altogether eight men clad in armour and carrying sabres and shields. In the lower part of the picture appears a multitude of animals: there are thirteen black wild asses, thirteen black buffaloes, thirteen black dogs – who are shown devouring human limbs – and thirteen white lions. In between the figures of the animals are visible: racks covered with drawn human skins and the hides of animals; stands holding drums fastened to long handles and ceremonial tables on which various offerings pleasing the senses have been placed, as conch-shells, a skull-cup with the usual offerings, thighbone trumpets, a *ḍamaru*, etc. On the upper portion of the painting, between the row of the *sKu lnga* and the Buddhist priests, are depicted thirteen soaring raven who carry human eyes and bowels in their beaks.

With the help of the limited iconographic material which had so far been available on the subject of ancient Tibetan protective deities, it had been possible to give only a tentative interpretation of the theme depicted on this interesting and rather unusual painting. As the central figure showed closest resemblance to the divinity *Srog bdag dmar po*, it had to be assumed that it actually represented the chief acolyte of the war-god *lCam sring*. Some of the accompanying figures had then to be interpreted accordingly, e.g. the eight armed men being identified with the *gri thogs bshan pa brgyad*, the eight butchers lifting knives, who appear in *lCam sring*'s retinue.

The new material contained in this chapter enables us, however, to identify more accurately the subject of the religious painting here discussed. The central figure does not represent *Srog bdag dmar po*, but *rDo rje grags ldan* who, as had already been said before, is depicted in one aspect in nearly the same manner as the first-mentioned deity. Since he is shown here in the company of the five chief divinities of the *sKu lnga* group, he is represented as smaller than his divine masters. Directly above *rDo rje grags ldan* floats the figure of *Pe har*, with whom he shares one and the same medium, the oracle-priest of Nechung. In accordance with the belief that *Pe har* is already about to ascend into the rank of the higher protective deities, he is shown, together with his four companions, up in the sky, while *rDo rje grags ldan*, who has to render prophetic advice through the mouth of the Nechung medium with increasing frequency, is shown still residing on the earth. Though he occupies the centre of the *thang ka*, he receives on account of his subordinate position only a small skull-cup with offerings, while the bigger *kapāla* is presented to his divine master who rests above him. The two small figures standing in front of *rDo rje grags ldan* are his attendants

who were, however, not mentioned in the above texts. They are the *bDud mo ral bsigs pa*, "the female *bdud* who shakes out her hair", and *Byis pa 'khar dbyug thog pa*, "the boy who lifts a stick".

In accordance with the iconographic texts here published, the four figures which are depicted in one line with *Pe har* are then to be identified as follows: the divinity on the far left is the *yon tan rgyal po Shing bya can* and next to him stands the *gsung gi rgyal po dGra lha skyes gcig bu*. The deity closest to the rightside border of the painting is the *sku'i rgyal po Mon bu pu tra*, and between him and *Pe har* is represented the *thugs kyi rgyal po brGya byin*.

The figures of the priests, black-hat magicians and armed men, who occupy the sides of the picture, are symbolic of the various groups of attendants (*ru 'dren pa*), each numbering a hundred members, who – as we have seen in the various texts here translated – surround the deities and act as their guards. Also the various groups of buffaloes, wild asses, etc., depicted on this painting, represent the multitude of mostly ferocious animals who follow these divinities, just as the thirteen raven stand for the numerous kinds of birds, which are said to be floating above the heads of the *dharmapālas*.

e. *Pe har* and his personal train

A few additional remarks should also be made about *Pe har* himself, whom some believe to be an emanation of *Amitābha*. We mentioned already that *Pe har* is said to be the leader of the three hundred sixty *rgyal po* demons. Some of the *lha bsangs* texts[51] invoke a group of nine *rgyal po*, the *rGyal dgu len lan dgu*, others speak of the "great *rgyal*" (*rgyal chen*) and the "minor *rgyal*" (*rgyal phran*). The *rgyal po* are illness-bringing deities who are supposed to cause insanity (*rgyal nad smya 'bog*). The names of several members of the *rgyal po*-class we find in one of the invocations recited when consecrating the thread-cross known as *rgyal mdos*: *rGyal po 'od lha dkar po*, *Yang 'u rang rgyal po*, *bTsan po phung kha nag po*, and *bTsun mo mang dge dmar mo*, further *rGyal po nyi sang sad* who resides in the East, *Yam shud dmar po* of the South, *Srog bdag dkar po* who dwells in the West, and the *bTsan 'gong dmar po* of the North; various other deities belonging to the *rgyal po* class have already been mentioned above.

The dictionary of Jäschke[52] records on p. 7 the name *Kye phang* (*pa*)

[51] On this category of Tibetan works see p. 320.

[52] H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English dictionary*, London 1949.

and gives the following explanation of this expression:"Name of an idol in Lahoul, consisting like most of the popular idols in those countries of a wooden stick or log decked with rags, but much dreaded and revered: said to be identical with *Pe dkar* in Central Tibet. Its worship probably dates from a time before Buddhism was introduced." I inquired repeatedly among Tibetans about this strange object, but none of them, not even the most learned ones, had ever heard about an idol bearing this name.

Legends claim that *Pe har* appears occasionally in person to some of his ardent worshipers. He is believed to be a benefactor of young deserving monks who come from poor families.

Little is known about *Pe har*'s *śakti bDud gza' smin dkar*, "the *bdud gza'* White Eyebrow". The first part of her name indicates that she originated from the union of a *bdud* with a planetary divinity (*gza'*); the syllable *smin* has apparently the meaning "eyebrow", but it may have an astronomico-astrologic connotation as well, since the term *smin* occurs in the Tibetan name of the Pleiades, *smin drug*, and that of the Great Bear, *smin bdun*. A goddess of a similar name, who, too, is a *bdud gza'*, is the mother of *rDo rje legs pa*, called *bDud gza' mig dkar*, "the *bdud gza'* White Eye". Unlike *Pe har* and most of his male companions, neither *bDud gza' smin dkar* nor the other *śaktis* previously named are supposed to take possession of mediums.

The personal train of *Pe har*,[53] as we saw above, is believed to be extremely numerous. Apart of the figures already enumerated, *Pe har* is also accompanied by the thirteen *li byin thong gar* – apparently a group of dancers –, the sixteen *rgyal mo gsim ma*, and three hundred sixty armed giants (*stag po*).[54]

Occasionally one encounters among Tibetans the opinion that *Zur phud lnga pa*, the deity who according to a legend told above refused to become the *dharmapāla* of Samye, is only an "emanation" of *Pe har*. The written sources do not completely agree about the position of *Zur phud lnga pa*: the chronicle of the fifth Dalai Lama speaks of him as a *klu rgyal*, a king of the water-spirits, while most of the other sources address him as a king of the *gandharvas* (*dri za'i rgyal po*). We may recall here that *Zur phud*

[53] A deity either identical with *Pe har* or an "emanation" of this *dharmapāla*, is the god *Karma 'phrin las* or *rGyal chen karma 'phrin las*. Hanbury-Tracy describes in his book *Black River of Tibet* (London, 1938), p. 66, the trance of an oracle-priest who became possessed by *Karma 'phrin las*. The position of this *dharmapāla* and his relation to *Pe har* could be clarified by an analysis of the texts quoted under nos. 5625 78 (this work mentions the *rGyal chen karma 'phrin las* as the local protective deity of *Dam gshod*), 6248, 6936 (mentioned as a guardian-god of Sera) and 6937 in the Tohoku Catalogue. These works were unfortunately not accessible to me.

[54] 180.

lnga pa is, however, nobody else than the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*, and that the term *Zur phud lnga pa* is supposed to be only the name by which *gNyan chen thang lha* is known to the *lha*. That there exists a relation between *gNyan chen thang lha* and the *sKu lnga* group is also indicated in a Tibetan historical work which had been translated by Huth.[55]

Another god whom some Tibetans claim to be a form of *Pe har* or at least his spiritual descendant is *Li byin ha ra*, a *dharmapāla* whom we met already in the retinue of *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo*. He is also known as the *rGyal mchog li byin ha ra*, and is classified as belonging to the group of the *mChog gi sde brgyad*. This *dharmapāla* is believed to manifest himself at Samye, where he assumes possession of the same oracle-priest who otherwise acts as the chief medium of *Tsi'u dmar po*. According to other sources, however, *Li byin ha ra* is only a form of the god *Tshangs pa*, and as such he is addressed by his full name as *Tshangs pa li byin ha ra*.

We stated already that Schlagintweit gave one of the first descriptions of the *sKu lnga* group.[56] The appellations of *Pe har* and his companions, mentioned in his publication, compare with the names given in the Tibetan texts here translated as follows:

Name according to Schlagintweit	*Tibetan sources* *Title*	*Name*
Luwang	*thugs kyi rgyal po*	*brGya byin*
Bihar gyalpo	*sku'i rgyal po*	*Mon bu pu tra*
Thaogcho gyalpo	*yon tan (gyi) rgyal po*	*gnod sbyin Shing bya can*
Dalha gyalpo	*gsung gi rgyal po*	*dGra lha skyes gcig bu*
Pehar	*'phrin las rgyal po*	*Pe har*

We encounter here two new appellations: Luwang (=*Klu dbang*) for the *thugs kyi rgyal po brGya byin*, and Thaogcho gyalpo (=*Tha 'og chos rgyal po*) for the *yon tan (gyi) rgyal po Shing bya can*. It remains unexplained why the term Luwang (*Klu dbang*) is used here as an appellation for *brGya byin*, and neither the Tibetan works which I consulted nor my informants could give an answer to this question. We may recall,

55 G. Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, Strassburg 1892, p. 134; further Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Staatsorakel', p. 142, note 40; on the correct name of the author of the work translated by Huth see G. N. Roerich, 'The author of the *Hor chos hbyung*,' *JRAS*, London 1946, pp. 192–196.

56 Schlagintweit, *Bouddhisme*, p. 99.

however, that the *yon tan (gyi) rgyal po gnod sbyin Shing bya can* who assumes control of the weather-oracle of Gadong is said to exercise considerable power over the water-spirits (*klu*), and thus the name Luwang, which seems to be a more colloquial term, should perhaps refer rather to the *yon tan (gyi) rgyal po* than to the *thugs kyi rgyal po*.

The interpretation of the name *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* is, however, an easier task, as this is only, according to *Klong rdol bla ma*, another name of *Pe har*'s "minister" *Pu tra nag po*. This deity, which seems to be better known under the name *Shangs pad*, "Nose-Lotus", is believed to be the special protective divinity of one of the colleges of Sera monastery, the *Se ra smad grva tshang* or "lower college of Sera".[57] *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* – who is perhaps identical with the *Tha 'og jo bo rgyal mtshan*, a name encountered in the invocations of the *dharmapālas* – is being depicted as a black god, who brandishes a thunderbolt with his right hand, while the left one holds a vessel in front of his breast. His head is covered with a *sag theb* hat, and he rides either a black horse or a white lion. This *dharmapāla* is said to be a very wrathful and belligerent god, whom many hold responsible for the martial spirit shown occasionally by the monks of Sera. According to a Tibetan legend, *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* is the spirit of a former monk of *Nālandā* in India, who had to work as a tea-cook in this monastery. He led, however, a very sinful life, and as a punishment he was reborn in Tibet in the form of an evil spirit. This demon was later exorcised, subdued, and eventually turned into a protective deity. From time to time he still shows his cruel nature and once, as a legend tells, he provoked the following incident: *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* appeared to a monk staying in a monastery at Chamdo (*Chab mdo*) and ordered him to proceed to Lhasa, where at that time the second rebirth of the *De mo rin po che* was going to be installed as the Regent of Tibet. For some reason *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* had decided that the *De mo rin po che* should rather be killed than be allowed to assume his high office. He asked therefore the monk to enter on the eve of the ceremony the spacious tent in which the future Regent was staying, and to pull down the main tent-pole. At the moment the tent collapsed the monk was supposed to catch by a magic action the "life-spirit" of *De mo rin po che*'s rebirth, thus killing the incarnate priest. The monk did as directed and, having accomplished unrecognized the evil deed, he returned to his monastery. After spending the first night there, he found on the following morning two huge pieces of silver and a small lump of gold in his room, as a gift from the malevolent

[57] Details on the position of *Tha 'og chos rgyal* will be found in work no. 5625 87 of the Tohoku Catalogue, which unfortunately was not accessible to me.

dharmapāla. A high incarnate priest of this monastery soon discovered why and from whom the monk had obtained this treasure, and he warned the culprit to dispose of the gifts immediately, as otherwise certainly some misfortune was going to occur. The murderer, however, did not pay any attention to this advice and continued to keep his ill-gotten reward. After a year had passed, *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* appeared, killed the murderer, and took back the treasure he had given him. To prevent the reoccurrence of such an incident, *Tha 'og chos rgyal po* was bound then once more by a strong oath, which was administered to him by the learned incarnate priest *'Phags pa lha rin po che*, and in order to prevent the *dharmapāla* from moving freely around, his hands and feet were tied with heavy iron chains.

The *dharmapāla 'Ba la ba* is another minor deity who is believed to be an "emanation" of *Pe har*. He is being depicted in the characteristic shape of a *btsan* demon, but without the red horse on which the *btsan* usually ride. He has two chief places of residence, at *Dan 'bag* and *Phu shar*, two localities close to Drepung.

Also the following four gods are apparently "emanations" of *Pe har* or of his companions:

rDo rje thog 'bebs, who has the appearance of a boy eight years old. His eyebrows are of turquoise and his teeth of conch-shell. He brandishes a razor and rides on a lion.

sPrel nag mig gcig, "the one-eyed black monkey". His weapons are an iron sword and a sharp lance, his mount is a monkey.

Srog bdag rgyal chen, who has a single eye and only one hair on his head. His weapon is an iron chopper, and he rides on an iron mule.

dGra lha dpe har, who wears a cherry-brown cloak folded nine times and a *theb zhu* of black silk. He rides on a lion and wields a razor.[58]

Out of the multitude of minor attendants and "officers" (*las mkhan*) who are believed to belong to the train of *Pe har*, at least two figures should be mentioned. One of them is the *las mkhan Thog btsan pa*, depicted as an armoured red-coloured rider brandishing a lance in his right and throwing a snare with the left hand. His chief place of residence is the small estate of *dPal ri gzim khang*, the birth-place of the former state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*. There *Thog btsan pa* used to take possession of the father of this oracle-priest; at present the sister of *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* acts as the medium of this deity.

Thog btsan pa is supposed to be accompanied by the spirit of *rGyal*

58 100, fol. 8a.

mtshan mthar phyin's late main adversary, the so-called *Slob dpon*; this spirit is now, having been turned into a *dharmapāla*, politely called the *Slob dpon lags*. This spirit makes the mediums limp when in trance, since *Slob dpon* suffered from this physical defect during his lifetime. The story explaining the origin of this minor *dharmapāla* will be told in the chapter on the history and position of the oracle-priests of Nechung.

CHAPTER VIII

RDO RJE SHUGS LDAN

A Tibetan tradition claims that the guardian-deity *rDo rje shugs ldan*, "Powerful Thunderbolt", will succeed *Pe har* as the head of all *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* once the latter god advances into the rank of those guardian-deities who stand already outside the wordly spheres. Compared with other *dharmapālas*, *rDo rje shugs ldan* – who bears the titles *dgra lha'i rgyal chen*, "great king of the *dgra lha*", and *srog bdag*, "life-master" – is a divinity of comparatively recent origin. The following legend explains, how and when *rDo rje shugs ldan* came into existence.

At the time of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) an incarnate priest of Drepung monastery named *bSod nams grags pa*[1] gained great fame through his learning and wisdom. He was held in high esteem by his contrymen and the number of his followers increased steadily. But some of the other incarnate lamas and even the Tibetan Government became jealous of his growing influence and thus decided to put an end to *bSod nams grags pa*'s life. The priest, however, with the help of the supernatural powers he had acquired, was able to foil all attempts on his life. At last, weary of the incessant intrigues and complots, *bSod nams grags pa* decided to leave the world voluntarily. He called his chief disciple and informed him of the decision he had taken, requesting the pupil to burn his body after the death. He also predicted that if the various accusations raised against him by his opponents were really without foundation, the smoke from the pyre would rise in a column to the sky, forming there a huge, black cloud in the form of an open hand.

After giving these instructions and in spite of the prayers of his followers, the lama suffocated himself by stuffing a ceremonial scarf into

[1] Dr. G. N. de Roerich kindly informed me, that according to the work *rDo rje shugs ldan gi bskang so* this lama was regarded as a reincarnation of the lama *'Dul 'dzin grags pa rgyal mtshan*. The first rebirth of the latter was the *Paṇ chen bSod nams grags pa* (1478–1554, Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, Geneological Tables), the second the *sprul sku bSod nams grags pa*, and the third and last the personality mentioned in the above legend.

his mouth. After his death the chief disciple placed the body on the pyre, to which he set fire with his own hand. This happened on a sunny, cloudless day, and the smoke from the pyre rose in a straight column to the sky, forming a tremendous, threatening black cloud which soon assumed the shape of an open hand – just as the lama had predicted it. Seeing this sign, the disciple fell on his knees and implored the spirit of his teacher not to retire from the world, but to stay and take revenge on his enemies.

Soon after this event great calamities befell the provinces of Central Tibet. Diseases raged in towns and villages, which killed people and animals. The Tibetan Government suffered misfortunes repeatedly and even the Dalai Lama was not spared: some unknown, evil force began to manifest itself, mostly at noon, by turning over the dishes with the food which was being served to the Dalai Lama and causing damage to his personal property. To scare the spirit away, the huge temple-trumpets had to be blown at noon, so that the Dalai Lama might be able to take his meal in peace.

Astrologers and oracles soon discovered that a vengeance-seeking spirit was the cause of all this trouble. Many experienced lamas and magicians tried to destroy this evil force or to avert at least its harmful influence. All their efforts having failed, the Tibetan Government requested the learned and experienced head-lama of Mindoling (*sMin sgrol gling*) monastery to catch and destroy the roaming demon. The head-lama, taking his seat in front of the Potala, performed a *sByin sreg* ceremony, and by the power of his magic incantations he managed to attract the spirit into a ladle which he held in readiness in his hand. Just when he was going to burn his captive, *bSe khrab*, the wrathful aspect of *Tshangs pa*, decided to help the imprisoned spirit. He created quickly the illusion of a huge monastery before the head-lama's eyes, but the priest, immediately recognizing the deception, did not relax his concentration. Then *bSe khrab* appeared and thrusting his lance under the hill on which the Potala Palace stands, he seemed to turn over the Dalai Lama's residence. For a moment the head-lama's attention got distracted from the ladle and immediately the imprisoned spirit slipped out. Since all subsequent trials proved again in vain, the Tibetan Government and the spiritual leaders of the *dGe lugs pa* sect, who by now had discovered that the cause of all the misfortune was the injustice they had done to *bSod nams grags pa*, decided to request his spirit to make peace with them, and instead of causing further harm to become a protective deity of the Yellow Hats. To this the spirit agreed, and under the name

rDo rje shugs ldan he became one of the chief divine protectors of the *dGe lugs pa* order and a dutiful guardian of its monasteries.

The heavenly abode in which *rDo rje shugs ldan* is believed to dwell, as well as the various forms in which he appears, are described in a Tibetan blockprint dealing with the ways of worshiping this guardian deity: "Surrounded by a protective circle of meteoric iron, stands a large and spacious *gur khang* around which horrible, fierce fires, black wind and whirlwind, these three, are sweeping in succession. Tremendous waves of the wild sea of blood (which is surrounding it) roll into the ten quarters of the world. In the middle of this place, which is filled with various destroyed beings, on top of layers composed of the four elements stands a mount of skeletons; on this peak lies a great and dreadful cemetery. It is an area of the greatest horror and ferocity, it is the land of those whose appearance is of a never changing terror, that of the *rgyal* and *btsan* demons, the *gza' bdud*, of the four classes of accompanying attendants, of *ma mo*, *gshin rje*, *bdud*, and the *dregs pa sde brgyad*. There are countless springs overflowing with red and white poison. Red and white sandalwood-trees, trees blossoming out of season, etc., of a brilliant, terrifying appearance, form an impenetrable palisade around this place. From the middle of whirling and expanding poisonous vapours flashes terrible lightning. Like thunder sounds the noise of deadly blows. Yellow-flashing meteors and a vehement rain of various weapons are falling there. This is the most horrible place of assembly of the "*dregs pa sde brgyad* of the visible world", of the *ma mo*, the *srog bdag*, and the four classes of accompanying attendants. At night fires are blazing there, by day black wind whirls around. A thick mist of pus, blood, and fat falls there at daytime. Raven, owls, screech-owls, crows, and various other demoniacal birds are flying there around, with brains of destroyed evil, obstacle-creating demons (in their beaks) and filling the air with their evil-portending voices. Human corpses – mummified, fresh, and in decomposition – are lying scattered around. Waves of blood and fat billow tremendously. Lions, tigers, leopards, black and brown bear, and other ferocious animals roam around and hunt roaring for enemies. In the centre of this place, on top of a foundation of black meteoric iron, stands a great palace. The eastern side consists of piled up skulls of the *bdud*, its southern part of piled up skulls of the *gshin rje* demons, in the West are heaped the skulls of *rākṣasas*, and the northern part is formed by the piled up skulls of *yakṣas*. The external walls of the palace and its superstructures are made of precious lapis-lazuli.

Four gates lead into this four-cornered palace of skulls, which is of a

most frightening splendour. The four corners are made of red agate, the four gates consist of green smaragd. The four door-frames, made of gold, shine brilliantly. The door-bolts are made of marvellous coral, the superstructures of the doors consist of pearls, and they are all moistened with the blood of corpses. Inside (the building), the pillars and beams are completely covered with skeletons, the tapestries and the ornamental covers of the beams and pillars are made of bone. The hanging decorations are made of bowels. The projecting part of the roof consists of skeletons, the railing is made of dry skulls. The roof, shaped in Chinese fashion, is horrible to look at since it is well-built from skeletons of the most ferocious *rākṣasas*. On the parapet, manufactured of hearts and human heads, are stuck "banners of victory" made of the carcasses of tigers, lions, and of human corpses. Various demoniacal birds descend on these, scaring the enemies of religion with their voices. Furthermore, there are the "umbrellas of the lord-protector of the increasing royal creed", "banners of victory", circular banners and standards of yellow cloth; the points of all these are adorned with jewels and from the edges of the cloth rivulets of blood are dripping.

Inside the palace, corpses of men and carcasses of horses are spread out, and the blood of men and horses streams together forming a lake. Human skins and hides of tigers are stretched into curtains. The smoke of the "great burnt offering" (i.e. human flesh) spreads into the ten quarters of the world. Outside, on top of a platform, revived corpses and *rākṣasas* are jumping around, and the four classes of accompanying attendants and skeletons perform there a dance. On all sides are hung up as tapestries fresh skins of elephants and skins drawn from corpses. There are "banners of victory" and circular banners made from the bodies of lions, tassels made of wet bowels, wreathes consisting of various kinds of heads, and ornaments made from the organs of the five senses, whisks made of human hair, and other fearful things.

In the interior of this gruesome and frightening supernatural abode, in the centre of a vehemently blazing firestorm, emanates from the dark-red syllable *hūṃ* in a ray the lord of religion, he who destroys all evil-doers, the foes of the religious law and all obstacle-creating demons, who is able to obtain the complete concentration of mind, the lord-protector of the royal creed, the great king of the *dgra lha*, the "king of the mind", the frightful *rDo rje shugs ldan*, whose body is of a dark-red colour, who becomes fierce like a savage *rākṣasa*, and whose mouth is bottomless like the sky. He bares his four teeth, sharp like the ice of a glacier, and between them he rolls his tongue with the speed of chain-lightning, causing

the "three worlds" to quake. Uttering the *mā ra ya phad mantra,* he encloses all evil-doers, those who break their religious vows; and the evil, obstacle-creating demons within a gigantic wall. His forehead is contorted in a terrible anger. His three bloodshot eyes stare full of hatred at the inimical *vighnas.* The yellow-red flames, issuing from his eyebrows and from the hair of his face, burn completely the four kinds of *bdud.* The yellow-brown hair of his head stands on end and in the centre above it, within a sun-*maṇḍala,* resides the lord-protector and king of religion, the great *Tsong kha pa*[2] bearing a placid expression.

By moving his two ears vehemently, *rDo rje shugs ldan* produces a fierce, devil-destroying wind, with which he sweeps away completely all the dwellings of the evil-doers, oath-breakers, and inimical obstacle-creating demons. From his two nostrils come forth rain-clouds, and from these again issue raging thunder and lightning, striking with yellow flashes the land of the *vighnas.*

He has one face and two hands. With his right hand he brandishes towards heaven a fiercely flaming sword, made of meteoric iron, cutting with it the life-roots of all evil-doers, those who break an oath, and inimical obstacle-creating demons. With his left hand he holds in front of his breast, and lifting it to his mouth, a skull-cup filled with the organs of the five senses, hearts, brains, and warm blood of the evil-doers, oath-breakers, and the inimical obstacle-creating demons. In the crook of his left arm rests an ichneumon – producing all treasures desired – and a golden hook, with which he brings the "three worlds" into his power. On his head he wears a crown of five dry skulls, from his shoulders hangs a garland of fifty freshly severed, blood-dripping heads. Snakes and rings made of human bone are his ear-ornaments, and his whole body is adorned with jewels, etc. A human skin serves him as a carpet. He wears a freshly drawn elephant-skin as a garment covering the upper portion of his body, a loin-cloth of tiger-skin and the "cemetery-objects", frightful to look at. He is victorious over all the obstacle-creating demons of the upper, lower, and middle spheres, these three, and resting in the *rāja-paryaṅka* on a layer of one hundred thousand brilliant thunderbolts, he floats on the wings of a *khyung* of meteoric iron, thus vanquishing the "three worlds", bringing all the *dregs pa sde brgyad* under his command and frightening terribly all the frightful ones.

In the East resides the "body-emanation" (*sku'i sprul pa*) *Zhi ba'i rgyal chen,* white and with a mild expression. In his right hand he

[2] 1357–1419, founder of the *dGe lugs pa* sect. For details on this figure see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls,* I, p. 116.

brandishes a divination arrow adorned with a mirror; in his left hand he holds a skull-cup. He rides on a white elephant with six tusks.

In the South dwells the "emanation of excellence" (*yon tan gyi sprul pa*) *rGyas pa'i rgyal chen*. He laughs ferociously and appears in a proud attitude. With his right hand he lifts towards the sky a *tshe bum*, full of death-preventing *amṛta*, inside which stands the long wish-granting tree. In his left hand he holds a flat basin filled with jewels. He rides the yellow horse of the *lha*.

In the West dwells the "emanation of speech" (*gsung gi sprul pa*) *dBang 'dus rgyal chen*, of a white colour, having a slightly wild expression. With his right hand he brandishes an iron hook, adorned with a red banner, with which he conquers the "three worlds", and in his left he holds a precious noose. He rides a pink lion.

In the North resides the "emanation of *karma*" (*'phrin gyi sprul pa*) *Drag po'i rgyal chen*. His body is of a green colour, and he is in a ferocious mood. In his right hand he brandishes skyward the *chu gri*, cutting the "life-roots" of enemies, in his left he holds a skull-cup filled with heart-blood. He rides a most ferocious tiger.

All of them, like the reigning (central) deity, wear diadems of five dry skulls, garlands, each consisting of fifty freshly severed human heads, and they are adorned with the horrible 'cemetery-objects'."[3]

We encounter here the same five-fold division existing also in the case of the *sKu lnga* group, viz. the form of *rDo rje shugs ldan* known as the *thugs kyi sprul pa* residing in the centre, the *sku'i sprul pa* occupying the East, etc.

A somewhat different description of the forms of *rDo rje shugs ldan* is given in the work quoted under no. 54.[4] Also the titles assigned there to the five aspects of this *dharmapāla* are not identical with those recorded above:

Text A	*Text B*
thugs kyi sprul pa	*rDo rje shugs ldan*
sku'i sprul pa	*rNam snang shugs ldan*
yon tan gyi sprul pa	*Rin chen shugs ldan*
gsung gi sprul pa	*Padma shugs ldan*
'phrin gyi sprul pa	*Karma shugs ldan*

The most remarkable iconographic differences which become obvious when comparing the texts of the two works here quoted are: the white

[3] 53, fols. 2a-6a, Tibetan Texts, text E.
[4] Fol. 4b.

form of *rDo rje shugs ldan* named *Zhi ba'i rgyal chen* in no. 53 and *rNam snang shugs ldan* in no. 54 holds a skull-cup in the left hand according to the first-mentioned source, but a snare according to the second one. *dBang 'dus rgyal chen* is white and rides a pink lion, while the corresponding form *Padma shugs ldan* is blood-red, wears the attire of a "minister", and rides a turquoise-dragon. The second text also mentions that in the retinue appear nine *śaktis* and eight *bhiksus*, who act as mount-leaders; their names are unfortunately not given. The *dGe lugs pa* priests refer to this group of *śaktis* as the *mDzes sdug yum chen dgu*; they also claim that *rDo rje shugs ldan* is accompanied by ten armed youths (*stag shar bcu*).

Text no. 71 gives again a somewhat different picture of some of the forms in which *rDo rje shugs ldan* is said to appear. According to this source, the *Zhi ba'i rgyal chen* is white in colour and holds a divination-arrow and a snare. The *rGyas pa'i rgyal chen* lifts with both hands a vessel filled with jewels. The *dBang 'dus rgyal chen* is red like a ruby, and he rides a blue dragon of turquoise; he wears the attire of a *zhang blon*. The *Drag po'i rgyal chen* is red and brandishes a razor with his right hand, and a heart with the left one.

rDo rje shugs ldan, as had been pointed out above, is a deity worshiped primarily by the *dGe lugs pa*, who regard him as a dutiful guardian of their temples and particularly of the famous Ganden (*dGa' ldan*) monastery. In most temples of the *dGe lugs pa* one finds paintings and images of this *dharmapāla* in the *mgon khang*, the room reserved for the worship of the protectors of religion. Sometimes a huge figure of *rDo rje shugs ldan* is also painted on the wall inside the main assembly-hall of the monastery, to the left of the entrance.

A form of *rDo rje shugs ldan* somewhat different from those described above is worshiped by the *Sa skya* sect, who regards this *dharmapāla* as the head of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* guarding Sakya Gompa (*Sa skya dgon pa*), the main monastery of this order. In this case *rDo rje shugs ldan* is depicted riding a black horse, and he is known accordingly as the *rDo rje shugs ldan rta nag can*.

An invocation, contained in Text no. 53, fol. 66, enumerates the places from which *rDo rje shugs ldan* is supposed to approach into the presence of the worshiper in order to fulfil the various tasks with which he had been charged:

> "From the place of great happiness of the higher religious sphere, great king of the *dgra lha*, religious guardian of the mighty *vajradhara Tsong kha pa*, you who stard higher then all the gods of the

"three times", come to this place.

rDo.rje shugs ldan rtsal, of undefined form, please come to this place from the heavenly sphere called *'Og min zhing*.

To act as the *srog bdag* of the beings of the "three worlds", please come from *Zhal bzhi'i 'dkyil 'khor*.

In order to act as the lord-protector of the victorious faith, please come from the *dGa' ldan mkha' spyod*.

In order to fulfil the work of pacification, please come from the *Te se gangs*.

To carry out the work of broadcasting quickly the Buddhist faith, please come from *Kha'u brag rdzong*.[5]

To fulfil quickly the work of increasing the might of religion, please come from *Dar lung gnyan*.[6]

To crush the evil-doers, enemies and obstacle-creating demons to dust, please come from *Chu mig dkar mo*.[7]

In order to protect the "white quarter", please come from *Dum bu chos 'khor*.[8]

To destroy the barbaric hordes of the *'byung po* demons, please come from *rNam rab drag po'i lcog*.[9]

To increase the happiness of living creatures, please come from *Tshong 'dus dga' 'tshal*.[10]

To save those who are ignorant how to attain the *nirvāṇa*, please come from *Sa skya rmu chung*.[11]

To drive back the war-hordes of the *rgyal btsan* demons of the "black quarter", please come from *Ngor gyi rten mkhar*.[12]

To increase the clear precepts of the Yellow Hats, please come from *Ri bo chos kyi gling*.[13]

In order to guard the precepts of oral tradition, please come from the *'On gyi gtsug lag khang*.[14]

In order to convert the hated enemies of the lordly creed, please come from *Li yi rgyal khang*.

To carry out the yogic work, please come from *bKra shis ljongs*.[15]

In order to hold the golden-coloured banner of the Buddhist creed, please come from the *sPro khang bde chen lcog*.[16]

[5] Said to be a fort lying close to the Bhutanese border.

[6] Said to be a locality in the Sakya district.

[7] Probably the locality named in Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV 1, p. 59.

[8] Said to be a locality lying three stages to the south of Lhasa.

[9] Probably identical with the *rNam rab dvags po grva tshang*, a monastery to the west of Lhasa; Das, *Dictionary*, p. 762.

[10] Probably identical with *Tshong 'dus tshogs pa* near Mindoling: see Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 124.

[11] Supposed to be a small monastery in the Sakya district.

[12] Perhaps identical with the *Ngor* monastery of *Sa skya*, mentioned in Jäschke, *Dictionary*, p. 130; Das, *Dictionary*, p. 357.

[13] Probably identical with *Ri bo chos gling*: Sarat Chandra Das, 'A brief account from "Dsam Ling Gyeshe".' *JASB*, Calcutta 1887, p. 20.

[14] Probably a shrine in the valley of *'On*. Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 108 sq.

[15] Supposed to be a fort close to Ganden.

[16] Or *sPro bde khang gsar*, the residence of *rDo rje shugs ldan*'s medium in Lhasa.

> Also you, the *bdud gza'*, the *rgyal btsan* demons, *yakṣas*, *lha* and *klu*, *rākṣasas*, *the'u rang* and *'byung po* demons, the *dregs pa sde brgyad*, of the visible world, the hangmen experienced in your work, please come all of you to this place."

A great number of various objects and substances is offered to *rDo rje shugs ldan* at the time of his worship: heart-blood in which yellow-red bubbles rise one after the other, quivering flowers made out of the organs of the five senses, expanding clouds of smoke which rises from the burnt offering of white incense and the smouldering "great meat"; the fire of the lamp made of human fat and having a wick made of human hair. The strongly smelling liquid consisting of brain, blood, and bile, the heap of food composed of the organs of the five senses, hearts, meat, and bone; the pleasing "offering of the sound" of great trumpets, thighbone trumpets, and skull-drums. A great number of animals are sacrificed symbolically: the *khyung*, dragons, lions, elephants, mules and horses, wild yak, tame yak and hybrid yak, goats, sheep, Indian tigers, leopards, bear, hyenas, jackals, long-tailed and grey-haired monkeys, wolves, wild boars, lynx, Manchurian tigers, stags, kyang, musk-deer, wild sheep, rhinos, *dgo*-antelopes, and other game; owls and screech-owls, crows, vultures, peacocks, parrots, cuckoos, mouse-hawks and falcons, raven, and domestic fowl.

The offerings should also include the most beautiful, brilliant attire of a young priest, the "cemetery-ornaments", the upper garment of a lama, the flaming sword and a skull-cup with a heart and the organs of the five senses in it, a hook, a snare for catching demons, a huge club, and an ichneumon. The precious apron made of human bone, the human corpse which serves as a carpet, a freshly drawn elephant-skin and a tiger-skin which serves as a loin-cloth; a divination-arrow, a skull-cup, a flat basin full of jewels, and a *tshe bum*. The black hat of a magician, a garment with long sleeves, jewels, snakes serving as bangles, ornaments made of human bone, leather boots, a girdle, a parasol decorated with silken tassels, a "banner of victory", and the horse-trimmings. An armour consisting of a strong cuirass and a helmet made of thunderbolts whose brilliancy fills all quarters of the world, a sword, arrows, a lance, a battle-axe, and a knife. Also the seven jewels of a world-emperor and the wish-granting tree as well as the wish-granting jewel. The *gtor ma* consisting of a heap of piled up meat and bone of slaughtered inimical obstacle-creating demons, and the disturbed seas of blood, beer, and Chinese tea which are offered as a drink.

The offerings presented to *rDo rje shugs ldan* are usually divided into

two groups: those which are given to the mild, peaceful forms of the *dharmapāla*, and others which are sacrificed to the deity in his wrathful aspects. Accordingly, to please his sense of seeing, one should offer: the wish-granting jewel brilliant like the light of the sun and the moon, which dispells the darkness of ignorance; but also the light of the lamp nourished by human fat and having a wick made from the hair of a corpse. To the sense of smelling: camphor, sandal-wood, saffron, and incense of sweet fragrance; the strong smelling liquid made by mixing blood and bile together. To the sense of taste: the three white and the three sweet substances, the *amṛta* which is offered as a drink, and the excellent food of gods and men, possessing one hundred kinds of taste; the food consisting of meat and bone, piled up into a mountain high like the mountain *Sumeru*. To the sense of hearing: the superb sound of seven *gītas*, the tone of the guitar and flute, this harmonious music of gods and men; the savage sound of the whirling skull-drum and the blare of the thighbone trumpet. To the sense of feeling: a broad cloth of a pure white colour.[17]

The two chief acolytes of *rDo rje shugs ldan* are the deities *Kha che dmar po* and *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin*, who are believed to be the "ministers" of this *dharmapāla*. *Kha che dmar po*'s residence and appearance are described in the following way: in the centre of a red rock of copper, which soars towards heaven, in the middle of the rolling waves of the red ocean – formed by the blood of horses and men – in a brilliant, splendid, dark-brown palace made of leather resides the "*dharmapāla* of emanations" (*sprul pa'i chos skyong*), the wild *btsan* (*btsan rgod*) *Kha che dmar po*. The colour of his body is similar to that produced when the sun shines on a huge mountain of coral. He has the shape of a "son of the *devas*", with one face and two hands. In his right hand he brandishes a red, sharp lance, with which he pierces the heart of an oath-breaker. His left hand, holding a snare of the *btsan* which is wound around the neck of an obstacle-creating demon, rests in front of his breast. He wears a leathern cuirass and a leathern helmet adorned with a "banner of victory" with pendants of silk in nine colours. His facial expression is very fierce and he gnaws his lower lip. His eyes have red-gleaming veins, and they stare full of hatred at the evil *vighnas*. He sits on a very fierce red horse, which has spots white like felt and possesses magic qualities; it is mounted with a priceless saddle and carries a front-belt and the other horse-trimmings.[18]

Also *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin* is said to be a wild *btsan*. He is supposed to appear standing on top of a decaying corpse. The colour of this god is red, he has one face and two hands, three eyes, and bears a ferocious,

[17] 53, fol. 9b. [18] 71, fol. 10a.

proud expression. The dress and attributes of *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin* are claimed to be "self-sprung" (*rang byung*); his right hand brandishes a red lance, the left one holds a noose which is wound around the neck of a *vighna*. The *dharmapāla* wears a turban made of red silk.[19] *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin* is a god of very recent origin, and the following legend explains how this *dharmapāla* came into existence. – Some twenty years ago a Mongolian lama went on a pilgrimage to India, and on his way back he got caught near Phari Dzong (*Phag ri rdzong*) in a snow-storm and froze to death. His body was found by some Tibetan herdsmen who began to joke about the dead priest. This enraged the spirit of the dead lama, and he began to harm these men and their herds. The few herdsmen who survived his attacks consulted the wise and learned *Gro mo dge shes rin po che*, the head-lama of the Dungkar (*Dung dkar*) monastery in the Chumbi Valley (*Gro mo*), who soon found out the reason for their misfortune. He began to propitiate the raging spirit and succeeded in turning him into a *dam can*, whom he placed under the command of *rDo rje shugs ldan*. Later a small shrine, a so-called *btsan khang*, was erected at the place where the body of the Mongolian lama had been found. *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin* is today one of the guardian-deities of Dungkar Gompa, the main *dGe lugs pa* monastery in the Chumbi Valley.

Another *dharmapāla* of a more recent origin, found in the retinue of *rDo rje shugs ldan*, is the guardian-deity *Me thar*. This god is said to be the spirit of the treasurer (*phyag mdzod pa*) of Tengyeling (*bsTan rgyas gling*) monastery, which was destroyed by troops of the Tibetan Government in 1912.[20] The unfortunate treasurer was taken prisoner by the soldiery and was skinned alive. His spirit then turned into a ferocious demon. Later, he was subdued by an incarnate lama, the *gSer kong rin po che*, and turned into a guardian deity of the Buddhist faith. *Me thar* is depicted wearing the colourful garment of a high-ranking lay-official In one hand he holds a rosary, the other one brandishes a lance. He is sometimes depicted riding a blue horse.

Just like *Pe har* and his companions, also *rDo rje shugs ldan* and his two "ministers" are supposed to take possession of mediums. The best-known of the prophetic seers who act as the mouthpiece of *rDo rje shugs ldan* lives at a shrine in Lhasa called *sPro bde khang gsar* (*rgyal khang*) or *sPro khang bde chen lcog*. This is one of the few Tibetan oracle-priests who is not allowed to marry. In a house close to this shrine stays also one of the most renowned mediums of *Kha che dmar po*.

19 145, fol. 12a.

20 See Ch. Bell, *The Religion of Tibet*, Oxford 1931, p. 163.



The *dharmapāla rDo rje shugs ldan* with his acolytes *Kha che dmar po* (below, left) and *Nam mkha' sbar 'dzin* (right).
(Reproduction of a Tibetan painting in the Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Museum fur Volkerkunde, Wien, No. 134 451)

PLATE V



Tshangs pa dkar po, accompanied by the *dharmapālas rDo rje grags ldan* (below, left) and *Tsi'u dmar po* (right).
(Reproduction of a Tibetan painting in the Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, No. 134 449)

CHAPTER IX

TSHANGS PA

Brahmā, one of the most important gods of the Hindu pantheon, occupies only an inferior position in Tibetan Buddhism. His Tibetan name is *Tshangs pa*, and under this term the ordinary four-headed and two handed form of *Brahmā* is understood, represented in accordance with Indian iconographic concepts. More frequently, however, one encounters in Tibetan religious art the representation of a white, one-headed and two-handed god named *Tshangs pa dkar po*, "the white *Tshangs pa*". This god, however, is supposed to be nobody else than *Pe har*, who – according to the source quoted above (see p. 99) – is called in his *srog bdag* form *Tshangs pa dkar po* and who is said to have been known to the *lha* under the name *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can.* It seems not improbable, that just as in the case of the name *brGya byin*, which we already discussed, also in this instance the name of an ancient Tibetan deity was later used as the appellation of an Indian god. *Tshangs pa dkar po* occupies an important place in the ancient Tibetan *Ge sar* epos, where he is called the *yab chen Tshangs pa dkar po*, and the Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum* speaks of the *rGyal po tshangs pa* as a god causing illnesses; a Tibetan oral tradition claims that the cult of the Indian god *Brahmā* began to spread in the Land of Snows only in the 12th century A.D., after the arrival of *Paṇḍit Atīśa.*

Descriptions of the four-headed *Brahmā* are found only rarely in Tibetan works, but there exists on the other hand a considerable number of *sādhanas* of *Tshangs pa dkar po;* some of these have been listed in the index of Tibetan sources. *Tshangs pa dkar po*, also called the *lha'i ging chen Tshangs pa dkar po* or, after the residence of his chief medium, the *La mo byang chub lcog gi chos skyong*, belongs to the group of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, and though a few religious ideas of Indian origin have been incorporated into his rituals, he is nevertheless represented as a deity showing many of the marks thus characteristic of old Tibetan deities belonging to the *dam can* class. The following passage indicates the way in which *Tshangs pa dkar po* is usually represented:

"From the syllable *bhrum* originates a heavenly abode of jewels, square and with four doors, its eastern part being made of crystal, the southern of lapis-lazuli, the western one of ruby, and the northern of gold. Its top is decorated with a roof of thunderbolts and jewels. Precious stones, intestines, human heads, etc., formed into latice-work, are suspended on the walls. Down below beat vehemently and in a most frightening way waves composed of blood and fat of the destroyed enemies and obstacle-creating demons, and of the flesh and bone of human bodies. In the centre of the most brilliantly glistening palace of crystal stands an excellent horse similar to a mighty snow-mountain and with a skin like gold – possessing the speed of clouds –, which is adorned with all the horse-trimmings made of heavenly jewels. On top of this mount emanates from the letter *hrī* a ray of moonlight. From this another ray emanates – cutting the "life-thread" of all noxious *vighnas* and thus enabling the achievement of complete mastership over all mental powers – and is then again absorbed into the letter *hrī*. Everything thus having been completely changed, the supreme god, the "lord of the three worlds", the great *Tshangs pa* appears instantly. The colour of his body is similar to the white brilliancy produced by the gliding of one hundred thousand moonbeams over a mountain of magic crystal. He has one face and two hands. With his right hand he brandishes a long sword of crystal to the height of heaven, with his left he holds a flat bowl filled with jewels, as well as a supernatural snare of lightning – glistening like sun-rays – and a lance with a silk-banner attached to it. He wears a white conch-shell in the knot of his hair, and he is adorned with heavenly jewels. He wears a cuirass of gold, with the neck-feathers of a peacock as joints and adorned with fittings in the form of a *makara*. He appears in a very beautiful, brave, and highly intelligent aspect and in a peaceful mood. He can see clearly everything in the "three worlds" with his third eye."[1]

A somewhat different representation of *Tshangs pa dkar po* is given on fol. 2b of Text no. 175. According to this source the *dharmapāla* is white in colour and smiles angrily. His right hand brandishes a sword of crystal, the left one wields a battle-lance. A blue "air-snare" (*rlung zhags*) spins around the fingers of his left hand, and in the crook of his left arm rests a treasure-producing ichneumon. The cloak which *Tshangs pa* wears is three-coloured – green, red and white –, a circular breast-plate hangs on his breast, he carries a quiver and a bow-case at his sides, a

[1] 12, fol. 24a.

conch-shell diadem adorns his head, and high boots cover his feet. In his train are mentioned: "the five brothers, (each) commanding a thousand men" (*sTong dpon mched lnga*), "the seven classes of *dam can*" (*dam can sde bdun*), the eight great *ging*, and the multitude of a thousand classes of *rgyal phran*. A third form of *Tshangs pa dkar po* has already been mentioned above: a figure dressed in white, holding a chopper in the right hand, a *ba dan* in the left, and riding on a white horse.

According to his characteristic hairdo, *Tshangs pa dkar po* is often called the *Tshangs pa dkar po dung gi thor tshugs can*, "the white *Tshangs pa* who has a conch-shell toupet". Teachings of the Bon allege that *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can* is identical with the "protector of the Bon religion" *Srog bdag rgyal po nyi pang sad*. The name *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can* is supposed to be only the appellation under which this god was known in Indian Buddhism. The Bonpos of *Zhang zhung* are said to have called him *Shel 'gying rgyal po nyi pang sad*, the Bonpos of *g.Yung drung stag gzig* knew him as the *Shel 'gying dkar po*, in China his name was *Zla pang sad kyi rgyal po*, and in the *Khrom*[2] country he is alleged to have borne the name *Srog bdag srid pa('i) rgyal po*. Bon Text no. 69 describes him as a man with a skin white like a conch-shell, who is dressed in white silks. A bow-case and a quiver hang from his girdle, and his head is decorated with the characteristic conch-shell toupet. He brandishes a white lance and rides on a white horse. His companions are a multitude of minor *rgyal po* demons. – Here we have therefore once more a reference to the close relation or even identity of *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can* with *Pe har*, since the above appellation *Shel 'gying dkar po* is only one of the names by which the latter *dharmapāla* is known, as had already been pointed out before. Also his train of *rgyal po* demons shows that at least in the present case he has to be regarded as a member of the *rgyal po* class.

Tshangs pa dkar po is one of the companions of the three-headed and six-handed *rTa mgrin*. He rides in front of this deity, amidst a horde of *btsan* demons, who brandish their snares. Also in this case *Tshangs pa's* hair is bound into a tuft, from which a conch-shell is protruding. His attributes are a sword of crystal, a snare of sunrays, a lance, and a bowl of jewels. He wears a cuirass made of leather, and a helmet of the same material protects his head.[3]

A peculiar *parivāra* of *Tshangs pa dkar po* is described on fol. 4b of Text no. 159, where it is mentioned that this *dharmapāla* is being accom-

[2] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 244, note 2.

[3] 47, fol. 45a.

panied by the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* in his ordinary form – his hands holding a white lance and a bowl filled with jewels – and by the local deities *U shang mthon pa dkar gsal dgra lha*, riding on a white horse and carrying a jewel, further the *'Brong gzhung bum pa can* and the *Brag gdong nag*.

The various places where *Tshangs pa dkar po* is believed to dwell, and the tasks which he is supposed to carry out, are enumerated on fols. 25–26 of Text no. 12f in the following manner: "Please come from the sky, assuming the perfectly pure religious body, come also from the middle of the gathering clouds of happiness, you who have various arms in order to subdue the evil-minded; rise, you, the great *Tshangs pa*! You who appear in various forms, with a conch-shell in the toupet, in order to elucidate the work of appeasement, please come quickly from "the great palace of *Tshangs pa*'s place", you who possess four faces. When carrying out unobstructed the work of broadcasting the Buddhist creed, approach from the palace *Aḍakavatī*.[4] Your four attributes cause the four continents to quake. Please come here in a brilliant and pleasing aspect. When enlarging the might and extension (of the religion), please come to this place from the thirty-three abodes of the gods, you of heavenly descent, extremely powerful and fierce. When carrying out most perfectly the work of supreme rule, please come from the blue mountain of *Śambhala*[5] in the northern direction – carrying the short spear with a red silk-banner and riding a blue horse – in order to bring into your power the "three worlds". When destroying to dust the noxious *vighnas*, please come quickly from the land of the *rākṣasas*, which lies in the south-eastern direction, from the city of *Langka*, you the *bSe'i khrab can* with flaming teeth, in order to destroy all the evil-minded. When guarding dutifully the keeping of the rigid religious vows, please come from *Udyāna*, the abode of the *ḍākinīs*. When letting arise in one's mind the excellent notions of the bodhisattvahood, please come from Bodhgayā in India. When guarding dutifully the religious teachings of Tibet, please come from the unperishable, self-sprung Samye monastery. When carrying out the task of a executioner (*srog gi gshed*) of the noxious *klu* and *bdud*, please come from the cathedral of *Khra 'brug*.[6] When protecting

[4] Tib. *lCang lo can*: Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 575; a place in Tibet called *lCang lo can* is mentioned in L. Petech's *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, T'oung Pao Monographs I, Leiden 1950, p. 266.

[5] On Śambhala see A. Grünwedel, 'Der Weg nach Śambhala,' *Abhandlungen der königl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXIX/III, München 1915, pp. 1–118.

[6] An ancient shrine 8 km to the south of Netong (*sNe gdong*); Tucci, *Tombs*, p. 70 and note 130; Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 116, note 49.

the teachings of the holy *dharma* and the religious discipline, please come from the supreme place of pilgrimage called *bTsun mo tshal.*[7] When leading the fierce war-hordes of the *btsan*, please come from the place called *Tsher gseb* in Tibet. In order to grasp the life-roots of the degenerated age, please come from *La mo byang chub lcog.*[8] Please come, *Mahādeva*, great *Tshangs pa*, please come, great king *bSe'i khrab can*! Please come, you the various fierce "emanations" who guard the religion, please come, you the eight great *sgrol ging*, please come, you the "three commanders of the life-masters" (*srog bdag gi dmag dpon gsum*)".

We noticed that the above text refered to two forms of *Tshangs pa*, one known on account of the characteristic hairdo as the *Tshangs pa dung gi thor tshugs can*, and the other called *bSe'i khrab can*. The first-named figure is the peaceful aspect of *Tshangs pa* (= *Tshangs pa zhi ba*), while *bSe'i khrab can*, "he who has a cuirass of leather" - or shortly *bSe khrab can* and *bSe khrab* - is the wrathful aspect of this *dharmapāla* (= *Tshangs pa drag po*). The name *bSe'i khrab can* is a parallel to *lCam sring*'s alternative appellation *Beg tse can* or *Beg tse*. A name more rarely used, referring to one of *bSe khrab*'s legendary abodes, is *Tsher gseb* (also: *gser*) *chos skyong chen po* or *Tsher gseb pa*. In his capacity as a protector of a shrine called *mNgon dga' lha khang*, *bSe khrab* is also addressed by the name *mNgon dga' lha khang gi chos bdag tshangs pa drag po bse khrab can.*[9]

The identity of *Tshangs pa dkar po* and *bSe khrab* is also expressed in Text no. 48 (fol. 3b), where *bSe khrab* is described as originating out of a ray of light, emanating from *Tshangs pa*'s heart.

According to Text no. 71 fol. 5b, *bSe khrab* has the following appearance: "The *yakṣa*, the great wild *btsan bSe'i khrab can* is of a red colour: he has one face, two hands, and three rolling eyes. His forehead and eyebrows are angrily contorted. Baring his fangs, he gnaws the lower lip with his upper teeth, which are sharp like the ice of a glacier. With his right hand he brandishes a big club, dispersing with it the war-hordes of evil spirits. His left hand, which rests in front of his breast in the *tarjanī-mudrā*, holds a snare with which he ties the heads and bodies of the enemies of religion. In the crook of his left arm rests a lance with a fluttering red banner on top. On his head he wears a helmet adorned with flags and his body is covered with a flowing garment of red silk, on top

[7] Said to be a locality situated some forty miles to the east of Lhasa.

[8] *La mo lcog*, *La mo byang chub khog*, *La mo byang chub lhag* (Das, *Dictionary*, p. 1202), a village to the east of Lhasa, the centre of *Tshangs pa*'s cult.

[9] 48, fol. 32a.

of which he wears a cuirass. From his girdle are suspended a quiver made of tiger-skin, a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard, and a sword. He rides an excellent horse of a light-brown colour, with a saddle, bridle, and head-ornaments of silk. On his side he leads a vermilion-coloured cock.

On the right side is the "body-emanation", the dark-blue *Klu btsan* wearing a hat and a flowing garment of silk with nine folds, both of a black colour. A snake serves him as a snare; he rides a black horse. A hundred thousand black snakes act as his messengers.

On the left side is the "emanation of speech", the dark-red wild *btsan*, who wears a hat and a flowing garment of red silk. With his right hand he wields the red *btsan*-snare, with his left he brandishes a banner of red silk. He rides a red horse and a red monkey is his messenger.

In front is the "emanation of mind", the white *lHa rigs*, who wears a sacerdotal cloak of white silk, with a hat of the same colour; he is adorned with jewels. In his right hand he holds a white snare. Riding a white horse, he holds with his left hand the bridle and simultaneously an arrow. His messenger is a *dge slong* wearing all the emblems of his position. – The king of kings, *Rin po che'i mtshar* (also: *mchar*) *sdug can*, wears a flowing garment of heavy, red-spotted silk. In his right hand he holds a stick of cane, in his left a white banner. He rides a black horse and sends an armed giant as his messenger.

In the back is the "emanation of excellence", the white *gTer gyi bsrung ma*, who wears a hat and a garment of white silk. In his right hand he holds a snare, and in his left a stick of cane. He rides a vermilion-coloured cock and the cat with a spot on its head is his messenger.

The four intermediary quarters are the domain of the "*karma*-emanation", the *bTsan gyi dmag dpon*, who is red in colour. He wears a cuirass and a hat of red silk. In his right hand he holds a snare and in his left a cane-stick. He rides a light-brown horse with white heels and a black *sngags pa* is his messenger."

Arranged into a scheme, the distribution of the "emanations" is then as given below:

yon tan gyi sprul pa
gTer gyi bsrung ma

sku'i sprul pa — *Klu btsan*

bSe'i khrab can

gsung gi sprul pa — *bTsan rgod*

thugs kyi sprul pa
lHa rigs

In the intermediary quarters:
'phrin gyi sprul pa
bTsan gyi dmag dpon

The same description of *bSe khrab* is contained in Text no. 47 (fol. 60b); in this case, however, his *parivāra* is represented in a partly different way: on the right side appears the "body-emanation", the dark-blue *Klu btsan* whose mount is a black horse. He is dressed in a cloak of black silk, nine times folded, a turban of silk is wound around his head. and he brandishes a snake-snare. Black snakes are his messengers. On the left side rides the "emanation of speech", addressed like the chief deity by the name *bSe khrab can.* This figure is dark-red, its garments are of the same colour, and its hands hold a red snare of the *btsan* demons and a dart. The mount is a red horse of the *btsan* demons, and red monkeys serve as messengers. The place in front of the chief deity is occupied by the *lHa'i srung ma,* a deity white in colour and brandishing a white snare. White "birds of the *lha*" are soaring overhead, and a fully-ordained monk is the messenger. In the space above rides on a black horse the "emanation of mind", the *rJe'i rgyal po,* who is dressed in a red-spotted garment. His right hand lifts a white stick, and his left hand holds a white conch-shell. He dispatches heroes as his messengers. The place in the back is occupied by the "emanation of excellence" *Chos gter gyi srung ma,* a white deity dressed in garments of the same colour. The right hand brandishes a white snare, and the left hand lifts a white-coloured stick. The mount is a horse with white heels, and cats serve as messengers. The four intermediary points are occupied by the four *'Phrin las mgon po.* They are clad in armour, wear silken turbans, and ride brownish horses with white heels. Each of them brandishes a white

snare with his right hand and holds a white stick in the left one. They dispatch black *sngags pa* as their messengers.

When discussing the companions of *Pe har* we mentioned that the deity *Li byin ha ra*, belonging to the group of the so-called *ṃChog gi sde brgyad*, is regarded by some of the Tibetans as a form, or at least an "emanation", of *Pe har*. Others, however, believe that *Li byin ha ra* is a fierce form of *Tshangs pa dkar po*, and accordingly on fol. 17a of Text no. 159 he is addressed with his full name as *Tshangs pa drag po srog bdag 'od kyi rgyal po li byin ha ra*, "*Li byin ha ra*, the fierce *Tshangs pa*, the life-master, the king of light"; shorter versions of this name, as encountered in various Tibetan texts, are: *Tshangs pa li byin ha ra*, *'Od kyi rgyal po li byin ha ra*, *rGyal mchog li byin ha ra*, *Chos rgyal li byin ha ra*, or simply *Li byin ha ra*. Apart from the pink form of *Li byin ha ra*, which we described in the train of *dPal ldan dmag zor remati*, there is an ash-coloured form of this *dharmapāla*, having a single, fiercely flaming eye in the centre of the brow. The yellow-brown flaming hair is turned upward. His upper teeth are so long that they reach the centre of his breast, and his lower teeth touch the middle of his forehead. *Li byin ha ra*'s right hand holds a thunderbolt and a sharp sword, the left carries a human heart and a snare emanating sun-light. He wears a loose garment of white silk. His mount is a white lion with locks of turquoise.

A third form of this *dharmapāla* is the *Li byin ha ra dkar po*, "the white *Li byin ha ra*", also called the *rGyal po har mdzes*, who wears a white *la'u* and rides a white horse. His weapons are a sword of crystal and a white battle-lance.[10] *Li byin ha ra* is further mentioned in Text no. 159, in the company of three other guardian deities. They are the *Drag chen srid pa'i rgyal mo* – a form of *dPal ldan lha mo* represented as a three-headed goddess riding on a mule and holding a club, a skull-cup, a magic notched stick, a snare, a mirror, and a *phur bu* in her six hands –, further the brownish-red *rDo rje rdzing btsan*, who appears clad in full armour, and the *Klu bdud nag po* (*mgo dgu*), a nine-headed and eighteen-handed Bon deity which is said to blow off its flaming breath against the enemies.

A deity which some claim to be a wrathful form of *Tshangs pa dkar po* is the *Srog bdag dung gi thor tshugs* (*can*), "the master of life who has a toupet with a conch-shell in it", who is classified among the *gSang ba'i sde brgyad*. He derives the name from his peculiar hairdo, extremely similar to that of *Tshangs pa dkar po*: a toupet with a conch-shell pro-

[10] 6, fol. 37b.

truding from it, bound together by two broad pieces of cloth which cross each other in front, above the forehead.

A local protective deity subordinate to *Tshangs pa dkar po* and addressed therefore as the *Tshangs pa chen po'i bka' nyan pa* is the *Klu bdud g.yag mgo can* or *Klu'i rgyal po g.yag gi gzugs can*, who belongs to the order of the *dge bsnyen*. As already indicated by his name, he has the form of a wild yak, with hoofs of iron and sharp horns. He is believed to wear adornments of bone and bells of gold and turquoise.[11]

There are two chief mediums of *Tshangs pa dkar po* in Tibet, the principal one residing at Lamo (*La mo*) monastery, about forty miles to the east of Lhasa on the road to Kham (*Khams*), and the other one at *Khra 'brug* in the Lhoka (*lHo kha*) province; both places have been mentioned in the invocations on p. 148. Especially the seer of Lamo, known as the *La mo tshangs pa*, is held in high esteem for his prophetic powers, and he is therefore occasionally consulted by the Tibetan Government. *Tshangs pa dkar po*'s aspect *bSe'i khrab can* is believed to be the special protector of *dGa' ldan shar rtse*, "the eastern peak of *dGa' ldan*", one of the two main departments of Ganden monastery. Several oracle-priests are believed to become possessed by this wrathful form of *Tshangs pa dkar po*. One of these mediums lives at Netang (*sNye thang*, **mNyes thang ra ba stod*),[12] a place about eighteen miles to the southwest of Lhasa, and another one lives in a neighbouring locality called *Nyi ma thang*.[13]

159, fol. 22a.
Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 61 sq.; Das, *Dictionary*, pp. 506, 1160.
Das, *Dictionary*, p. 479.

CHAPTER X

RDO RJE LEGS PA

One of the many Tibetan deities said to have tried to obstruct *Padmasambhava's* mission in Tibet, but who were eventually subdued and even turned into protectors of the Buddhist teachings, is the *dam can rDo rje legs pa,*[1] shortly called *rDor legs;* he is supposed to be accompanied by his three hundred sixty brothers. According to the *Padma thang yig* the submission of *rDo rje legs pa* and his brothers took place at *'O yug bge'u tshang.*[2] He is also called the *sKyes mchog vajra thig le rtsal,* the *dge bsnyen rDo rje legs pa* – this appellation he is being given even in the Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum* –, the *dge bsnyen Vajra-sādhu, dGra lha sku la gsang,* the *ma sangs g.Ya' spang skyes gcig,*[3] the *ma sangs rDo rje legs pa, Tha skyes kyi gtso bo,* and *rDo rje mdzes pa.* Some of the works dealing with the cult of this *dharmapāla* mention also the names *bKa' nyan btsan rgod gter gyi bdag, A jo dge bsnyen chen po,* and *bTsan rgod dmag dpon 'bar ba;* it may be, however, that at least the last two names are the appellations of some minor companions of *rDo rje legs pa.*

According to the teachings of the *rNying ma pa* sect, he is one of the highest-ranking *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* and a member of the triad known by the name *Ma gza' dam gsum,* being therefore regarded as more powerful than *Pe har* himself. The *dam can rDo rje legs pa* is also a member of the so-called *gter gyi srung ma sde bzhi,* "the four orders of treasure-guards". To this group belong the twelve *bsTan ma* (or *brTan*

[1] On *rDo rje legs pa* see also the work no. 5625 of the Tohoku Catalogue, further Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung,* p. 87. Two interesting paintings showing the garments, attributes, etc. of *rDo rje legs pa,* but not the *dharmapāla* himself, whose body has been substituted in this case by the appropriate "seed syllable", are preserved in the Tibetan Collection of the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm (nos. H 3359 B and H 5359 D). On this type of Tibetan paintings see P. H. Pott, 'A remarkable piece of Tibetan ritual painting and its meaning,' *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* XLIII, Leiden 1943, pp. 215–241.

[2] G. C. Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma,* Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, III, Paris 1933 p. 245.

[3] See also Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma,* p. 247.

ma) goddesses, the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*, and also the *dam can sTong dpon dgra lha*. These three deities and *rDo rje legs pa* are supposed to dwell in this case upon four different kinds of treasures,[4] distributed in the four main quarters of the world in the following way:

Direction:	*Treasure:*	*Name:*
East	the white treasure of conch-shells	*dam can brTan ma bcu gnyis*
South	the yellow treasure of gold	*dam can rDo rje legs pa*
West	the red treasure of copper	*gNyan chen thang lha*
North	the black treasure of iron	*dam can sTong dpon dgra lha rgyal*[1]

rDo rje legs pa is undoubtedly a deity of Central Asian origin, but there is nevertheless also a belief current among the Tibetans that he is the spirit of an Indian Buddhist monk, who had been a prefect of the *Nālandā* monastery. He committed, however, many grave sins, and as a punishment he was reborn as a roaming ghost in Tibet; there he was later subdued by *Padmasambhava*, and on this occasion he received the title *dam can*, "bound by an oath".

An interesting figure is *rDo rje legs pa*'s "officer" (*las mkhan*) *mGar ba nag po*, "the dark-hued blacksmith", or *mGar ba'i mtshan can*, "he, who bears the marks (or attributes) of a blacksmith". *mGar ba nag po* is the chief "emanation" of *rDo rje legs pa*, and he is venerated by the Tibetan blacksmiths as the protector of their craft.[5] Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain details about the way in which this worship is being carried out. We may mention in this connection that a blacksmith-deity worshiped by the Bon is the blue *dBal gyi mgar ba*, who is said to live in a cave of the *dbal*-mountian (*dbal ri*). – The blacksmiths of Tibet, while being generally regarded as a lower class of people, with whom intermarriage is viewed as undesirable, are otherwise not subject to the strong discrimination which is practised in many other countries against men of their profession. The blacksmiths living in Lhasa are united in an association (*'dod dpal ba*) controlled by the Government, and once a year, in summer, this association holds a festive meeting

[4] 11.

[5] Tucci mentions a "king of blacksmiths" *mGar yug pa* (*Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 740, note 32); on the possible relation between the family-name *mGar* and the word "blacksmith" see *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 688, note 115.

known as the *dbyar skyid.* In Ladakh (*La dvags*) - according to informations received from Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark - it is customary to engage the services of one or several blacksmiths for beating the drums at a marriage-feast.[6]

A Central Tibetan tradition alleges that a blacksmith had once become possessed by *mGar ba nag po.* While in the trance he manufactured a sword which had strong magic powers, protecting its owner from death by weapons and causing on the other hand, whenever it was brought into action, a terrible defeat to the enemies. This sword is said to be now preserved in one of the monasteries of south-eastern Tibet.

Before giving details of *rDo rje legs pa*'s iconography, we may mention the legendary descent of this *dharmapāla*: his father is said to be the *dMu bdud dkar po* (*mthu bo che*), who rides on a wildly leaping horse. He wears the cuirass of the *dmu*-demons, and his head is covered with a helmet in the *dmu*-style. He brandishes the "endlessly long banner of the *dmu* demons". The mother of *rDo rje legs pa* is the *bDud gza' mig dkar* (*drag rtsal can*). She rides on the black *bdud*-horse and carries the banner of the *bdud* made of black silk. She wears a dress of black silk and a diadem. These two deities are accompanied by their serfs, called *Ma sangs spun dgu*, "the nine *ma sangs* brothers", powerful warriors who carry quivers of tiger-skin and bow-cases made from the skin of a leopard.[7] This group of deities is said to have taken its origin from nine brothers, who once lived in the Tsang (*gTsang*) province. One of them was a monk of a monastery called *'U yug bu mkhar dgon* near Shigatse (*gZhis ka rtse*). He and his eight brothers were killed by enemies, and their spirits changed into harmful demons, the spirit of the monk becoming their leader. They were later on bound by an oath and placed into the *parivāra* of *rDo rje legs pa.* A second group of serfs accompanying the parents of this *dharmapāla* are the six *Zur ra skyes* (*drug*) who, too, are said to have the appearance of warriors. Each of them has a quiver full of rattling arrows and a bow whose sinew produces a buzzing sound. - According to another tradition the mother of *rDo rje legs pa*, who in this case bears the title "chief of the *ging*" (*ging gi gtso*), is called *'Jigs pa'i zer mo mig gcig ma.*

An invocation of *rDo rje legs pa* and his train, contained on fol. 2b

[6] G. N. Roerich in his interesting description of the 'Ceremony of breaking the stone' (*Journal of the Urusvati Research Institute*, II, 1932) mentions that in some cases, when a stone in the shape of the stomach (believed to be the dwelling of the demon *Ha la rta brgyad*) is found under a threshold, it should be broken to pieces by one hundred blacksmiths on three crossroads.

[7] 80, fol. 4a.

of Text no. 81, reads as follows: "*rDo rje legs pa* with your retinue, you who dwell on the mountian *Ma la ya*, in the western bat-bone castle, great *dgra lha* – please come, you, the nobly-born of *Jambudvīpa*, you, who can stop with an arrow the course of the sun, being the master of heaven and earth. Please come from *'U yug shangs*, great wild *btsan*, you who are the lord of India, Tibet, Mon, and Tsang, you, the nobly-born, with your companions."

The same source also describes *rDo rje legs pa*'s supernatural abode and the deities which reside there: "Surrounded by the wild sea of blood lies a castle built of bat-bone, from which a five-coloured rainbow emanates. Up in the sky, poisonous clouds gather and a terrific storm, accompanied by fiercely rolling thunder and by the flashing of meteors and lightning, rages there. Around this abode – on whose perimeter lies a circle of black iron hills – blows a black storm, and in the centre of this place comes forth on a "sun-lotus", riding either on a light-brown billy-goat or on a brilliantly white lion, the nobly-born *rDo rje legs pa* of a dark-red colour, with one face and three eyes, with a gaping mouth and bared teeth, exhaling poisonous vapours. The hair which covers his head, his eyebrows and the hair of his face blaze like fire. His right hand brandishes a nine-pointed thunderbolt of meteoric iron, crushing with it the heads of the enemies of religion, with his left he clutches a heart, still warm and dripping with blood, which he lifts to his mouth. His body is covered with a voluminous garment of red silk, and he wears a purple-brown hat. On his right side hangs a quiver made of tiger-skin, and on his left side a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. His attire is full of splendour, and he is of an overpoweringly horrible appearance.

In front of *rDo rje legs pa*, on a "sun-lotus", rides on a brown billy-goat the *las mkhan mGar ba'i mtshan can*. He is of a dark-blue colour, has one face and two hands. In his right hand he brandishes a flaming hammer of bronze, in his left he holds a pair of black bellows. On his head he wears the hat called *'o bas zhva*, dark-blue in colour. His body is covered by a flowing garment of black silk with nine folds. He has the appearance of a "hero" (*dpa' bo*) and shows himself in a fierce, horrifying manner.

Moreover, in the train of the main deity, appear the four classes of *ging* and the three hundred sixty accompanying beings, as: *lha*, *btsan*, *bdud*, and *dge bsnyen*. Overhead, falcons are soaring, and in front of this host of spirits, which surrounds the main deity, runs a monkey with a grey body and a black head. On the right side a brown bear claps its paws, on the left a bear-cub is jumping, in the back stands an iron wolf baring his fangs."

A somewhat different desctiption of *rDo rje legs pa* is given on fol. 4b of the same source: there it is said that he rides a white lion, wears a piebald garment, and his head is covered with a white felt-hat, with a grinning, pink skull in front. His right hand brandishes a golden *vajra*, with his left hand – its thumb being held erect – he lifts the heart of an enemy of the religion to his mouth. In another variety of his red form, *rDo rje legs pa* holds a white *ba dan* in his right hand and a battle-lance in the left one. A white *rDo rje legs pa*, dressed in a white garment, is described on fol. 35b of Text no. 6. He brandishes a thunderbolt and a battle-lance, and sitting on a white goat he rides across the sky. According to the *rNying ma pa* text listed under no. 78, *rDo rje legs pa* – who is called in this case the *dge bsnyen Vajra-sādhu* – is sky-blue. His head is covered by a cane-hat (*snyug zhu*) adorned with silk-pendants, his right hand holds a thunderbolt, and the left one clutches a heart. He is surrounded by his three hundred sixty brother-companions; about these the text only says that they carry different weapons and ride various animals. Also in this case *rDo rje legs pa* is accompanied by the "very ferocious *mGar nag*", who wears a *theb zhu* and rides on a goat. His attributes are a flaming hammer and a pair of bellows. – I have seen, however, also a painting of *mGar ba nag po* where he was shown contrary to his usual way of representation and differently from the descriptions contained in the iconographic texts as riding a white lion with turquoise-locks.

A somewhat different description of the blue *rDo rje legs pa* – who in this case should perhaps be addressed more correctly as *mGar ba nag po* – is given on fol. 6 of Text no. 9. In this case *rDo rje legs pa*'s right hand lifts skyward a flaming lump of iron (*lcags kyi tho lum 'bar ba*), with which he crushes to powder those who oppose the teachings of Buddhism. The other hand holds a pair of bellows. He is accompanied by three hundred sixty retainers riding on goats and by the multitude of the *lha sri sde brgyad, the'u rang, 'byung po*, etc.

The retinue of *rDo rje legs pa* is claimed to be so great that "the crowd of the three hundred sixty brother-companions fills with their banners of silk the whole sky, the host of the war-hordes fills the space between heaven and earth, and their horses cover all the foundations of the earth."[8] According to other sources, hundred twenty of *rDo rje legs pa*'s brothers appear in the sky mounted on birds, hundred twenty of them ride on lions and dwell in the space between sky and earth, and the same number of companions ride on goats and reside on the earth. In another case,

[8] 80, fol. 4b.

rDo rje legs pa is being escorted on the right side by three hundred sixty riders brandishing lances of the *btsan* demons, on his left side stand twenty one *dge bsnyen*, in the back is a crowd of singing *sman*, and in front are forty two *'dzin ging* who assault the enemies with their weapons. He is further accompanied by a thousand wild *btsan*, by nine wolves of iron, and nine wild dogs of copper.

A number of Tibetan seers claim to become possessed in their trances by *rDo rje legs pa* and by his *las mkhan mGar ba nag po*. The best-known of these mediums lives at *Pa ri*, a village close to Lhasa.

CHAPTER XI

THE DGE BSNYEN PHYING DKAR BA

A *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* who acts as the protective deity of a great number of Tibetan monasteries is the *dge bsnyen Phying* (also: *'Phying*) *dkar ba* or *lHa srung phying pa dkar po*. At Ganden he is called either by the above name or as the *dGa' ldan 'brog ri'i dge bsnyen*. He occupies a very prominent position at Reting (*Rva sgreng*), where he is called the *gzhi bdag Phying dkar ba* or *Rva sgreng gi jo bo Phying dkar ba*.[1] At Sera his appellation is *rDo rje dpal ldan*, and at Dungkar Gompa in the Chumbi Valley he is called the *Ne ser jo bo chen po*, *Ne ser lha yi dge bsnyen chen po*, *lHa mchog jo bo chags gling*, and *Gangs btsan pa*. Two other names of this *dharmapāla* seem to be *gZhi bdag dpal ldan* and *rDo rje dpa' rtsal*. Legends claim that *Phying dkar ba* had his residence originally at *Nālandā* in India from where he was transfered to Tibet by *Paṇḍit Atīśa*, and further that he is to be regarded as an "emanation" of the *bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara*. Moreover, many Tibetans believe that he is nobody else than *rMa chen spom ra*, the most important mountain-god of northeastern Tibet, whom we shall describe presently. *Phying dkar ba*'s name is derived from his characteristic headdress, a hat of white felt called *phying zhva*, as worn by some of the Tibetan tribes inhabiting the regions lying at the foot of the *rMa chen spom ra*.

Most Tibetans believe that just like *Pe har* also this *dharmapāla* is on the verge of passing into the higher existence among the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, and many even claim that this event already occurred when in 1947 troops of the Lhasa Government stormed Reting Gompa. At that time *Phying dkar ba*, the chief deity (*chos bdag*) among the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* guarding this monastery, is said to have left the desacrated temple and retired to the heaven of *Śambhala*.

A description of the residence and the appearance of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* – who is called here by the name used at Dungkar monas-

[1] See the work composed by *Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas* of *Rva sgreng* and listed in the Tohoku Catalogue under no. 6215.



The *dharmapala bSe'i khrab can.*
(Reproduction of a Tibetan painting in the Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Museum fur Volkerkunde, Wien, No. 134 450)

PLATE VII



Blacksmiths in Ladakh beating the drums on the occasion of a marriage.
(Photograph: Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark)

teǝy – is given on fol. 8a of Text no. 71. In this case, however, the deity's characteristic hat of white felt remains unmentioned, but instead the text speaks of a turban, made of Banarasi cloth. The description runs as follows: "On a beautiful mountain-meadow, adorned with numerous medicinal herbs and forests of various trees, where mountain-game live and the pleasant twittering of a multitude of alpine birds resounds, in the centre of this glorious place rises a palace made of crystal, turquoise, and gold, these three, beautifully adorned with five hundred pinnacles. In it is to be found an excellent horse – great and white like a tremendous, broken-off piece of a snow-mountain – possessing the swiftness of a cloud, adorned with a saddle and the horse-trimmings made of jewels, on top of which resides he who possesses a long lance of white crystal with a sharp point of gold, emanating light – the *Ne ser jo bo chen po;* the colour of his body is similar to that of mountain-crystal. He has one face and two hands. In his right hand he holds a long lance of white crystal, possessing a sharp point of gold and with a billowing flag of heavenly silk attached to it. With his left hand he holds the wish-granting gem. He smiles broadly; he wears a turban of Banarasi cloth, a dress with broad sleeves made of heavenly silk, and he sits in a proud posture. To his right and left, as well as in the outer circle, he is surrounded by his queen, his son, minister, war-lord, his subjects, etc., an unimaginable multitude of these."

A different representation is given, however, on fol. 36b of the same text: "The *Jo bo chen po* is of a glacier-like brilliance. He has one face and two hands. He wears a flowing garment of white silk, etc., and the dress of a priest. With his right hand he holds a spear of crystal, with his left hand a flat basin, filled with gems."

According to Tibetan belief there exist several "emanations" of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba.* One of these is supposed to reside in the southeastern Tibetan province of Lhobrag (*lHo brag*) at a monastery called *Kha chu dgon pa,* which lies close to the Bhutanese border. This form of *Phying dkar ba* is known after the name of its residence as the *Kha chu'i gzhi bdag mNgon dga'.* The *dharmapāla* called by this name has a white human body. With his right hand he brandishes a club, and in his left hand he holds a flat bowl filled with gems. The lower part of his garment is white, the upper one red. He is hatless and his hair is bound to plaits. Paintings show him standing, without a mount.

Also the local protective deity of the Talung (*sTag lung*) monastery in Phenyul (*'Phan yul*), who is known as the *sTag lung dge bsnyen,* is believed to be an emanation of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba,* and he is

therefore depicted in the same way like the latter divinity. The *sTag lung dge bsnyen* is supposed to have been indirectly responsible for the creation of the *dharmapāla gTsod rva can*, now a guardian of the *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling* monastery in Phenyul. About this event the following legend is being told.

Close to the border of the Phenyul district lies a small mountain-retreat which was once the residence of a highly learned lama, the *rGyal mchog chos rje*, and his hundred and eight disciples. The most insignificant among them was a *yogī* called *brGya thung ba*, an ugly dwarf with an enormous head, who was regarded by his fellow-monks as a rather witless man. In reality, however, *brGya thung ba* was a highly skilled *yogī*, who had achieved great supernatural powers by ardently worshiping the deity *rDo rje 'jigs byed* in an aspect called *Bre nag sde lnga*, and who only found it amusing to deceive his fellow-monks by professing complete ignorance of any higher learning. One day *rGyal mchog chos rje*, the *guru* of this community, fell dangerously ill, much to the distress of his followers, who implored him to apply now all his mental and physical powers in order to remain alive. The learned lama, however, realized that only the seeds of the Indian medicinal fruit called *a ru ra*,[2] which would have to be brought to him completely fresh and within a few hours time, would be able to restore his health. In spite of this unfulfillable task, all the disciples assembled to discuss what could be done in order to procure the badly needed medicine for their *guru*. None of them, however, could promise that he would be able to reach India this quickly and to come back immediately again. Only *brGya thung ba* stood up and declared that he would be in the position to save his master, and he invited all the other monks to come and witness on the next morning his departure for India. More amused than astonished, not believing that *brGya thung ba* was really in the earnest, many of the monks assembled at dawn near his cell to see what was going to happen. When the sun rose, *brGya thung ba* left his cell and blew thrice on a thighbone trumpet he was carrying. Immediately, to the immense surprise of the onlookers, his arms changed into a pair of mighty wings and with heavy strokes he quickly disappeared towards the Indian plains.

In spite of his rapid flight, he discovered after arriving at his aim that it would be impossible to return to his dying *guru* before noon, when the latter – in accordance with religious precepts – would have to take his last meal for the day. *brGya thung ba* therefore took a few *a ru ra*

[2] Hübotter, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der chinesischen sowie der tibetisch-mongolischen Pharmakologie*, Berlin-Wien 1913, p. 78: *rGya a ru ra* – Frucht einer Art Canarium.

seeds and with a mighty thrust he hurled the medicine in the direction of Tibet. The seeds fell unnoticed into the eating-bowl of his *guru* who was just taking his meal, and after swallowing the medicine the lama immediately felt better. At sunset *brGya thung ba* returned home and upon reaching his dwelling he announced his arrival by blowing thrice on his *rkang gling*. He brought with him seven more *a ru ra* seeds, out of which four had gone bad during the journey and were found unfit for use, but the remaining three sufficed to restore the lama's health completely.

Much to the envy of his other disciples, *rGyal mchog chos rje* then declared *brGya thung ba* to be the most learned member of this monastic community. He also gave him a certificate describing the feat he had accomplished, stating in it that *brGya thung ba* was free to go wherever he choose since he, his *guru*, could not teach his learned disciple more than the latter already knew. *brGya thung ba* then left for a visit to Reting monastery, and after a short stay there he set out to reach Talung Gompa, which lies on the way between Reting and Lhasa. While proceeding towards his destination, he came to a crossroad and there he decided to rest for a while. He laid down the load he had been carrying and began to prepare some tea.

The *chos bdag* of the Talung monastery, the *sTag lung dge bsnyen chen po*, had espied the travelling mendicant from afar, and decided to play a joke on him. Assuming the shape of a big black rat, the deity crept close to *brGya thung ba*'s baggage and began to gnaw at the wooden frame (*sku shing*), by means of which the Tibetans usually carry loads. *brGya thung ba*, having drunk his tea, wanted to take up the load again, but to his surprise the whole wooden frame went to pieces as soon as he had touched it, and all his belongings were scattered on the ground. Just in time he saw the mischief-maker who – satisfied with the result – quickly vanished in a nearby hole. The mendicant immediately picked up a flat stone and, after writing the magic letter *a* on it, pronouced a powerful *mantra*, and then placed the stone over the opening of the hole, thus imprisoning the deity in its refuge. He collected then all his things and left straight for his mountain-retreat at Phenyul, without paying a visit to Talung.

At Talung itself, the absence of the monastery's *chos bdag* was not noticed for some time, until the day on which the *sTag lung dge bsnyen chen po* was supposed to take possession of his medium. The assembled monks waited on that day in vain for the *dharmapāla* to manifest himself. Disquieted, the incarnate lama of Talung Gompa, who is believed to

be a rebirth of *Padmasambhava*, tried to ascertain by means of divination what had happened to their guardian-deity. He soon discovered the truth, and immediately ordered some monks to go to a nearby crossroad, where they will find a stone with the letter *a* written on it. They should lift this stone, but should not cause any harm to the animal which would come forth from underneath it. The monks hastened to comply with this order, and thus the *sTag lung dge bsnyen chen po* regained liberty. He soon took possession of his medium again, but, weakened by his long imprisonment, gave this time a rather poor performance. The incarnate lama of Talung therefore suggested to the *dharmapāla* to take revenge on the monk who had humiliated him, as this might strengthen him again. The *sTag lung dge bsnyen chen po* eagerly agreed to this suggestion, and he set out immediately to find his victim. Reaching the pass called Chagla (*Phyag la*), he espied *brGya thung ba* far below in the valley, just about to cross a river in a hide-coracle. With a quick thrust of his snare, the *sTag lung dge bsnyen chen po* turned over the coracle of his enemy, who fell into the water and drowned. The current of the river carried *brGya thung ba*'s body away, but later some monks of the *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling* monastery succeeded in recovering the corpse from the water.

The chief *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* of *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling*, the *Chos blon bran kha dpal*,[3] upon learning about this incident, désired to accept *brGya thung ba*'s spirit into his retinue. The monks of this monastery, however, found it rather difficult to tame the raging spirit, who started to cause harm and thus, abandoning all hope of being able to turn the spirit into a *dharmapāla*, the monks decided to destroy this harmful force completely by performing a *sByin sreg* ceremony. But even this proved to be a difficult task, and having tried in vain for some time to catch and burn the demon, they appealed to a highly learned lama of Reting monastery, the *Khri chen bstan pa rab rgyas*, to carry out a *sByin sreg* personally. The famous sage agreed, and he began right away to prepare everything for performing this ceremony. During this work he happened to think of *rDo rje 'jigs byed*, whom the dead mendicant had secretly worshiped, and the thought also occurred to him that it was indeed rather regretable that the wise *brGya thung ba* had met with such an end, and that even his spirit was now going to be burnt. As soon as these thoughts came into his mind, the spirit of *brGya thung ba*, assuming a peaceful form, suddenly appeared in front of the astonished lama. Realizing the favourable opportunity, the sage then immediately bound the spirit by a strong oath, to become from now on a protector of

[3] See p. 233, note 5.

religion, and in order to make sure that *brGya thung ba* would not cause any further harm he placed heavy iron shackles on his feet and a thunderbolt on the crown of his head. After this the learned lama invoked the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*, the *chos bdag* of Reting, and requested this *dharmapāla* to accept *brGya thung ba*'s spirit under the new name *gTsod rva can* into his train, to which *Phying dkar ba* readily consented. Nowadays *gTsod rva can* is said to be next in rank to *Phying dkar ba* whom he will succeed once the latter retires to *Śambhala*. *gTsod rva can* has his own oracle-priest, who is attached to the *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling* monastery. The *dharmapāla* is depicted in human shape and wearing the so-called *He ru ka'i chas*: jewels, ornaments made of human bone, the skin of a tiger which serves him as a loin-cloth, etc. Across his breast hangs a "meditation-rope" (*sgom thag*). With his right hand he brandishes the horn of an antelope (*gtsod rva*) – from which he derives his name – with a hilt in the form of a thunderbolt; in his left hand he holds a bell and a red snare. He rides a white horse. About the way in which he acquired his mount the following legend is being told: annually, on the fifteenth day of the fifth Tibetan month, all *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* assemble at Samye. The guardians of religion are supposed to take turns on this occasion in providing all the other participants of this feast with meat. One year this task fell upon *gTsod rva can* who had come to Samye on foot, as he did not possess any mount of his own. On this occasion he accomplished his task as a host so well that *Pe har*, who always presides over this gathering, presented *gTsod rva can* with a white horse.

The so-called *gsang yum* of *gTsod rva can* is the goddess *Ro langs ma*. To his train belong four *las mdzad pa*, believed to be his "emanations":

Task:	*Name:*
zhi ba'i las mdzad pa	*rGyal chen mthu rtsal ldan*
rgyas pa'i las mdzad pa	*bTsan bsod nams 'od 'bar*
dbang gi las mdzad pa	*bTsan sha za khrag 'thung*
drag po'i las mdzad pa	*bTsan shar dregs pa*

CHAPTER XII

TSI'U DMAR PO AND THE BTSAN DEMONS

One of the most important *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, who became *Pe har*'s successor as a guardian of Samye, is a deity called *Tsi'u dmar po*, also known as *rTsi'u dmar po*, *rTse dmar po*, *rTse ma ra*, *Tsi ma ra*, *Tsi dmar ba*, and *Chos skyong gnod sbyin dmar po*. He is believed to be the chief leader of all *btsan* demons. This *dharmapāla* is usually represented in the following way: "the *yakṣa*, the king of the *dgra lha Tsi dmar ba*, fierce and horrible, produces dreadful shrieks. His forehead is contorted in anger, his upper teeth gnaw the lower lip. He possesses all marks of a hero. With his right hand he brandishes a banner of red silk, in his left he holds the snare of the *btsan* demons – sparkling like the rays of the sun –, which he throws with the speed of lightning at the enemies, catching with it their "life-breath". Also with the fourth finger of his right hand he whirls a red snare. On his right side he carries a quiver of tiger-skin and on his left side a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard, and he rides a black horse with white heels. On his head he wears a helmet of leather, adorned with an aigrette of vulture-feathers, and on his body he carries a cuirass covered with the shells of scorpions. He is surrounded by hundred thousand unvanquishable war-battalions of the *btsan*, by twenty thousand groups of *klu*, numberless *the'u rang*, and countless falcons and eagles, tigers, leopards, monkeys, etc. Furthermore, he is accompanied by *dge slong* wearing *bse theb* hats, wielding their rattling-staffs and carrying begging-bowls; five hundred of them, saying prayers solemnly, march in front. On the right side walk five hundred magicians who pronounce horrible *mantras*. They wear black hats, garments with broad sleeves, and brandish demon-daggers and skull-cups. On the left side march, speaking courageous words, five hundred armed men, wielding swords and shields. In the back are walking five hundred black women, who say curses while shaking out their garments."[1] On fol. 17a of Text no. 48 *Tsi'u dmar po* is described in company of a goddess, who apparently

[1] 12d, fol. 17a.

occupies, at least in this case, the position of his *śakti*. Her name is *lHa mo hrol mo spyan gcig ma*. She is dark-brown, naked, has one face, and her two hands hold a chopper and a snare. A single eye stares in a fierce manner from the middle of her brow.

The work listed under no. 12d mentions the various tasks which *Tsi'u dmar po* is expected to fulfil: "You, the *yakṣa*, king of the *btsan*, residing in the middle of blazing chain-lightnings, who open wide your horrifying mouth and stare with red eyes – together with your hordes, come surging forward, soar quickly atop of the enemies, send the painful illness of the *btsan* into the upper part of the bodies of your foes, and cast colic into the lower part of their bodies. Having gathered big black clouds on the sky, cast thunder, lightning, thunderbolts, and great pieces of hail, order the *the'u rang* demons to cause fits of madness, and command the *ma mo* to cause fits of fainting to your foes. Bind tightly your enemies by means of your red snare, strike them hard with the great stick. With the flaming sword, cut them into huge pieces. With the flaming iron hook, tear out their heart-veins; having chewed the bodies of the foes with your flaming teeth, swallow them down into your stomach which is like a "*rākṣasa*-hole". Send various kinds of illusions to deceive your enemies. Send suddenly the illnesses called *gag nad* and *gzer nad*. Destroy seven generations of the multitude of obstacle-creating demons and enemies."[2]

The most important medium of *Tsi'u dmar po* resides at Samye in the so-called *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang*, a building which we had mentioned before as the place where the ancient mask known as the *srid pa'i smug chung* is being preserved. The outer walls of this edifice are covered by red cloth. The upper floor of the building is reserved as living-quarters for the oracle-priest, and on the lower floor, next to the *mgon khang*, lies a room which is opened only once a year, at the time when the so-called *glud 'gong* arrives at Samye on his way from Lhasa to Tsethang (*rTse thang*).[3] According to popular belief this chamber is supposed to be the place where *Tsi'u dmar po* sits in judgement of the souls of men, an activity assigned otherwise by orthodox traditions to *Yama*, the ruler of the hells. The chamber is said to have only one extremely narrow window, and legends claim that through this fissure the souls of the dead have to squeeze through at night-time, in order to appear before *Tsi'u dmar po*. As some of them find it rather difficult to pass, one is able – as the legend tells – to see around this window numerous scratches which these un-

Fol. 19b.
See p. 510.

fortunate spirits had caused by their nails.[4] Some people even allege that a strong smell of blood comes out of this window, as inside the chamber, after the judgement had been pronounced, the souls are cut to pieces by the acolytes of *Tsi'u dmar po.* A wooden chopping-block is kept to this purpose in this chamber, and some of my Tibetan informants who had stayed at Samye claimed that at night they could hear the sound of thuds coming from within the room. Monks of this monastery also allege that annually a new chopping-block has to be placed into this chamber, since the old block is after the lapse of a year covered with countless cuts and reduced to a fraction of the original size. The old blocks are not preserved, but thrown away or burnt. An enormous sword, bundles of lances, pieces of armour, etc. are kept in the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang.* These are supposed to be the weapons and the armour of *Tsi'u dmar po*'s warlike retinue.

Many Tibetans believe that the *dharmapāla Yam shud dmar po,* whom we mentioned above, is one of the forms of *Tsi'u dmar po,* while others are inclined to regard him as an aspect of *rDo rje grags ldan.* His alternative name *Srog bdag dmar po* and his appearance show that he also stands in closest relation to *Srog bdag dmar po,* the *las mkhan* of the war-god *lCam sring. Yam shud dmar po* is supposed to have sprung from the union of *Kubera* with the goddess *Ekajāti.* He is said to be the commander of the thousand war-battalions of the *btsan,* and Tibetan texts call him therefore frequently "*Yam shud dmar po,* the lord of the *btsan*" (*Yam shud dmar po btsan gyi rje* or *btsan gyi mgon Yam shud dmar po*), "the wild *btsan* demon" (*btsan rgod*), "the king of the *btsan Yam shud dmar po* (*btsan rgyal Yam shud dmar po*), "the great master of life" (*srog gi bdag po chen po*), "the red *sgrol ging,* the life-executioner" (*sgrol ging dmar po srog gi gshed*), and "*Yam shud dmar po,* the great *ging* of the *btsan*" (*btsan gyi ging chen Yam shud dmar po*). Other sources, however, call him a red *btsan 'gong,* a mixture between a *btsan* and a *'gong po* demon, while some even allege that he is the leader of all the *'gong po.* As a member of the group known as the *gTer srung dregs pa lnga,* he is called

[4] A similar legend tells that a messenger (*pho nya*) of *dPal ldan lha mo* or *Tsi'u dmar po* stands near the death-bed of a dying man to carry his "last breath" either to the chapel of *dPal ldan lha mo* in the *Jo bo gtsug lag khang* or to the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang.* The "last breath" is seen by these deities in the form of a corpse. This body is later cut up on the chopping-block and its blood, flesh and bone are distributed to the ferocious gods and goddesses. The above-mentioned chapel is situated on the upper floor of the Lhasa Cathedral and it is dedicated to an extremely ferocious form of *dPal ldan lha mo.* It contains a smaller room whose entrance is, just like in Samye, kept closed. The souls of the dead who are supposed to enter this room, have to creep inside through a narrow fissure.

the *bSve yi skyes bu ra 'jigs pa*, which name makes it probable that in this case he is believed to be a *bse*-demon. We have also to recall that we encountered *Yam shud dmar po* before, in the retinue of *Pe har*, where he was mentioned as one of the deities for whom the so-called *rgyal mdos* are set up, the thread-crosses destined for the *rgyal po* demons; it is therefore quite probable that *Yam shud dmar po* is regarded in this case as a member of the *rgyal po* class, which is closely related to that of the *'gong po*.

Most *sādhanas* claim that *Yam shud dmar po* dwells at a place lying towards the West, where he resides in a red castle of copper, surrounded by red mountains, red valleys, and red rivers. *Yam shud dmar po* rides a red horse of the kind called *bse rta* (also: *bsve rta*). He wears a red armour, a brilliant helmet of leather, and his right hand brandishes a red lance, the *bse yi mdung dmar*, with fluttering streamers reddened with blood, or a stick of *seng ldeng* wood. His left hand holds a human heart and a red *btsan* snare, which he thrusts against his enemies. It is his task, as the Tibetan texts claim, to cut the life of men and horses. He eats human flesh and horse meat; when thirsty, he drinks the blood of horses and men. He dispatches nine naked men as his messengers. *Yam shud dmar po* is accompanied on the left side by nine riders, on the right by nine swift red men, and in front creeps stealthily a life-destroying wolf of copper. A description, contained in Text no. 74, calls this *dharmapāla* the *dpal chen ya ng gsang thugs kyi sprul pa srog bdag Yam shud dmar po*, "the noble, great, most secret emanation of the mind, the life-master *Yam shud dmar po*". This *sādhana* claims that his face is like that of a fierce *rākṣasa*, his mouth is widely open and in it are visible his sharp teeth. A third eye stares from the middle of his forehead. He wears a helmet of leather, his body is covered with a red armour made from the same material, and his feet are protected by high boots. His right hand brandishes a long flaming sword, the left holds a snare in front of his breast. Sometimes - as the text says – a lance with a banner of leather rests in the crook of his arm, or he can hold a skull-cup in front of his breast. A quiver and a bow-case are suspended from his girdle, and he rides on a "fox-coloured billy-goat of leather" (*bse'i ra skyes kham pa*). *Yam shud dmar po* is accompanied by two "butchers" (*bshan pa*), who act as his *las mkhan*. The one on the right side carries a skull-cup and a copper-sword, the "butcher" on the left holds also a sword made of copper and a trident. All these three figures are surrounded by a halo of flames.

In Text no. 6 *Yam shud dmar po* is called the *Rāja dmar po*. This

source claims that his residence is a cherry-brown castle lying in the north-eastern direction. When describing the retinue of *Pe har* we mentioned already a form of *Yam shud dmar po*, brandishing a snare and riding on a mule of copper. Further, as a leader of the *'gong po*, the *dharmapāla* wears a cloak of light-brown goat's skin, and his back is covered by the hide of a white elephant. His cloak is held together by a girdle of turquoise and tinkling golden bells.

Tsi'u dmar po is said to have been once defeated by a deity called *Dza sa dmar po*, who forced Samye's renowned *dharmapāla* to abandon temporarily his residence. The following legend is being told about this incident: a few centuries ago a member of the *Hor khang* family in Lhasa, who held the rank of a *dza sa*, was suffering from a very painful illness which, as divination showed, had been caused by *Tsi'u dmar po*. One day the *dza sa* ordered to hang up on a wall of his room a painting representing *Tsi'u dmar po*, and whenever he suffered a new attack of pain, he lifted himself up in his bed and shot off an arrow against the picture of the deity. At last, when he felt his end approach, he ordered seven of his servants to saddle seven horses and to put on their full battle-dress. At the very moment of the *dza sa*'s death, the servants and horses fell dead to the ground. Their spirits then joined the spirit of their master and together they hastened to Samye, to take revenge upon *Tsi'u dmar po*. A fierce battle ensued in which the *dharmapāla* was defeated and had to flee. *Dza sa dmar po*, "the red *dza sa*" as he became later on known, then took possession of the *Tsi'u dmar lcog dbug khang* and of all the objects stored there. He tried, however, in vain to place upon his own head *Tsi'u dmar po*'s heavy helmet, which is worn during the trances by the medium of Samye's best-known *dharmapāla*. After some time *Dza sa dmar po* left *Tsi'u dmar po*'s residence, and the monks then built for him a special shrine within the precincts of their monastery, the so-called *Dza sa dmar po'i rab brtan*. *Tsi'u dmar po* returned later to his abode, and from then on peaceful relations were established between these two deities. A trace of their dispute is, however, found in the circumstance that the oracle-priest of *Tsi'u dmar po*, when entering into the trance, will at the beginning of the fit always thrust his sword in the direction in which the shrine of *Dza sa dmar po* lies.

Tsi'u dmar po is the head of an ancient group of Tibetan deities, known as the *'Bar ba spun bdun*. Its members are believed to be the commanders of the wild *btsan*[5] demons (*btsan rgod dmag dpon*). The *'Bar ba spun*

[5] Concerning the *btsan* see also Ribbach, 'Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava,' p. 24; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 141 sq.; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 727.

bdun are also called the *Dam can mched bdun*, "the seven *dam can* brothers", *Drag btsan mched bdun*, "the violent *btsan*, the seven brothers", *bTsan rgod 'bar ba*, "the flaming wild *btsan*" or *bTsan rgod zangs ri spun bdun*, "the wild *btsan*, the seven brothers of the copper-mountains". They seem to be closely related to the group of the *bKa' srung klu btsan 'bar ba spun bdun*, mentioned in *rNying ma pa* works. The *'Bar ba spun bdun* are supposed to have taken their origin from a blood-egg (*khrag gi sgo nga*), which issued from the womb of the *yakṣī gDong dmar ma*, the daughter of the lord of the *btsan* (*btsan rje*) or ancestor of the *btsan* (*btsan gyi mes po*) *Zla ba thod dkar*, after she had had intercourse with "the so-called *Lag pa*, the lord of all *smu* demons" (*smu thams cad kyi jo bo lag pa zhes bya ba*).[6] First *Tsi'u dmar po* came forth from the egg and from parts of his body, six other fierce, wild *btsan* demons originated: from the head came forth the black *bDud btsan*, from the bones the white *lHa btsan*, from the warmth and lustre of his body issued the *Brag btsan* or "rock *btsan*"; Text no. 50, however, gives the name of this deity as *Khrag btsan dmar po*, "the red blood-*btsan*". From the blood came forth the *Grib btsan* or "*btsan* of pollution"; Text no. 50 says instead "the green *Dri btsan*". From the urine issued the brown *Klu btsan* and from the flesh the *Gri btsan* or "sword *btsan*". Another tradition claims, however, that this group of *btsan* brothers did not originate from one, but from seven eggs of blood (*khrag gi sgo nga bdun*). Also the *'Bar ba spun bdun* are said to have tried to obstruct *Padmasambhava*'s journey to Tibet, but the saint subdued them after increasing his supernatural powers by meditating on the deity *rTa mgrin*.[7]

The following general description of this group of deities is given on fols. 75a–76b of Text no. 57: "The *bTsan rgod 'bar ba* (*spun bdun*), the most malignant ones, are red men on red horses and clad in armour. Their red streamers glow like fire, their red *btsan*-horses are quick like the wind. The *'Bar ba spun bdun* of the copper-mountain have a retinue of three hundred sixty *btsan* demons."

The place from where the *'Bar ba spun bdun* are supposed to come into the presence of an officiating priest is either "the inner caverns of the world-mountain" (*srid pa'i ri rab khong seng*) or a castle lying in the country of the *btsan* demons, on a red plain of copper, where copper-rocks reach up to the sky. Cherry-brown vultures float there in the air, *btsan* demons roam over the surface of the earth, animals gather in the centre of this place, and poisonous snakes wringle down below. Inside the red

[6] 99, fol. 7b.
[7] 102, fol. 5.

rocks and mountains a sea of blood is boiling. There lies the castle of the *btsan*, a palace made of cherry-brown leather and having door-bolts made of copper. In this abode reside: the *lha btsan Tsi dmar ba*, of a red and green colour, possessing red locks, whose body is surrounded by a halo of fire-light. Shooting-stars issue from his eyes, and a great "hail of blood" drops from his mouth. He bares his teeth which are sharp like the ice of a glacier. His tongue moves like lightning and he appears in a fierce, terrifying, raging, and ferocious mood. He wears a wide cloak of red silk, and a belt of jewels is wound around his loins. His head is covered by a turban of red silk, a bow-case of leopard-skin and a quiver made from the skin of a tiger hang at his sides, and a shield of rhino-leather is tied to his back. He ties a *btsan* snare around the body of an enemy and he thrusts a battle-lance into the heart of a foe; the lance has a red cover of rhino-leather and a flag of red silk is attached to it. He rides a horse which has a varicoloured saddle, stirrup-holders of silver, stirrups of copper, a bridle of gold, reins of copper, and a tail-belt of red silk.

The *sKu la zhal gyi lha btsan* is of a white-yellow colour and he appears in an angry mood. He wears a red-spotted garment and a turban of red silk. On his right side hangs a quiver made from the skin of a tiger, and on his left a bow-case made from leopard's skin. With his two hands he holds a bow and an arrow of gold, which he is ready to shoot into the heart of an enemy. He rides a cherry-brown stag, possessing a saddle and the other trimmings. The *Gro shod bod kyi sgang dmag rje* (or only *Gro shod bod kyi dmag rje*, also *Gro shod bod kyi sgang dmar rje* and *Zangs brag dmar po'i mnga' bdag po*) – who is supposed to dwell on red ridges – has a body of a flaming red colour, he is fierce and fright-inspiring. He wears a wide cloak and a turban of red silk. On his right side hangs a quiver made of the skin of a tiger, and on the left a bow-case of leopard's skin. His left hand winds a red copper-snare around the body of an enemy, and his right hand brandishes a sabre. He rides on a horse of excellent breed, possessing white heels and mounted with a saddle and the other horse-trimmings.

The *Rāja gos sngon gyi klu btsan* (or *Rāja gang gi klu btsan*) is of a dark-red colour, he is terrifying and wears a cloak made of blue silk, which is folded nine times. His girdle consists of poisonous snakes. His head is covered by a turban of blue silk, a quiver made from the skin of a tiger hangs on his right side, and a bow-case made of leopard's skin hangs at his left. With the right hand he thrusts a black iron lance and his left casts a snare of poisonous snakes. He rides a yellow horse carrying a saddle and the other horse-trimmings, or a yellow tiger. The *rDo rings*

dmar po'i gri btsan has a red body of a terrifying appearance. He wears a red cloak and a turban of red silk. On his right side hangs a quiver of tiger-skin, and on the left a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. His right hand holds a red lance, and his left lifts a snare of the *btsan* demons made of bowels. He rides a wild ass red in colour, with a white belly, which carries a saddle and the usual trimmings. The *Kang ka thod nag bdud btsan*, whose body is dark-green, is of a most terrifying appearance. He wears a cloak of black silk and a turban made of the same material. On his right side is suspended a quiver made of tiger-skin, and on the left a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. His right hand brandishes a lance with a flag of black silk, and his left casts a snare in order to catch the "life-power" (*bla*) of an enemy. He rides a brown horse with a black muzzle, carrying a saddle and trimmings.

The *rTsal thog rgyug gi gri btsan* (or *bTsan zho khyung gi grib btsan*) has a body red like the colour of blood. He wears a red cuirass of copper and around his head is wound a turban of red silk. A quiver of tiger-skin is suspended on the right side from his girdle, and a bow-case hangs on his left side. His right hand lifts a red lance from which the light of a fire issues, his left brandishes a copper-sword with the speed of lightning and he also carries a shield of gold. His mount is an excellent horse possessing the wings of wind. All these seven gods lead wild dogs at their side and raven soar above their heads. They are surrounded by hordes of hundred thousand *btsan*.[8]

The names of the gods belonging to the *bTsan rgod 'bar ba spun bdun*, as listed by *Klong rdol bla ma*, differ, however, from those given above: *gnod sbyin Tsi'u dmar po*, *sKyid shod rdzong btsan*, *Sum ring gri btsan*, *Kang ka nag gi klu btsan*, *rTsal thog rgyug ging btsan*, *He nga bod kyi rje btsan*, and *sKu la zhal gyi btsan*.[9]

Six dog-headed goddesses, similar to those which appear in the train of some forms of *mGon po*, are the companions of some of the *'Bar ba spun bdun* brothers: *Khyi mo dmar mo mtshal mig ma*, "the red bitch with vermilion eyes"; poisonous vapours issue from her mouth. She devours human flesh, drinks blood and early in the morning she takes the "life-breath" of enemies. She follows in the train of the *lHa btsan*. Also the second goddess is called the *Khyi mo dmar mo mtshal mig ma*. She opens widely her mouth and bares her fangs of copper. A "fog of illnesses" issues from her mouth. She drinks the warm brain-blood of enemies and follows in the train of the red *Brag btsan*. *Khyi mo dmar nag khrag mig*

[8] 102.
[9] 70, fol. 14a.

ma, "the gory-eyed dark-red bitch"; the poisonous mist coming out of her mouth rises like a cloud and her fangs of iron are similar to weapons. She stands under the command of the red *Klu btsan*. *Khyi mo dmar mo mthing mig ma*, "the red bitch with the azure-blue eyes", opens her mouth widely, bares her teeth, and vomits blood. She follows in the train of the red *Gri btsan*. *Khyi mo dmar mo gzi mig ma*, "the red bitch with the *gzi*-eyes"; her mouth is widely open and her wailing sounds into the ten quarters of the world. She lifts high up a sack full of diseases and she sends illnesses and epidemics to oath-breakers and enemies. Her master is the black *bDud btsan*. Then follows once more a *Khyi mo dmar mo gzi mig ma*. Her blood-locks stand up like a cloud, she breaks the neck and takes the "life-breath" of enemies. She stands under the command of the red *Gri btsan*.[10]

A well-known place of worship of the *'Bar ba spun bdun* lies at a locality called Peti (*dPal ti*), in the vicinity of the Yamdog Tso (*Yar 'brog mtsho*) and close to the road leading from Gyantse (*rGyal rtse*) to Lhasa. Seven *btsan khang* have been erected here, which are believed to be the residence of this brotherhood of *dharmapālas*. It is customary that travellers when approaching this spot dismount and present a small offering to the *'Bar ba spun bdun*. In case of worshiping the *'Bar ba spun bdun* in a more elaborate way, one has to offer a big red *gtor ma* surrounded by seven smaller ones of the same colour, adorned with seeds of white mustard and the feathers of an owl. Other objects required for this sacrifice are a red parasol, red flowers, a red lance, a snare, and a so-called *bla rdo*, a stone which is supposed to be the seat of the "life-power" (*bla*).

Some of the Tibetans claim that to the retinue of *Tsi'u dmar po* belongs also a deity known in Central Tibet as *bKra shis 'od 'bar* and in Kham as *dPa' bo khro 'bar*, which is supposed to be the spirit of a war-lord from Kham who had been killed in a battle. Other names by which this *dharmapāla* is called are *bKra shis gzi 'od 'bar*, the *rgyal btsan bKra shis 'od 'bar*, the *brag btsan chen po bKra shis 'od 'bar*, and the *dgra lha bKra shis 'od 'bar*. Tucci mentions *bKra shis 'od 'bar* – whom he also calls *Phur bu rag pa* – together with the deities *Rlung rta sngon po*, *Zhing skyong lba ba*, and *Dri gtsang zhags pa* as the *gzhi bdag* protecting the famous Samding (*bSam lding*) monastery in Central Tibet.[11] *bKra shis 'od 'bar* is also believed to be one of the protective deities of Tashilumpo (*bKra shis lhun po*) and of the Dungkar monastery in the Chumbi Valley. The books used for his worsnip in the latter temple describe him as a red

116, fol. 7b.
Lhasa, p. 57.

deity with a human body. His right hand brandishes an all-conquering "banner of victory", while the left one holds a fresh, blood-dripping heart. *bKra shis 'od 'bar* wears an armour and high boots of a red colour. In his retinue appears a host of spirits, who are all dressed in religious robes, wear the hat called *thang zhu*, and carry clubs and snares. *bKra shis 'od 'bar*'s "younger brother" is the *dge bsnyen rDo rje khro 'bar*. His body is red and he wears a dress of silk and an armour. The right hand brandishes a red banner, and the left one holds either a flat pan full of gems or it throws a snare. The mount is a red horse having the "wings of wind". In the retinue appears a multitude of *sman mo* goddesses who brandish banners with a tiger's head on top, further various "rock-*btsan*", etc.[12]

Tsi'u dmar po and the other members of the *'Bar ba spun bdun* group are regarded, as we mentioned already, to be the leaders of all the *btsan* demons, one of the most important classes of Tibetan demoniacal deities. The *btsan* are mostly represented as ferocious red riders wearing armour and riding red horses. In the right hand they usually brandish a red lance with a flag of the same colour, while the left hand throws the characteristic red "snare of the *btsan*" (*btsan zhags*). The typical illness which the *btsan* are supposed to cause is colic (*btsan nad gzer thabs*).

Occasionally the Tibetan texts also mention a female *btsan*; thus e.g. a "red woman of the *btsan*" (*btsan gyi bud med dmar mo*) is described on fol. 13a of Text no. 44. Her plaited hair is dark-red and she wears a dark-red cloak. Her right hand holds a knife, the left one a human heart.

Apart from the various classes of *btsan* which we already enumerated above there exist several others, as e.g. the "great "and the "minor *btsan*" (*btsan chen* and *btsan phran*), the "outer *btsan*" (*phyi btsan*), the "inner *btsan*" (*nang btsan*), the "middle *btsan*" (*bar btsan*), and the "wild temple-*btsan*" (*lha khang btsan rgod*). An important form is the "rock-*btsan*" (*brag btsan*), about whom a Tibetan ritual work says: "In Tibet, in the middle of this kingdom, lies a country – the beautiful country of the *btsan*. There a red castle of the *btsan* was built, with parapets of cornelian, with foundations of gold and turquoise, pinnacles of jewels, doors of brass, and with staircases of coral. It rises so high to heaven that birds cannot fly up to its top, its foundations lie so deep that no rat can penetrate there. In such a castle, who lives there and who not? These are the *btsan*, red men with red horses, and the nobly-born rock-*btsan* of a red colour (*brag btsan dmar po*) – they live there. The *Brag btsan dmar po* is of a bright-red colour, has one face, two hands, and he is of a beautiful

12 List of Tibetan sources, nos. 33, 71 and 203.

appearance. He wears a golden cuirass. The breast-girdle and tail-belt of his horse blaze fiery like lightning. In his right hand he brandishes a red lance of copper with a blood-red silken flag. In his left hand he holds an arrow and a bow of gold. Above his head red birds are flying, and also in the sky red birds flutter around. Red dogs approach from the back. A storm of red fire sweeps around the deity, whose red *btsan*-snare flashes like lightning. The war-hordes of the *btsan* are gathering, and the *btsan* riders line up in the battle-order."[13]

The Bon work quoted under no. 131 of the Tibetan sources enumerates the following classes of *btsan*: the "rock *btsan*" (*brag btsan*), "*btsan* of the water" (*chu'i btsan*), "*btsan* of the earth" (*sa'i btsan*), "*btsan* of the sky" (*gnam btsan*), "*btsan* of the slate-mountains" (*g.ya' btsan*), "glacier *btsan*" (*gangs btsan*), further the so-called *gnas pa'i btsan* and the *skyes bu btsan*.

The names of a few other *btsan* we find in one of the invocations chanted when consecrating the *btsan mdos*, the thread-cross offered to this particular class of deities: the *btsan gyi rgyal po 'Od bzang po, Shu bo lag ring, Khri ldan dbang po 'bar ba rgyal, Brag 'phen 'od bzang lag dgu*, and *Mig med khyung bshon 'brug lag*. This text also mentions the three hundred sixty *grib btsan* or "*btsan* of pollution", the groups of the *kha btsan, mdo btsan*, and *sra btsan*, and the *btsan* connected with four groups of mythical beings inhabiting the main quarters of the world, viz. the *dri za'i btsan* who live in the East, the *gshin rje'i btsan* inhabiting the South, the western *klu'i btsan*, and the *gnod sbyin gyi btsan* of the North.[14] In the chapters which follow we shall encounter still a greater number of other *btsan*, especially when discussing the group of local protective deities.

115, fol. 8a.
104, fol. 27a, b.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TSHE RING MCHED LNGA AND RELATED GODDESSES

1 - TSHE RING MCHED LNGA

Among the numerous deities belonging to the train of *dPal ldan dmag zor rematī* we encountered two groups of goddesses known as the "five long-lived sisters" (*Tshe ring mched lnga*) and the "twelve *bsTan ma* goddesses" (*bsTan ma bcu gnyis*). The *Tshe ring mched lnga* are also called the *bKra shis tshe yi lha mo lnga*, *lHa sman tshe ring mched lnga*, and *dPal ldan mkha' 'gro mched lnga*. The *dGe lugs pa* claim that both groups still belong to the category of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*, while on the other hand the *rNying ma pa* and *bKa' rgyud pa* allege that the *Tshe ring mched lnga* have already reached the rank of deities residing outside the wordly sphere. The goddesses of both groups, called collectively the *Ma gcig tshe ring mched lnga bstan ma'i tshogs*, are ancient Tibetan deities who are said to have been defeated by *Padmasambhava*. They were then, having been bound by an oath, incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon. Though handed down by oral tradition, the story of the defeat and subsequent appointment of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* as Buddhist deities is not mentioned in *Padmasambhava*'s biography, while in the case of the *bsTan ma* goddesses it is alleged in Text no. 92 fol. 36 that they were bound by an oath at a place called *Kha rag gsang ba'i brag phug*, apparently the *Kha la brag* of the *Padma thang yig*.[1] But according to another tradition the *bsTan ma* goddesses were subdued at *'U yug* in the Tsang province.[2] The *Tshe ring mched lnga* are mountain-goddesses, whose residence is supposed to be the *Jo mo gangs dkar* or *La phyi gangs*. At the foot of this mountain are supposed to be five glacial lakes with water in different colours, which are consecrated to this group of goddesses. Usually the Tibetan works only mention that the residence of these five goddesses

[1] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 248.
[2] 22.

lies "on the border of Nepal and Tibet". Also most of the *bsTan ma* are mountain-goddesses, and six of them are said to act as guardians of narrow mountain-ledges. The names of their legendary abodes will be given later on when discussing details of their iconography.

The cult of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* is less pronounced, as is to be expected, with the *dGe lugs pa* than with the other sects. Nevertheless, they enjoy a certain amount of worship also within the Yellow Hat sect; a separate chapel has even been reserved for their veneration on the upper floor of the *Jo khang* in Lhasa.

The *Rin 'byung*[3] gives the following description of the "five long-lived sisters": the chief deity (*gtso mo*) of this group is called *bKra shis tshe ring ma*. Her body is of a white colour, she smiles, but she is apt to change within a moment into an angry mood. She has one face with three eyes, and two hands. With her right hand she brandishes a nine-pointed *vajra* of gold, with her left hand she holds a vessel, full of *amṛta*, in front of her heart. Her mount is a white lioness. The place in front of the chief deity is assigned to the blue *mThing gi zhal bzang ma*. She holds a magic mirror and a white stick with streamers. A kyang with saphire-blue hair and a white muzzle is her mount. On the right side appears the yellow *Mi g.yo blo bzang ma*. With her right hand she holds a vessel filled with choice food, her left hand rests in the manner of bestowing gifts. She rides on a tiger with golden hair. In the back is the red *Cod pan mgrin bzang ma*. With her right hand she holds a chest filled with various kinds of jewels, and the left one lifts a gem. She rides a hind with coral-red hair. On the left resides the green *gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma*. She holds a bushle of *dūrvā* grass and a snake-snare. Her mount is a turquoise-green dragon. All these five goddesses wear dresses of various kinds of silk, ornaments of gold, turquoise, jewels, etc. – When comparing this description of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* with the one which we gave before[4] we see that both of them are essentially the same, the only note-worthy difference being that according to our first-mentioned source *Mi g.yo blo bzang ma* holds a treasure-producing ichneumon in her left hand, while the *Rin 'byung* merely says that her left hand rests in the *mudrā* of bestowing gifts.

A different picture of these five goddesses – whose names in this case have been partly changed – is given in the *rNying ma pa* work listed under no. 4 of the Tibetan sources. The leader of the group is addressed as the *sman btsun bKra shis tshe ring ma*; she is white with a tinge of red,

[3] 157, II, fol. 469a. See plate 6 of Peter, 'The Rin hbyung'.

[4] See p. 30.

youthful, and of beautiful appearance. Her right hand holds the wish-granting jewel, her left hand lifts a divination-arrow. Dice made of conch-shells are attached to its shaft together with a mirror, "showing all happenings in the three worlds". She wears a dress of white silk, a cloak of peacock-feathers and a turban of silk. In front of her stands the goddess *mThing gi zhal bzang ma,* who holds a divination-mirror. On the right side dwells the goddess *Cod pan mgrin bzang ma,* carrying a treasure-vessel full of gems. The place in the back is occupied by the goddess *Mi g.yo glang bzang ma,* wearing a cloak of peacock-feathers and holding a flat pan filled with gems. On the left side resides the goddess *gTal dkar 'gro bzang ma,* holding a ladle with milk in it. All these four companions of *bKra shis tshe ring ma* are shown in a dancing attitude. They are dressed in white silks, and their bodies are adorned with jewels. In addition to the attributes already mentioned, each of them brandishes with the right hand a divination-arrow.

Another Tibetan source[5] gives the following description of the *Tshe ring mched lnga,* which differs again in several points from the above representations:

Name	*Appearance*
Tshe yi dbang phyug ma	(= *bKra shis tshe ring ma*) white, placidly smiling; right hand: divination-arrow and thunderbolt; left hand: *tshe bum* filled with *amṛta.* Rides on a white lion.
mThing gi zhal bzang ma	blue; right hand: divination arrow; left hand: magic mirror; mount: kyang with white muzzle.
Mi g.yo glang bzang ma	golden-coloured; right hand: divination arrow; left hand: flat pan filled with food possessing one hundred tastes; mount: tigress.
Cod dpan mgrin bzang ma	red; right hand: divination-arrow; left hand: wish-fulfilling ichneumon; mount: hind.
gTal dkar 'gro bzang ma	green; right hand: divination-arrow; left hand: ?. mount: dragon.

Some additional information on the position and iconography of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* can also be derived from books of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect, dealing with their worship. The appellations and the description of

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the attributes which the five goddesses carry are nearly the same as those given by the *Rin 'byung*, the only difference being that *Mi g.yo blo bzang ma* holds in her left hand, according to the *bKa' rgyud pa* source, a sack made from the skin of an ichneumon, and that in the case of the *Cod pan mgrin bzang ma* the wish-granting jewel rests in her right hand and the chest full of gems in the left one. Further, each member of the group is brought into connection with one particular *ḍākinī*, and each of them is said to possess a characteristic toupet.

Name	*Ḍākinī*	*Hairdo*
bKra shis tshe ring ma	*Sangs rgyas mka' 'gro ma*	toupet adorned with a conch-shell
mThing gi zhal bzang ma	*rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma*	indigo-coloured toupet
Mi g.yo blo bzang ma	*Rin chen mkha' 'gro ma*	toupet of gold
Cod pan mgrin bzang ma	*Padma mkha' 'gro ma*	toupet of coral
gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma	*Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	toupet of turquoise

The *bKa' rgyud pa* works here quoted mention some alternative names of these five goddesses, the second and the last appellations in the list given below being "secret names" (*gsang mtshan*):

Name	*Alternative appellation*
bKra shis tshe ring ma	*rDo rje mi 'gyur dpal gyi yum*
mThing gi zhal bzang ma	*rDo rje khros ma*
Mi g.yo blo bzang ma	*rDo rje bzhad pa mo*
Cod pan mgrin bzang ma	*rDo rje dpal mo long spyod yum*
gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma	*rDo rje gar mkhan ma*

The four companions of *bKra shis tshe ring ma* are, however, sometimes given also the following names:

Name	*Alternative appellation*
mThing gi zhal bzang ma	*sNang gsal pra yi bdag* or *sNang gsal pra ston ma*
Mi g.yo blo bzang ma	*bCud ldan zas kyi bdag*
Cod pan mgrin bzang ma	*dBang mdzod nor gyi bdag*
gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma	*rKang bzhi phyugs kyi bdag*

The above alternative name of *mThing gi zhal bzang ma* refers to her position as a *pra'i lha mo*, a goddess of divination, who rules two methods of divination, called the *mThing gi zhal bzang ma mthe bo pra dang me*

long pra. She is sometimes classified among the "sky-*sman*" (*gnam sman mThing gi zhal bzang ma*), and in accordance with the latter conception she is supposed to ride a hind, the typical mount of this group of goddesses. Later, when describing the *parivāra* of the goddess *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*, we shall encounter once more a description of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* very similar to that given by the *Rin 'byung*.

According to the instructions of Tibetan ritual works the worship of the "five long-lived sisters" should be carried out at a lonely but most pleasant spot, in a lovely wood full of beautiful flowers. Apart from the usual offerings of food and drink such as are sacrificed to deities of the peaceful type, also a *gtor ma* of medicines (*sman gtor*), a bronze mirror with dots of "self-sprung" minium on it, a piece of "self-sprung" crystal, peacock feathers, spotless turquoise, dice made of conch-shells, and a precious vessel filled with water should be offered.

Before discussing the members of the *bsTan ma* group, we may also shortly mention the *g.Yu sgron mched lnga*, who seem to be closely related to the *Tshe ring mched lnga*. The *g.Yu sgron mched lnga*, the "five turquoise-lamp sisters", are goddesses, not gods, as had been presumed by Ribbach.[6] Their residence is supposed to be a beautiful place full of trees and flowers, where many birds live and mountain animals roam around, where there are waterfalls, springs, and ponds. The leader of this group is a white goddess. Her right hand holds a small crystal, her left hand carries a *lu hu* of gold in front of her breast. Her head is covered by a *srog zhu*, and in addition to it her brow is adorned with a cross-like emblem consisting of precious stones. Each of her four companions holds a jewel in the right hand and a mirror of silver in the left one. The goddess who occupies the place in the East is blue, the one who stands in the South is yellow, and the other two, who occupy the West and the North, are red and green respectively.[7]

2 - BSTAN MA BCU GNYIS

The twelve *bsTan ma* goddesses are believed to be subordinates of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* group. The name under which they were originally known and which is still used occasionally is *brTan ma* (*bcu gnyis*);[8] later

6 Ribbach, 'Vier Bilder des Padmasambhava,' p. 33.

7 198, fol. 45a.

8 Toussaint (*Le dict de Padma*, p. 291) mentions a group of goddesses called *rGya gar brtan ma*. The names of the twelve *bsTan ma* according to Bon tradition, as listed in the *Bar do thos sgrol* of the Bon, have been published by Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 741, note 41; see also *op. cit.*, p. 626.

on, in accordance with their new function they were called the *bsTan srung ma bcu gnyis*, the "twelve guardian-goddesses of the Buddhist doctrine", from which appellation the short form *bsTan ma* was derived; they are also known as the *bsTan skyong ma mo bcu gnyis*, *Mạ mo bstan ma bcu gnyis*, and *'Dzam gling bstan ma bcu gnyis*. The *bsTan ma* goddesses are divided into three groups of four members each: the *bdud mo chen mo*, "the great female *bdud*", the *gnod sbyin chen mo*, "the great *yakṣīs*", and the *sman mo chen mo* "the great *sman mo* goddesses". The names of these goddesses are mostly enumerated in a ritually fixed order, the first-mentioned member of each group being regarded as the leader of the following three deities. Usually a short title is prefixed to the name of each *bsTan ma*, indicating in several cases their legendary places of origin. The spelling of these titles and names is far from being uniform. In the following list the spelling most frequently encountered is given in the first instance, while the alternative ones are written in parentheses.

Title or residence	*Name*
bdud mo chen mo	
bDag nyid chen mo	*rDo rje kun grags ma*
dPal ldan lha ri (or *La stod*)	*rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong*
Gangs kyi yum chen (or *gNod sbyin gangs*)	*rDo rje kun tu bzang* (*rDo rje kun bzang ma*)
'Brog chen 'khor 'dul	*rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso*
gnod sbyin chen mo	
Gangs dkar sha med (*Jo mo gangs ngar*)	*rDo rje spyan gcig ma*[9]
mKha' reg khyung btsun (*Kha rag khyung btsun*)	*rDo rje dpal gyi yum* (*rDo rje khyung btsun ma*)
gSer chen mkha' lding	*rDo rje klu mo*
rMa ri rab 'byams (but also *rMa chen spom ra*)	*rDo rje drag mo rgyal* (or *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*, *rDo rje grags rgyal ma*)
sman mo chen mo	
Kong btsun de mo (*sKong btsun de mo*)	*rDo rje bod khams skyong* (*rDo rje dpal mo che*)
bTsan la lo ro (or *'Brog btsan*)	*rDo rje sman gcig ma*

[9] According to the *Padma thang yig* (Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 244) she was originally known as the (*Gangs dkar*) *gNam sman dkar mo*; see also Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 545, 729.

sMan btsun 'ug chos (*sMan btsun dbug chos, Jo mo nags rgyal*)	*rDo rje g.ya' ma bsil* (*rDo rje dbyar mo bsil, rDo rje g.ya' mo sil, rDo rje g.yar mo bsil*)
g.Yu'i dril bu	*rDo rje gzugs legs ma* (*rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma, rDo rje zu le sman*)

All the *bsTan ma* goddesses also possess "secret names" (*gsang mtshan*) indicating in most cases where each of them is supposed to reside:

Name	*Secret name*
rDo rje kun grags ma	*Byang gi gnam mtsho phyug mo*
rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong	*mGo yul jo mo lha ri*
rDo rje kun tu bzang	*Brin gyi bkra shis tshe ring*
rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso	*Yar 'brog mtsho bdag chen mo*
rDo rje spyan gcig ma	*lHa bu gangs dkar* (*ma*)
rDo rje dpal gyi yum	*Rong gi jo mo kha rag*
rDo rje klu mo	*Byang stod dmar gyi mtsho bdag*
rDo rje drag mo rgyal	*rMa chen spom ra'i sring gcig*
rDo rje bod khams skyong	*Kong po'i kong btsun de mo*
rDo rje sman gcig ma	*E nyams ra mdo'i spe na*
rDo rje g.yar mo bsil	*gTsang gi jo mo nags rgyal*
rDo rje zu le ma	*Shud bud kyi jo mo*[10]

A similar list, said to have been composed by the *rgyal ba dGe 'dun rgya mtsho*, has been reproduced by *Klong rdol bla ma*.[11] The titles prefixed to the name of each goddess indicate again in several cases their legendary places of residence. They are identical with those which we have already given above, while several appellations of the places with which the *bsTan ma* are brought into connection correspond essentially to their "secret names".

Location	*Name*	
gNam mtsho phyug mo	*bDag nyid chen mo*	*rDo rje kun grags ma*
lHa bod mtshams	*dPal ldan lha ri*	*rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong*
La phyi gangs	*Gangs kyi yum chen*	*rDo rje kun tu bzang*
Yar 'brog mtsho chen	*'Brog chen 'khor 'dul*	*rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso*

[10] 127.
[11] 70, fol. 6a, b.

lHa phu gangs	*Gangs dkar sha med*	*rDo rje spyan gcig ma*
Ru mtshams jo mo kha rag	*Kha rag khyung btsun*	*rDo rje dpàl gyi yum*
Byang stod dmar mtsho	*gSer chen mkha' lding ba*	*rDo rje'i kḷu*
rMa chen spom ra'i drug	*rMa ri rab 'byams*	*rDo rje grags mo rgyal*
gNyis ste sna ri gdong	*Kong btsun de mo*	*rDo rje bod khams skyong*
E gnyal lo ro	*bTsan la lo ro*	*rDo rje sman gcig ma*
gTsang stod jo mo nags rgyal	*sMan btsun 'ug chos*	*rDo rje g.ya' mo sil*
Jo mo g.yu ri gnas mchog	*g.Yu yi dril bu*	*rDo rje gzugs legs ma*

The text listed under no. 127 gives a general description of the three subdivisions of the *bsTan ma* stating that there are "the four great *bdud mo*, who are black girls with ugly faces; the four great *yakṣīs*, who are red, wrathful girls; the four great *sman btsun*, maidens of a lustrous white colour, with beautiful faces. Some of these are black and have the appearance of *rākṣasīs*, some are red and have the form of *yakṣīs*, some are white and have the appearance of beautiful maidens, some are blue and have etherial bodies."

We gave already above a description of the twelve *bsTan ma*. When comparing, however, this description with other *sādhanas* of the *bsTan ma* we find that the texts often strongly disagree, as the following examples show:

a) In the *sādhana* listed under no. 183 the place of *rDo rje spyan gcig ma* in the group of the *yakṣīs* has been taken by the goddess *rDo rje kun tu bzang*, who is normally mentioned as the third member of the *bdud mo* group, while on the other hand in the place of the latter appears the goddess *rDo rje g.yu bun ma*; according to the *Padma thang yig* this is the secret name of the *dGra lha ja mun* of the *Zhang zhung* country.[12] Also in two other instances the order of enumeration has been changed. The *vāhanas* of the goddesses, too, deviate from the normal. Unfortunately not all the mounts are mentioned.

Name	*Mount*
rDo rje kun grags ma	black horse
rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong	

[12] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 244.

rDo rje g.yu bun ma	
rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso	camel
rDo rje kun tu bzang	tigress
rDo rje klu mo	vixen
rDo rje drag mo rgyal	black bear cub
rDo rje dpal gyi yum	bear from Mon with white paws
rDo rje bod khams skyong	hind of the *sman* goddesses
rDo rje g.yar mo bsil	—
rDo rje sman gcig ma	—
rDo rje dril bu zu le ma	—

b) The *rNying ma pa* text listed under no. 77 contains the following enumeration of the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis*:

Residence	*Name*	*Mount*
rDo rje brag dkar	*Gangs dkar sha med ma*	three-legged mule
rMa chen spom ra	*Kha rag khyung btsun ma*	excellent white steed
dBu ru kha tshal	*rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*	blue "water-horse" (*chu rta*)
the abode of *Mahādeva*	*rDo rje kun grags ma*	blue water-bull
lHo yul (*de*) *snying*	*sKye mthing g.ya' ma skyong*	golden hind
sNga phyi (*de*) *grong*	*Ug chos g.ya' mo bsil*	nine-headed tortoise
Bal yul gser phug	*Ekajāti ral gcig ma*	blue turquoise-dragon
Na len shing len	*bTsan la rol pa'i sman gcig ma*	three-legged mule
Kong yul kong phug	*Gangs kyi yum chen g.yu bun ma*	tiger with vari-coloured stripes
Mang yul mang ting	*Che zhes gtsug gi 'od 'chang ma*	young yak-bull
dBu ru snying po	*Byang gi ma ting ting mo btsun*	great wild yak
sGrub yul ka tshal	*mDa' la btsan mo gdug pa 'dul*	bear with a white spot

c) A somewhat similar list of the *bsTan ma* is given in a *lha bsangs* work of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect:[13]

Residence	*Name*	*Mount*
rDo rje brag dmar	*Sha med gangs dkar ma*	three-legged mule
rMa chen spom ra	*Kha reg khyung btsun ma*	horse with white muzzle
abode of *Mahādeva*	*rDo rje kun grags ma*	blue water-bull
dBu ru snying tshal	*rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*	blue water-horse
lHo phug de snying	*sKyi mthing ya ma skyong*	golden hind
Yan shan de grong	*Khug chos g.yar mo bsil*	nine-headed tortoise
Bal yul gser phug	*Ekajāti ral gcig ma*	blue turquoise-dragon
Na le shi le	*bTsan la rol pa'i sman gcig ma*	great spotted leopard
Kong yul sgang phug	*Gangs kyi yum chen g.yu bun ma*	striped tigress
Mang yul rak ti	*Che zhes gtsug 'chang 'od 'bar ma*	strong great dragon?
dBu ru snying tshal	*Byang gi sman btsun de mo btsun*	great wild yak
Nub yul dgon tshal	*Brag lha btsan po gdug pa 'dul*	bear with a white spot

d) Another, and again different enumeration and description of the *bsTan ma* goddesses, is given on fols. 44–45 of Text no. 6.

Name	*Appearance*
mThing ya ma skyong	blue, holds a *phur bu* of copper; she has a *go zu* of white clouds and a *thod gdengs* of crystal.
Gangs kyi yum chen ma	white, her attribute is a *phur bu* of conch-shell; she is supposed to wear a *go zu* of glacier-ice and a *go cog* of clouds.
Kha rag khyung btsun	yellow, armed with a golden *phur bu*; she has a *go zu* of *mu men* stone and her toupet consists of black rocks.
Ug chos g.yar mo sil	dark-red, wields a *phur bu* of *seng ldeng* wood; the text mentions that her garment is undefined and that her toupet consists of tortoise-shells.
Kong btsun de mo	black, holds a vessel full of blood; her head

	is adorned with an ornament consisting of gold and turquoise.
Gangs dkar sha med	white, lifts a blood-stained banner; she is dressed in a *go zu* of glacier-ice and her toupet consists of pearls.
Byang 'brog 'khor.'dul ma	red, holds a *phur bu* of iron; her dress is a *go zu* made of yak and sheep skins, and she has an iron toupet.
Byang gi ting ting ting mo shag	red, wears a cloak of peacock-feathers, and her toupet consists of turquoise.
g.Yu'i dril snyan si li ma	blue, armed with a *phur bu* of turquoise; she wears a cloak of dyed cloth
Mig gcig ma mche ba can (also called the *Legs sbyor gser thang yug ge ma*)	white, holds a torch; she wears a golden cloak and has a toupet consisting of various kinds of gems.
bTsan la ra mo sman gcig ma	red, carries a demon-dagger of the kind called *bse phur*; she wears a white cloak and her toupet consists of gold and turquoise.
Kyin thing dangs kyi ra mo sman	blue; she is dressed in a cloak of vulture-feathers and her toupet consists of golden flaming thunderbolts.

e) According to a text contained in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*,[14] the names, colours and attributes of the twelve *bsTan ma* are as follows:

Name	*Colour*	*Attributes*
rDo rje kun bzang	azure-blue	thunderbolt and *tshe bum*
rDo rje kun grags	azure-blue	*makara*-banner and mirror
Ha ri rdo rje ya ma	blue	sabre? and snare
'Brog chen rdo rje bgegs gtso	black	battle-lance with five points and noose
Sha med rdo rje g.yu bun ma	—	golden sickle and treasure-vessel
Kha rag khyung btsun	white	*ḍamaru* and mirror
gSer chen mkha' lding klu mo	red	snake-snare and *phur bu*
rMa ri rab 'byams drag mo	yellow	club and pan with food
Kong btsun de mo	cherry-brown	divination-arrow and chest

14 134, fols. 11b–12b.

bTsan la rol pa'i sman gcig	green	white silk-band and *'brang rgyas*
Ug chos ya ma bsil	red	
g.Yu dril rdo rje gzugs legs	red	lotus and bell

They ride the following animals:

Name	*Mount*
rDo rje kun bzang	white lion
rDo rje kun grags	blue turquoise-dragon
Ha ri rdo rje ya ma	kyang
'Brog chen rdo rje bgegs gtso	blue mule
Sha med rdo rje g.yu bun ma	hind
Kha rag khyung btsun	great *khyung*
gSer chen mkha' lding klu mo	yellow horse
rMa ri rab 'byams drag mo	wild dog
Kong btsun de mo	horse with turquoise-mane
bTsan la rol pa'i sman gcig	white hybrid yak
Ug chos ya ma bsil	nine-headed tortoise
g.Yu dril rdo rje gzugs legs	striped tigress

f) Text no. 198, (fol. 47a), describes the twelve *bsTan ma* in the following way:

Name	*Colour*	*Mount*
rDo rje kun grags	white	dragon
dPal ldan ha ri	black	game
Gangs yum kun bzang	green	lion
rDo rje bgegs gtso	dark-brown	female wolf
rDo rje g.yu bun	pale-blue	stag
Khyung btsun rdo rje	pale-red	vulture
rDo rje klu mo	green	*makara*
rDo rje drag mo	yellow	white horse
rKong btsun de mo	pale-red	*khyung*
rDo rje sman gcig	white	wolf
rDo rje dbyar mo	blue	antelope?
rDo rje zu le	green	eagle?

The same source states that the four *bdud mo* wear a *gos zu* of black silk, the four *gnod sbyin mo* a cloak of white silk, and the four *sman mo* a *gos zu* of cotton-cloth.

g) Apart from the list given above, the chapter *ya* of the collected

works of *Klong rdol bla ma*[15] contains a second and more comprehensive list of the *bsTan ma* goddesses; in this case the names of the places at which the twelve *bsTan ma* are supposed to reside differ partly from those which we gave above.

Location	*Name*	*Colour*
Byang gi gnam mtsho phyug mo	*rDo rje kun grags ma*	blue
lHa bod lha ri	*rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong*	blue
La phyi gangs kyi ri	*rDo rje kun bzang*	white
Yar 'brog sgang kyi mtsho	*rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso*	blue
lHa phu gangs kyi ri	*rDo rje sman gcig ma*	white
Jo mo kha rag	(*Be rag khyung btsun*) *rDo rje dpal gyi yum*	yellow
Byang stod dmar mtsho	*rDo rje klu mo*	white
rMa ri rab 'byams or *rMa chen spom ra*	*rDo rje drag mo*	green
Gang yul bre ma ri gdong	*Kong btsun de mo bod khams skyong* or *rDo rje dpal mo che*	white or blue
gNyal lo ri	*rDo rje sman gcig ma*	red
gTsang stod jo mo nags rgyal	(*sman btsun*) *rDo rje g.yar mo sil*	dark-red
Sha bug stag sgo or *mDo khams g.yu ri'i gnas mchog*	*rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*	blue

Each of these carries a characteristic attribute in the right hand and rides on an animal:

Name	*Attribute*	*Mount*
rDo rje kun grags ma	*phur bu*	turquoise-coloured dragon
rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong	*phur bu* of copper	yellow kyang
rDo rje kun bzang	five-pointed thunderbolt	lion
rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso	*phur bu* of iron	golden hind
rDo rje sman gcig ma	sack full of diseases	conch-shell white stag
rDo rje dpal gyi yum	arrow	*khyung*
rDo rje klu mo	club	pig
rDo rje drag mo	*phur bu*	stag or wild yak

15 70, fol. 5a.

rDo rje dpal mo che	vessel	white horse
rDo rje sman gcig ma	*phur bu*	black mule with yellow muzzle
rDo rje g.yar mo sil	*phur bu*	hind
rDo rje g.yu sgron ma	small drum	turquoise-coloured lion[16]

Opinions differ as to who is to be regarded as the head of the twelve *bsTan ma*. While some of the Tibetan priests allege that the foremost position has to be assigned to the goddess *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* – here mentioned in the lists b) and g) –, others claim that *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* (*rDo rje grags rgyal ma*) is the leader of the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis*. The latter allegation can be explained by the fact that this goddess enjoys a greater amount of worship than her companions. She is, according to *Klong rdol bla ma*,[17] the *śakti* of the mountain-god *rMa chen spom ra*, and she is further the divine ruler of the *rMa ri rab 'byams* mountain, also called the *Ri bo dge 'phel*, which lies back of Drepung monastery. *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* is therefore venerated especially by the members of this monastic community.

An appellation stressing *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*'s position as the head of the *bsTan ma* goddesses is *Bod skyong brtan ma'i gtso mo g.Yu yi sgron*, "Lamp of Turquoise, mistress of the *brTan ma* goddesses protecting Tibet". She is sometimes given the title *sman btsun chen mo*. Most probably she stands in a close relation to the group of the *g.Yu sgron mched lnga* mentioned above; unfortunately, no reliable information on this question is yet available. Under the name *zhing skyong dbang mo rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* she is said to occupy a position as a local protective deity of the sacred area of *Tsha ri*. Some of the Tibetans claim that she is either a form of the goddess *Ral gcig ma*, or that she is identical with *Gung sman rgyal mo*, the mother of king *Ge sar*. *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* is being represented as a white goddess of a beautiful appearance, smiling, but of a proud bearing, and resting either on a seat of gems or riding a mule of a blue colour. According to her *sādhanas* the white of her body is "like the lustre produced when the rays of the rising sun strike a pile of crystal". She wears a white dress; some texts claim that a green scarf is wound around her head, while others state that she has a toupet of turquoise. Around her neck hangs a wreath consisting of turquoise,

[16] In some of the *bsTan ma* lists two *vāhanas* are mentioned which had not been named in any of the above enumerations: the goddess *Khug chos g.yar mo bsil* rides on a brown frog and *Brag lha btsan po gdug pa 'dul* on a fox-brown billy goat.
[17] 70, fol. 6a.

gold, and flowers. Her *sādhanas* do not agree, however, in the description of her other attributes; several state that her right hand holds a jewel and the left one a mirror of silver together with a divination-arrow, to which five silken streamers of different colours are attached, or that her right hand holds a divination-arrow, while the left carries either a vessel full of treasures or a mirror. A rare form is the black *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*, depicted as a fierce goddess, dressed in a skin drawn from a corpse. Blood drips from her mouth, fire issues from her eyes, and her nostrils emit smoke. Her right hand holds a *khram bam*, the attribute carried in the left hand can be either a *nad rkyal* or a skull-cup full of blood.[18]

A very comprehensive description of *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* and her retinue is contained in the source quoted under no. 197.[19] There she is described as a white figure riding on a mule of turquoise, which carries a saddle and the usual trimmings. Her right hand holds a divination-arrow, her left lifts a vessel filled with treasures. She wears a garment of silk and a diadem of jewels. In this case *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* stands outside the group of the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis*; apart from the members of this group, three other goddesses are named as her companions: on the right side rides on a mule the white goddess *rDo rje chos kyi sgron ma*. Her right hand whirls a small drum (*rnga'u chung*), her left hand is set in a movement made when dancing. She wears a garment of silk and is decorated with jewels. On the left rides the goddess *rDo rje sna yon ma* who is black "like the *mig sman*". She is very fierce, her right hand thrusts a lance into the heart of a foe of the Buddhist teachings, her left hand wields a *zor*-weapon, with which she cuts the life-roots of those who break an oath. Her dress is made of black silk, she wears precious ornaments, her hair is of a flaming yellow-red colour, and she rides on a stag with ten-forked antlers. The place in front of the chief divinity is occupied by the goddess *rDo rje ne ne gnam sman sgron*, who is of a reddish-brown colour. She is adorned with a wreath of flowers and with bone-ornaments; she wears a loin-cloth of silk and a thighbone trumpet is stuck into her girdle. Her right hand shakes a *ḍamaru* made of sandal-wood, and her left hand brandishes a chopper. Her mount is a white lion. – These four goddesses form the "inner circle", while in the "outer circle" one finds the members of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* group: the white *bKra shis tshe ring ma* who rides on a white lion; her attributes are a thunderbolt and a vessel. Further the blue *sNang gsal (s)pra ston ma*, who carries a banner and a mirror; she rides on a kyang. Next the yellow *Mi g.yo blo bzang ma*,

18 6, fol. 40b.
19 Fol. 2a–4a.

carrying a flat bowl full of food and an ichneumon; her mount is a tiger. The red *Cod pan mgrin bzang ma* rides on a hind; she carries a gem fulfilling all wishes and a treasure-box. And lastly the green-blue *gTad dkar 'gro bzang ma*, who holds a bushel of *dūrvā* grass in her right hand and a snare in the left one. She rides on a blue turquoise-dragon.

Further to the outside, in another concentric circle, dwell the four *bdud mo*, who are distributed in the following order: the East is occupied by the goddess *rDo rje kun grags ma*, who is blue in colour and carries a banner with a *makara*-head on top and a mirror. She rides on a dragon. In the South: the (blue) *rDo rje g.ya' ma skyong*, whose attributes are a sword and a snare; she rides on a kyang. In the West: the red *rDo rje kun bzang ma*, carrying a thunderbolt and a vessel. Her mount is a white lion. In the North: the blue *rDo rje bgegs kyi gtso*, armed with a battle-lance and a snare and riding a mule. Again, further to the outer side of the *maṇḍala*, there is another circle of four goddesses, the four great *yakṣīs*, who occupy the four main quarters of the world. In the East: the white *rDo rje spyan gcig ma*, her right hand holds a sickle of gold, the left one a vessel. Her mount is a stag with ten-forked antlers. In the South: the yellow *rDo rje dpal gyi yum*, carrying a *ḍamaru* and a mirror. Her mount is a *khyung*. In the West: the red *rDo rje klu mo*, carrying a demon dagger and a snake-snare. She rides on a horse of the best breed. In the North: the green *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*; her attributes are a club and a basin of metal (*'khar gzhong*); her mount is a wolf. The outmost circle is occupied by the four *sman mo*, arranged in the following order: in the East is the white *rDo rje bod khams skyong*, carrying a divination-arrow and a chest and riding a horse. In the South: the yellow *rDo rje sman gcig ma*; her attributes are a flowing piece of silk and an offering of eatables. She rides on a cross-breed yak. In the West: the red *rDo rje g.ya' mo bsil*, who carries a flaming jewel and a little bell; her mount is a hind. In the North: the blue *rDo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma*. In her right hand she holds a lotus, in her left one a bell, and she rides on a tiger.

When comparing this description of the *bsTan ma* with those given before we notice, that several goddesses are here represented again in an essentially different way.

Another source for the iconography of *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* and her retinue is the Text no. 114 (fol. 3a). There the chief goddess and the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis* are described nearly in the same manner as in the text just discussed; this time, however, there is a change in the position of one of the three goddesses who stand in the immediate neighbourhood of *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*: in the place of *rDo rje ne ne gnam sman sgron* this

source names the goddess *He la 'bar ma*, who is white like a snow-mountain: Her right hand lifts a divination-arrow, and the left one a vessel; she wears a cloak consisting of peacock-feathers, a voluminous garment, and numerous jewels. – The position and description of the other two goddesses, the white *rDo rje chos kyi sgron ma* and the black *rDo rje sna yon ma*, are again the same, only that in the present case the name of the latter goddess had been changed to *rDo rje gnas g.yon* (*ma*).

Details about the history and iconography of *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* (or *rDo rje grags mo rgyal* and *rDo rje grags rgyal ma*), whom some regard to be the leader of the twelve *bsTan ma*, can be obtained primarily from the books used in the worship of this goddess by the monks of Drepung. As regards her early history, one of these sources says: "The protectress of the religious teachings, *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*, who comprises in herself the "maid-servants" of the body, speech and mind: in the *'Ching phu* retreat of the magnificent *bSam yas* monastery, she was placed by the religious teacher *Padmasambhava* in the course of a solemn ceremony into the *parivāra* of the blood-drinking *rTa mgrin* and was bound by a solemn oath. There, her secret name was given to her: *rDo rje dam tshig gzi ldan 'bar*. Then also by the *gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes*, she was placed in the course of a solemn ceremony into the *maṇḍala* of *gShin rje gshed* and was bound by an oath. Then in the *dPal gyi phug pa* she was changed by the religious teacher *gNyan chen dpal dbyangs* into a guardian deity and was placed into the *maṇḍala* of *Yang dag sgrub pa*."[20]

The place which *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* occupies, her appearance and the composition of her retinue are as follows: "Out of the syllable *bhrum* originates a heavenly abode, consisting of four kinds of jewels, of utmost magnificence. Its pillars and beams are decorated with covers made of pearls. Amidst unimaginable quantities of offerings, on a throne of jewels which is covered with silk of the best quality, on top of a multi-coloured lotus bearing a moon and sun *maṇḍala* appears – mounted on a marvellous stag which is white like a conch-shell, who lifts menacingly his antlers with ten points and carries a saddle and the other trimmings made of conch-shell and has reins and a cruper made of turquoise – the mighty protectress of religious teachings *rDo rje grags rgyal ma*, whose body is white like a snow-mountain, of accomplished beauty, in a slightly angry mood. She has the appearance of a "daughter of the gods". Some of her black hair, which is smeared with grease, is bound into a tuft by means of a ribbon of silk, while the rest hangs down in streaks. She has one face and two hands. With her right hand she lifts a magic mirror – which

[20] 65, part 2, fol. 6b–8b.

depicts and reflects clearly all happenings in the three times – and a noose which ensnares the bodies of evil-doers, enemies, and *vighnas*. With her left hand she holds an iron hook, bringing with it into her power the three worlds, and with the five kinds of silk (attached to its handle) she accomplishes various tasks. She wears a flowing garment of silk, a diadem of gold adorned with different kinds of gems, a throat-band of jewels, earrings, bracelets, bangles on the feet, the *se mo do*[21] ornament, and a girdle to which a set of small tinkling bells is attached. On her feet she wears high boots with brown streaks. She sits cross-legged on top of the stag.

On the right is the "female messenger of the body" (*sku'i pho nya mo*) *lHa mo dung gha bza'*. She has a white body. In her right hand she holds an iron falcon, whom she despatches to disperse the enemies and *vighnas*, and lifting with her left hand a sickle she cuts with it the life-roots of the obstacle-creating demons. Adorned with silks and ornaments of jewels, she rides on a hind which carries a saddle and the other trimmings.

On the left is the "messenger-girl of speech" (*gsung gi pho nya mo*) *lHa mo ma(m) gha bza'*, possessing a red body, wearing a dress of rough cloth, and adorned with silks and precious ornaments. With her right hand she lifts a rosary made of *sre long* wood, counting with it the number of enemies and obstacle-creating demons, with her left hand she thrusts a lance bearing a flag into the hearts of enemies and *vighnas*. She rides a mule mounted with a saddle and the other trimmings and ornaments.

In front is the *thugs kyi pho nya mo lHa mo shel bza'* (also: *gza'*) *sman gcig ma*. Her body is blue, and she is adorned with silks, various ornaments made of precious stones, magnificent coral, and conch-shells. She holds with both hands a basin of silver, to which silk-ribbons of five different colours are attached, and filled with precious objects; she rides a big wild yak-bull.

Moreover, there is a multitude of *bsTan ma* sisters, who had been bound by an oath and who all carry out the same kind of work. In the train of these appear the classes of *ma mo*, *bdud*, *btsan*, and *yakṣas*, who surround these deities in countless numbers."[22]

Another source describes *rDo rje grags mo rgyal* and her companions in the following way: "Protectress of Buddha's creed, *srog shing* of all religious establishments, mistress of strength and power, you, the *bsTan ma* who protect Tibet, you who subjugate all the gods and spirits of the

[21] Skt. *ardhahāra* Mahāvyutpatti, p. 204; also a part of the *rus rgyan* bears this name.

[22] 64, fol. 3b–5a.

visible world. You, who guard like your sons those who worship you faithfully.' – *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*, the ferocious one, she crushes to dust within a moment all enemies and obstacle-creating demons who try to harm the religious teachings. Another name for her is *Jo mo yang gha bza'*. Her secret name is *rDo rje dam tshig* (*ma*); she has a lustrous appearance, her body is of a fiery pink colour and full of splendour. She wears garments of silk and her ornaments are swaying strings of jewels. With her right hand she lifts a magic mirror which reflects all happenings in the three worlds, and simultaneously she ties a sling around the neck of a man who broke his religious vows. With her left hand she tears open with the help of an iron hook, which is adorned with various kinds of silk, the life-roots of the enemies and obstacle-creating demons and brings with it the three worlds into her power. When riding, she rides a stag with a ten-forked antler.

You who are residing on the peak of the *rMa ri rab 'byams*, protecting the sacred place, the *'Bras spungs* monastery, please come, you who act as a guardian of religious traditions!

Moreover: there appears the "maidservant of the body" (*sku yi g.yog mo*) *Dung gha bza'*, who dwells at *mTshe'u rong*. With her right hand she lifts a falcon of iron, whom she sends as a messenger to the ten cardinal points, with her left hand she cuts by means of an iron sickle the life-roots of those who break their religious vows. She rides on a hind. – Come, you who are surrounded by a multitude of *bdud mo*.

Moreover: she, who dwells at *Phag tshang gi rong* is the *gsung gi g.yog mo Ma gha bza'*, who is dressed in a black garment of rough cloth made of yak-hair. With her right hand she is counting out, with the help of a rosary of *sre long* wood, who is good and who is evil; with her left hand she thrusts at an enemy a lance bearing a red flag. She rides a mule and is accompanied by the hundred thousand war-battalions of the *btsan*.

The *thugs kyi g.yog mo Shel bza' sman gcig ma*: her body is adorned with a garment of heavy silk and a cloak of blue silk. She is decorated with a white conch-shell diadem and wears ornaments of coral. With her right hand she stretches towards the reigning deity of the *maṇḍala* a ladle of silver filled with food. With her left hand she lifts a fluttering banner of white silk. She resides at *Phag tshang rong*. She rides on a black wild yak and is surrounded by battalions of one hundred thousand *sman mo*."[23]

When comparing these two descriptions of *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* with

[23] 65, part 1 fols. 2b–4b.

those which we gave before we notice that the goddess has this time been represented in a completely different way.

Text no. 65 contains on fols. 1b–2a the following description of the chief *bsTan ma* and her train:

"You, the guardian of the Buddhist creed, *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*,
Called by another name the *dPal ldan jo mo yang gha bza'*,
Your *sku yi sprul pa* is the white *Dung gha bza'*,
Your *gsung gi sprul pa* is the red *Ma gha bza'*,
Your *thugs kyi sprul pa* is the dark-blue *Shel bza' sman gcig ma*,
In the train obeying your command appears a multitude of *sman mo*, *yakṣas*,
Together with the *yul lha*, *gzhi bdag*, and the multitude of guardian-deities..."

The same source says about the nature of *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* and the tasks which she should carry out:

"You, the glorious *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*,
You, the *sMan gcig ma* protecting the *triratna*,
You, whose secret name is *rDo rje gzi ldan 'bar*,
You, *Yang gha bza'*, rich in power, might and strength,
When angry at the enemies,
Riding, you ride on flaming chain-lightning,
From your mouth issues a fire-cloud such as appears at the end of a *kalpa*,
From your nose smoke comes forth,
Fire-clouds accompany you in the back.
Suddenly, you gather clouds in the sky.
The fierce rolling of thunder sounds into the ten quarters of the world,
In a dreadful way fall meteors and big corns of hail,
The foundations of the earth are covered with fire and water.
Devilish birds and jackdaws are fluttering around,
Black birds with yellow beaks descend in succession,
The circle of *sman mo* is milling around,
The numerous demoniacal war-hordes are teeming,
The galloping horses of the *btsan* are dashing away.
If you are happy, the ocean beats against the sky,
When you are angry, the sun and the moon drop down,
When you laugh, the world-mountain disintegrates to powder,
Like this, you are powerful and possessing magic qualities.
By you and your retinue,
Those are subdued who try to inflict harm to the Buddhist religion,
And who disturb the monastic communities.
Harm all beings who possess an evil mind.
Protect in particular this monastery, this holy place,

As well as me, the *yogī*, and my companions.
Those who are full of hatred and have evil thoughts,
Men and spirits, enemies and *vighnas*:
By showing evil omens and by various kinds of magic,
To all these cause fright and terror.
Years and months do not wait,
Drink quickly the warm blood of their hearts,
Destroy them at once,
Those who are evil-minded, who break their oaths and the enemies;
Separate them from their kinsmen, attendants and their property."[24]

A similar invocation of this goddess is given on fol. 5b of Text no. 64: "You, the mighty protectress of religious teachings, *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*, who guard and protect always and in all its parts this region surrounded by snowy mountains, please come to this place, together with your retinue. Please come from your supreme abode, the *rMa ri rab 'byams*, in order to guard and protect the teachings of *Tsong kha pa*, never being idle in fulfilling your religious oath, you, the mighty protectress of religious teachings, together with your retinue. Come quickly to this place, in order to guard the religious teachings according to the order, given by the "root-lama" (*rtsa rgyud bla ma*) *mThu stobs dbang phyug mtsho skyes rdo rje*, by *Atīśa*, and by the *'Jam mgon bla ma* (*Tsong kha pa*)."

When worshiping the *rDo rje drag mo rgyal*, the devotee should offer to her an "image-reflecting, all-showing mirror of purest silver", five different ribbons of silk in the colours of the rainbow, a hook made of ruby, a black magic snare for conjuring up spirits, a diadem made of refined gold, and "the six kinds of ornaments which delight the gods and the *ḍākinīs*". He should also present her with a stag – carrying a precious saddle and the usual trimmings – who points menacingly his antlers of conch-shells against the *vighnas* in the ten corners of the world.

Apart from *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* and *rDo rje drag mo rgyal*, the *bsTan ma* goddess most frequently invoked is the *Kong btsun de mo*, who is also known as the *gter srung Kong btsun de mo*, *rDo rje bod khams skyong* (*ma*), and *rDo rje dpal mo che*. We encountered several forms of this goddess already above. In another aspect *Kong btsun de mo* is shown riding on a mule with three legs. She has a toupet of turquoise, her right hand brandishes a sword and the left one holds a *nad rkyal*.[25]

Related to the group of the *bsTan ma* is the goddess *rDo rje khyung lung ma* or *Ma gcig rdo rje khyung lung ma*, whom Tibetan works call a

[24] Fol. 7b–8b.
[25] 9, fol. 10a.

younger sister of the sisterhood of four *bdud mo* (*bDud mo mched bzhi'i gcung mo Khyung lung ma*). She appears in two aspects, in a peaceful and in an angry one. In the former case the colour of her body is a brilliant white, and her face bears an extremely peaceful expression. Her right hand holds a divination-arrow, to which ribbons of silk of five different colours are tied, and her left hand holds a mirror, "showing clearly the happenings in the three worlds". The body of the goddess is covered by a flowing garment, she is adorned with numerous jewels and sits – with one foot drawn up and the other stretched out – on her mount, a very fierce wild yak. The angry form of *rDo rje khyung lung ma* is dark-brown. Her face is angrily contorted, and she shows her teeth. Her right hand holds the drawn skin of a man, the left one a rosary consisting of human skulls. A freshly drawn skin of a yak is her garment. She sits in the middle of a fire-cloud with one foot drawn up and the other one stretched out. She is accompanied on the right side by hundred *btsan* riders, on the left side stand one hundred black women. From rays which emanate from the heart of *rDo rje khyung lung ma* four other forms of this goddess originate: the white *Zhi ba'i lha mo*, the yellow *rGyas pa'i lha mo*, the red *dBang gi lha mo*, and the black *Drag po'i lha mo*.[26]

All members of the *bsTan ma* group and especially the *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* are believed to take in turns possession of an oracle-priestess who lives at a shrine called *bsTan ma lcog*, which lies close to Drepung. This medium is being occasionally visited by a god called simply *dPa' bo*, who is said to be a "minister" of *rDo rje drag mo rgyal*. A second female medium of the *bsTan ma* goddesses has her residence near Sera. This oracle-priestess is popularly known as the *rDab rdob gyi lha* (*pa*), since she is mainly consulted by the *rdab rdob*, the monk-soldiers of Sera monastery. The *rDab rdob gyi lha* (*pa*) has several priests as assistants. She wears a characteristic high and conical-shaped hat of brocade decorated with three eyes.

3—THE SMAN GODDESSES

In the foregoing chapters we encountered already repeatedly the term *sman* (also *sman mo* and *sman btsun*). Thus in some Tibetan works the *Tshe ring mched lnga* are classified as belonging to the *sman* group; in some of the *rDzogs chen pa* books, the *Tshe ring mched lnga* are mentioned under the name *bKa' srung sman btsun mched lnga*. Also one of the

[26] 67, fol. 2a, also 86.

rNying ma pa texts which we quoted above speaks of the goddess *bKra shis tshe ring ma* as the *sman btsun bKra shis tshe ring ma*. Further, as had just been mentioned, a subdivision of the twelve *bsTan ma* are the four great *sman mo* (*sman mo chen mo bzhi*), of whom, however, only one bears the expression *sman* in her name: *rDo rje sman gcig ma*; but *sman gcig ma* is also a title by which the goddess *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* is addressed.

sMan – as had already been pointed out in other publications[27] – is often used as the appellation of the consorts of the *lha*, the meaning of this word being both "woman" and "medicine". In most Tibetan texts the word *sman* – short for *sman mo* or *sman mu* – is used as the appellation of a group of aboriginal Tibetan deities, who must stand in some relation to medicine since two kinds of *gtor ma* called *sman gtor* and *sman rag gtor ma* are offered to them; the *sman gtor* consists of various medicines, while the second kind of *gtor ma* is prepared by mixing medicines with blood. The section of the Bon called *snang gshen* is supposed to have dealt specially with the worship of the *lha* and *sman*.[28]

The term *sman btsun* is mostly used as an alternative name for *sman mo*, though in some cases *sman btsun* appears to be not merely a title, but the name of a particular class of the *sman mo*. About the *sman btsun* Text no. 92 (fol. 4a), says that they were subdued by *Padmasambhava* on the peaks of slate and snow-mountains, and Text no. 57 speaks on fol. 76b about the "four sister-orders of the great *sman btsun*" (*sman btsun chen mo mched sde bzhi*); a *sman btsun* who is sometimes mentioned in the *lha bsangs* works is the *sMan btsun de mo dbu dkar*. Also the term *mo sman* – mentioned in the enumeration of the *sNang srid sde brgyad* and in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po* – is perhaps not a general term, but rather the name of a subdivision of the *sman*. There are various spheres in which the *sman mo* live: some of them are said to dwell in the sky, others "in the calm, great lakes ... on green meadows and in virgin forests" and in the earth. The *Padma thang yig* claims that *Padmasambhava* subdued all the *sman mo* and *lha sman* at a place called *gSil ma* in Tsang.[29]

As in the case of most of the Tibetan deities of pre-Buddhist origin, also the *sman mo* are supposed to form groups, which are called "sisterhoods" (*sman spun*, *sman mched*); thus the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* speaks in several instances about the *Byang sman mched bzhi*, the four *sman* sisters

[27] R. Stein, 'Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétains,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1939, pp. 309–315. Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 720. On the *sman* see also Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 160 sq.

[28] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 715.

[29] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247.

of the North, and the seven *sman ma* who dwell in lakes (*mTsho sman ma bdun*), while Text no. 5 (fol. 34b) mentions a sisterhood of five lake-dwelling *sman mo*, the *mTsho sman phyug mo spun lnga*. Some sources speak even about a group of fifty-eight *sman mo*. According to the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* also the *sman mo*, just like the *gnyan*, *sa bdag*, *gzed*, and *'brog*, are supposed to have their own Bon priest (*bon po*). The name of the *bon po* of the *sman* is given on fol. 73b of the work here quoted: *sman bon 'Brang thang gong sngon*. The group of the *sman mo* is divided on feudalistic principles: there are both "mistresses of the *sman*" (*sman gyi gtso mo*) and "queens of the *sman*" (*sman gyi rgyal mo*) as well as "minor *sman*" (*sman phran*).

An important subdivision of the *sman mo* are the *gnam sman*, the *sman mo* who reside in the sky. They are certainly closely related to another group of ancient Tibetan goddesses, the *nam mkha'i lha mo*. Leader of all the *gnam sman* is the goddess *Thog gi bu yug*, apparently identical with the *śakti* of the mountain-god *Yar lha sham po* who bears the same name. The *gnam sman Thog gi bu yug* is pale-red and wears a golden *go zu*; her right hand holds lightning, the left hand carries the corns of hail, and she rides on lightning.[30] We may recall here that the goddess *mThing gi zhal bzang ma*, a member of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* group, is sometimes classified among the *gnam sman*. In the retinue of the *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* we also mentioned the *rDo rje ne ne gnam sman sgron*. Another prominent *gnam sman* is *Ma ne ne*, the mother of the legendary king *Ge sar*. Her full name is "the white *gnam sman Ma ne ne*", *Ma ne ne gnam sman dkar mo*. To the group of the *gnam sman* belongs most probably also the Bon goddess *gNam lha byang sman mthing gi go zu can*. The second part of her name indicates that she wears an azure-blue *go zu*.

Those *sman mo* who dwell in lakes are given the name *mtsho sman*. We mentioned already above two groups of *mtsho sman*, the *mTsho sman ma bdun* and the *mTsho sman phyug mo spun lnga*. Another group of this kind are the nine *mtsho sman*, to whom a special thread-cross is dedicated, the *mTsho sman dgu mdos*. In the work describing the setting up of the so-called *mtsho sman bsngo mdos*,[31] the *mtsho sman* are subdivided into the following four groups: the *'od ldan mtsho sman*, *dregs pa'i mtsho sman*, *pho nya'i mtsho sman*, and the *las byed mtsho sman*. Queens of the *mtsho sman* are the goddesses *mTsho sman rgyal mo mkhro'i gtso* and *mTsho sman ru phyug rgyal mo*; the latter is apparently the sister, or perhaps the *śakti*, of the *Khyung lding nag po*. The *mTsho sman ru phyug*

[30] 6, fol. 34a.
[31] See p. 386.

rgyal mo rides on an iron mule. She is dressed in a cloak of peacock-feathers and throws a snare made of black snakes. Her chief attendants are the following four *mtsho sman*: *mTsho sman nyi ma'i byan gcig ma*, *mTsho sman mthing gi lha mo*, *mTsho sman g.yu thang cho longs* (*ma*), and *mTsho sman gzi ldan ral gcig ma*.[32] The *mTsho sngon khri shor* (also: *shog*, *gshog*) is the abode of the *mTsho sman klu yi rgyal mo*. She is said to be blue like an emerald and to have the appearance of a "girl who has just passed the sixteenth year of age". Otherwise, she is a typical *klu mo*: the lower part of her body is the coiled tail of a snake, and seven poisonous snakes rise threateningly above her head. The upper part of her body is covered by a garment of blue silk of the best quality. Her right hand lifts a white gem, the left hand holds a treasure-box and a snare consisting of precious stones.[33] According to other sources, the *mTsho sngon khri shor* is inhabited by nine sisters, the *Khri shor rgyal mo mched dgu*. Some Tibetan works mention also a sisterhood of five *mtsho sman*, called the *mTsho sman rgyal mo mched lnga* or *mTsho sman rgyal mo spun lnga*, who are perhaps identical with the before-named *mTsho sman phyug mo spun lnga*. Under the former term the *sman* ruling the following five lakes are understood: *Be ri yi mtsho nag*,[34] *Dra'u'i tsham mtsho dkar po*, *Khri shog rgyal mo'i mtsho*, *sTong ri yi mtsho nag*, and *gTsang kha'i g.yu mtsho sngon mo*.

A *sman mo* who is supposed to be a daughter of *brGya byin* and who is called accordingly by her full name the *Yum mchog brgya byin sras mo gnam mtsho sman* inhabits the *Byang thang gnam mtsho*. Also the lakes of Sikkim are believed to be inhabited by various *mtsho sman*. The *mtsho sman spyan 'dren* of Text no. 201 speaks of four *mtsho sman*, each of them living in one of the following four lakes of Sikkim: the *Rab dkar 'o ma can gyi mtsho* in the East, the *Rin chen 'od 'bar nor bu'i mtsho* in the South, the western *bDe chen padma can gyi mtsho*, and the northern *g.Yu mtsho mu le mthing gi mtsho*. Still unknown remains the position and iconography of the *Dvang ra mtsho sman*.

The only representative of the *sman* who dwell in the earth whom we know so far is the goddess *Sa sman*, a *sa bdag*. She is described in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*[35] as a blue figure with the head of a snake. Her hands brandish a snake-snare, and her mount is a snake. The term *rtse sman* has been mentioned by Waddell.[36]. Apparently *sman mo* are meant who

32 150.
33 160, fol. 6a.
34 Apparently a lake in the *Be r i*district, Chamdo province.
35 Fol. 457a.
36 *Buddhism*, p. 384.

dwell on mountain-peaks, but none of the *sman mo* discussed in this book bears this title. – Later we shall encounter several other members of the *sman mo* group: the *śakti dBu lnga sman phran gtso*, the *sMan dkar gdong ma* who is the consort of the local guardian-god *rGyal chen bsod nams dpal*, one of the *śaktis* of the mountain-god *rMa chen spom ra* called *Gung sman ma*, and the group of the *lha sman sras mo*, who appear in the retinue of the mountain-god *sNgo la g.yu rtse*. A *sman mo* who stands in close relation to the *Thab lha g.yu mo*, the goddess of the hearth – a member of the group of thirteen *dgra lha* –, is the white *Thab sman*; she is invoked in the *lha bsangs* texts of the *rNying ma pa* sect.

"Mistress of the *sman mo*" (*sman mo'i gtso mo*) is a title given to the goddess *Srid pa chags byed ma*, a ferocious figure of a dark-blue colour, dressed in a skin. She eats a human heart and lifts a skull-cup full of blood. The "mistress of the hundred thousand *sman phran*", *sMan phran 'bum gyi gtso mo*, is a white goddess. Her attribute is a fan made of white silk. According to the view of the Bon, the *sman phran* are ruled by the goddess *gNam phyi bdud rgyal nam mkha'i mdzod 'dzin ma*. To the group of the *sman* belongs also the goddess *sTag sman zor gdong*, about whom, however, no details are yet available.

Beings which originated out of the union of a *klu* with a *sman mo* are the *klu sman*; most of these seem to be white. A queen of the *klu sman* is mentioned on fol. 47a of the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. Her full name is *klu sman gyi rgyal mo mDzes ma'i 'od 'phro ma*, and her attribute is supposed to be a rainbow. To the group of the *klu sman* belongs further the *śakti* of the local *dharmapāla Brag nag btsan rgod*, called *Klu sman gtso mo*. A member of this group is also the *Klu sman dkar mo sa le sgron ma*, a white figure with eyebrows of turquoise. She has a ribbon wound around her head, into which are stuck blossoms of the *u dum wa ra* flower. She wears earrings of conch-shell and a dress of white silk; her mount is a white cross-breed yak.[37]

Similar to the *klu sman* is a group of Bon deities called the *phyva sman*, who originated from a union between the *sman mo* and a little-known class of deities, the *phyva*.

[37] 170, fol. 7a.

CHAPTER XIV

MOUNTAIN-DEITIES

Among the divinities discussed in the foregoing chapters we met already with a number of gods and goddesses who are supposed to reside on one or the other mountain-peak of the Land of Snows and who, too, belong to the branch of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*. Thus we mentioned the *yakṣa Gang ba bzang po*, who dwells on the *gNod sbyin gang bzang* mountain near Gyantse, the *Tshe ring mched lnga*, believed to be residing on the *La phyi gangs*, the twelve *bsTan ma*, most of whom are mountain-goddesses, the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*, said to be an "emanation" of the mountain-god *rMa chen spom ra*, and several others. There is scarcely a peak in Tibet which would not be regarded as the abode of a mountain-god or goddess; the principal ones will be discussed in this chapter, while several mountain-gods of minor importance will be mentioned later in the chapter on the local protective deities.

A simple division, found frequently in Tibetan works, claims that there are four chief mountain-gods: *Yar lha sham po*, whose residence lies in the East, the *sKu la mkha' ri* in the South, the *gNod sbyin gangs bzang* – apparently identical with the *gnod sbyin Gang ba bzang po* – in the West, and in the North the *gNyan chen thang lha*.

Yar lha sham po is also called the *srid pa'i lha rabs Yar lha sham po* or simply *lHa rab(s) sham(s) po*.[1] It is curious that Text no. 6 claims on fol. 34b, that *Yar lha sham po* is identical with the mountain-god *gnod sbyin Gang ba bzang po*. Perhaps this statement should be interpreted in that way, that the latter deity is to be regarded as *Yar lha sham po*'s "emanation", or vice versa. The residence of the mountain-god *Yar lha sham po* is the *Yar lha sham po* mountain in the Yarlung valley (*Yar lung, Yar klungs*). The first legendary kings of Tibet are said to have lived at the foot of this deified mountain, and its divine ruler is therefore called the *Bod rje'i lha*, "the *lha* of the lords of Tibet".[2] *Yar lha sham po* is said

[1] See also the works nos. 5625/45 and 5625/79, Tohoku Catalogue.

[2] The Tibetan king *gNya' tho tho ri* is supposed to have descended on this mountain, where also *gShen rab* is supposed to have been born; see the list of seven Tibetan kings,

to be the leader of all the *yul lha* and *sa bdag* who stay within the Yarlung valley. According to the biography of *Padmasambhava*, *Yar lha sham po* was one of the many aboriginal Tibetan deities who tried to block the saint's way and who were turned into *dharmapālas*. He appeared to *Padmasambhava* in the shape of a big white yak, from whose muzzle a snow-storm was blowing. The *sādhanas* describe him as a god with a human body, white like a conch-shell and covered by a white dress. The main attributes of *Yar lha sham po* are a short lance with a white silken banner and a sword of crystal. His mount is a white *lha g.yag*, "big like the side of a mountain", from whose muzzle and nostrils a snow-storm is blowing. The *gnam sman Thog gi bu yug* is his *mahāśakti*, and the "milliards of war-battalions of the *lha*" stand under his command. Related to *Yar lha sham po* is apparently a deity called the *Sham po gza' bdud mgo dgu*, but unfortunately details about this figure are still lacking.

The South is the residence, according to the division given before, of the mountain-god *sKu la mkha' ri*, also called the *dge bsnyen Ku la ha ri* or *Phu la ha ri*, the personification of a mountain in Lhoka. He is believed to be an "emanation" of king *Ge sar*. The expression *ma sangs* is frequently prefixed to his name, a term which we shall discuss at the end of this chapter. *sKu la mkha' ri* is supposed to reside in a palace of gems and crystal. The *sādhanas* describe him as a man white in colour, wearing a helmet and a harness made of crystal, which is partly covered by a coat of silk. In his right hand rests a short lance with a banner of silk attached to it, and his left holds the skull of a wolf. His mount is "a white horse with eyes like the *gzi*, which is able to fly". *sKu la mkha' ri* is surrounded by one hundred thousand giants who lift their shields and weapons. His *śakti* is the *lCam mo shel bza'*, who rides on a deer of turquoise; she is adorned with jewels and leads a white hybrid yak.[3] This mountain-god is most probably identical with the mountain-god *Ku la mkha' ri ze sngon pa*, mentioned in Text no. 6.

Several forms of the *gnod sbyin Gang ba bzang po*, who is assigned the western place by the division given in the beginning of this chapter, have already been described when discussing the companions of *rNam thos sras*. There exists also a blue form of this mountain-god, who in this case carries a sword and a black banner.[4]

who are all believed to have descended on various mountains, reproduced by Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 728, further II, p. 741, note 53.

[3] 57, fol. 79b.

[4] 6, fol. 36b. See also Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 47, and Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, p. 48 sq., p. 57.

gNyan chen thang lha,[5] who is mentioned in the fourth place, is perhaps Tibet's most popular mountain-god and, according to the division of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* recognized by the *rNying ma pa*, also the most important one. *gNyan chen thang lha*, known also as *Thang lha yar shur*, *Thang lha yab shur*, and *Yar shur gnyan gyi lha*, is the ruling divinity of the great *gNyan chen thang lha* range, which stretches for several hundreds of miles through the scarcely inhabited part of northern Tibet. This mountain-god is also a member – if not the leader – of a group of deities known as the "eighteen masters of hail", the *Ser bdag bco brgyad*. He is one of the divinities who, too, tried to prevent *Padmasambhava* from fulfilling his mission in Tibet, but he was defeated by the saint and compelled to become from then on a protector of Buddha's teachings. Some Tibetans allege that *gNyan chen thang lha* had actually taken for the first time the oath of protecting Buddhism in the heavenly sphere, upon the command of *Phyag na rdo rje* (Skt. *Vajrapāṇi*), for a second time an oath was administered to him by *Padma Heruka* on the *Has po ri* mountain near Samye, and for a third time he swore a religious oath on the peak of Samye monastery – "where gods and spirits gather" – to the *yi dam rDo rje gzhon nu*, and lastly *Padmasambhava* himself bound him by a strict oath. It is believed that in the various cases here enumerated nobody else than only *Padmasambhava*, having identified himself at different times with the above-mentioned divinities, had brough *gNyan chen thang lha* under his command. Text no. 78 comments this statement as follows: "*gNyan chen thang lha* is an "emanation" of *Phyag na rdo rje*. When the religious teacher *Padmasambhava* was travelling through barbaric Tibet, and when the *lha* and *rākṣasas* of Tibet tried to place obstacles into his way, *Thang lha yab shur* let snow fall on the religious teacher, he blew snow-storms against his feet, and by sending mist he tried to bar his way. In anger, the religious teacher *Padmasambhava* sat down and meditated on *Phyag na rdo rje*. Upon this all the *lha* and *rākṣasas* became frightened and submitted; at that time, *Thang lha yab shur* was subdued and bound by an oath."[6]

gNyan chen thang lha is also regarded as the protective mountain-deity of the Marpori (*dMar po ri*), the hill on which the Potala Palace was built. This belief is said to be, however, of more recent origin, as in ancient times a local mountain-god of minor importance had his seat on

[5] Numerous works concerning this mountain-god are enumerated in the Tohoku Catalogue. See especially the texts nos. 5694–5697 and 5822. A beautiful ancient painted scroll depicting this deity is in possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna; Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz.

[6] See also Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 245.

this hill. A *la rtse* was kept on the top of the Marpori in his honour and later, when the Potala was built, it was preserved in a room specially constructed for it. At the time of great religious feasts, when the interior of the Potala is shown to visitors, the doors of this room are opened too, so that the old *la rtse* can be seen, still adorned with ancient prayer-flags and spears.

The mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha* is further believed to be a guardian of treasures, and consequently he is also called the *gter bdag gNyan chen thang lha*. An invocation of *gNyan chen thang lha* contained in the Text no. 117 – and encountered in the same version also in numerous other Tibetan works – describes the appearance and descent of this mountain-god in the following manner:

"I invoke your father:
'Od de gung rgyal,
I call your mother:
g.Yu bya gshog gcig.
I invoke yourself:
Yar zhur gnyan gyi lha.
I mention respectfully the appellation of your residence:
'Dam shod snar mo;
Turquoise-green eagles flutter around there,
And full of delight is this abode,
Which even in winter bears the green of spring.
Happy is the country where this god resides.
I pronounce the name, by which you are known to the *lha*:
King of the *gandharvas* (*dri za'i rgyal po*),
Zur phud lnga pa.
I pronounce your secret name:
rDo rje 'bar ba rtsal.[7]
What do you wear on your body?
You wear white silks and white cotton cloths.
What are you riding, if you are mounted?
You ride a horse of the *lha* with white heels.
You roam through the three worlds,
And your white colour is of a radiating brilliancy.
With your right hand you lift a cane-stick,
With your left hand you count the beads of a crystal-rosary;
You rest in the attitude of meditation.
Which emanations are you sending forth?
Hundred thousand units of mounted riders.
Together with your servants and your train,
Come today to this place and carry out your work."[8]

[7] According to Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 246 the secret name of *gNyan chen thang lha* is *rDo rje mchog rab rtsal.*

[8] 117, fol. 2a. See Tibetan Texts, text H.

To this description we may add the statement of Text no. 77 fol. 13b, that *gNyan chen thang lha* heads the three hundred sixty members of his retinue. A popular tradition claims, that these are the rulers of the three hundred sixty peaks which the *gNyan chen thang lha* range is said to count. There exist, however, at least three other aspects of *gNyan chen thang lha*, the one described before being only the form which this mountain-god is supposed to assume "when he hastens to the ten quarters of the world in order to ward off all dangers threatening the Buddhist creed". In an aspect which bears the name *Srid pa'i lha chen gnyan gyi gtso*, he appears as a white figure wearing a white dress and a turban of the same colour. His right hand holds a horse-whip, the left one a *ba dan*. His mount is a white horse. If *gNyan chen thang lha* has to carry out the kind of work assigned to the wrathful deities, he is supposed to appear in a fear-inspiring form, wearing the various emblems of a *dpa' bo*. His body is protected by a harness of cornelian, partly covered by the skin of a black bear, and on his head he wears a helmet also made of cornelian. The weapons he carries are a sword of meteoric iron, a bow and arrows. In a fourth form the *dharmapāla* wears a helmet and a cuirass of crystal, and he brandishes a white lance made from the same material.

According to the various religious tasks which *gNyan chen thang lha* is supposed to carry out he is addressed as the "*lha* of all the *dam can*" (also: "*lha* of all the pious") (*dam can kun gyi lha*), "executioner of all spirits who refuse to become *dhamapālas*" (*dam med kun gyi gshed*; this passage might, however, also mean: "executioner of all monks who became unfaithful to their religious vows"), "*bdud* of all oath-breakers" (*mna' zan kun gyi bdud*), "the one who lets fall the stroke of fate destined by the *karma*" (*'phrin las skal phog pa*), and "*yul lha* of *dBus gtsang ru bzhi*". *gNyan chen thang lha* is also supposed to have been formerly the *sKu lha* of the king *Khri srong lde'u btsan*. In a passage contained in Text no. 117 (fol. 2b) the request is expressed, that *gNyan chen thang lha* may promote all the followers of *Padmasambhava* and the noble descendants of the *dharmarāja Khri srong lde'u btsan*, and protect just like sons all the low-born. Like the proprietor cares for his cattle, he should protect in such a way the Land of the Tibetans, and he should guard just like a treasure the Samye monastery. The various offerings presented to *gNyan chen thang lha* at the time of his worship are pieces of silk, fragrant incense, gold, silver, jewels, fruits, and also the water of slate-mountains (*g.ya' chu*) and the clear water of glaciers (*gangs chu gtsang ma*).

In connection with the legends told about *Pe har*'s advent to Tibet we

had mentioned that according to one tradition *Pe har* was suggested as a *dharmapāla* to *Padmasambhava* by the king of the *gandharvas Zur phud lnga pa.* From the foregoing description of *gNyan chen thang lha* we learned that *Zur phud lnga pa* is only the name by which this mountain-god is supposed to be known to the *lha.* In Tibetan iconography *Zur phud lnga pa* is, however, represented as a figure different in appearance from that of *gNyan chen thang lha.* Apart from being called a "king of the *gandharvas*", he is sometimes also given the title "king of the water-spirits" (*klu'i rgyal po*), or he is called the "master of the eight great sacred places of the Tibetan realm" (*Bod khams gnas chen brgyad kyi bdag po*). An alternative name of *Zur phud lnga pa* is *Ne('u) le thod dkar.* Iconographic texts describe him as a man white in colour, of a beautiful appearance, having five toupets of turquoise (*g.yu yi zur phud lnga*); from these he derives his name. He wears a cloak of white silk and a "conch-shell hat" (*dung zhu*). With his right hand *Zur phud lnga pa* holds a cane-stick, and the left hand brandishes a short lance with a banner of silk attached to it.[9] He rides a white horse which knows how to fly, with eyes like the *gzi* and a turquoise-mane. He is surrounded by three hundred sixty *thang lha* deities – these being addressed as his *lha 'khor* – and further by altogether three hundred *bdud, btsan,* and *sman.* His *śakti* is the "*gNam mtsho,* the daughter of *brGya byin*" (*brGya byin sras mo gnam mtsho*).[10]

From *gNyan chen thang lha*'s description we learned that the ancient mountain-god *'O de gung rgyal* (also: *'O di gu rgyal, 'Od de gung rgyal*), the personification of a mountain of the same name in Central Tibet, is believed to be the father of *gNyan chen thang lha.* The abode and appearance of *'O de gung rgyal* are described in the following manner: "High up on the mountain and at a pure place, on the rugged peak of the snow-mountain, comes forth from a self-sprung palace of marvellous jewels "the old god of the visible world" (*srid pa'i lha rgan*) *'Od de gung rgyal*: a great man, wearing a turban of silk, a cloak of silk, and adorned with bracelets of big turquoise. He brandishes a lance, bearing a flag, and a cane-stick; he rides on a horse of superb breed. He is surrounded by a host of ancestral deities (*pha mtshun*), *ma sangs* and *dgra lha*".[11] According to *Klong rdol bla ma, 'O de gung rgyal* is believed to be the father of eight mountain-deities, who together with him form the group

[9] Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica,* IV/1, p. 255) mentions a form of *Zur phud lnga pa* holding a rosary of flowers.

[10] 57, fol. 78b.

[11] 57, fol. 80a. On *'O de gung rgyal* see also Tucci, *Lhasa,* pp. 111-113.

of the so-called *Srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu*. This group is composed of the following members: *Yab 'od de gung rgyal, Yar lung gi yar lha sham po, Byang gi gnyan chen thang lha, rGad stod kyi jo bo 'gyog chen, Shar gyi rma chen spom ra, Jo bo g.yul rgyal, She'u mkha' ri, sKyid shod zhog lha phyug po*, and the *gnod sbyin Gang ba bzang po*.[12]

The *lha bsangs* text quoted under no. 77 contains an enumeration of four names, out of which three are the appellations of mountain-gods. The passage starts with an invocation of the "*rMa chen spom ra* of the East" (*shar gyi rMa chen spom ra*) and his train of three hundred sixty companions, addressed as the *rma rigs gsum brgya drug cu*. Next comes a term connected with the southern quarter, which does not seem to be the name of a mountain but simply an appellation of the Indian peninsula or of the legendary continent *Jambudvīpa: lho yi 'dzam bu gling chung;* a *parivāra* is, however, mentioned also in this case, consisting of three hundred sixty *klu* (*klu 'khor sum brgya drug bcu*). The West is mentioned as the residence of *gNyan chen thang lha* – in the beforegoing case it was the North – and his retinue of three hundred sixty *lha* (*nub kyi gNyan chen thang lha/ lha 'khor sum brgya drug bcu*). In the northern direction dwells the *lHa btsun ku le*, accompanied by three hundred sixty *btsan;* the residence of this god is a mountain lying to the north of Lhasa. Unfortunately, I did not obtain details about the iconography of this figure.

The mountain-god *rMa chen spom ra*,[13] whom the above division brings into connection with the East, is the personification of a mountain range lying to the south of the Koko Nor and called in most Tibetan texts the *rMa chen spom ra*, but known to the local population as the Amne Machen (*Am nye rma chen*).[14] Other terms used in classical Tibetan as appellations of this mountain-god are *rMa rgyal spom ra, sPom chen spom ra, 'Brog gnas rma rgyal spom che*, and *'Brog gnas lha*

12 70, fol. 14b; see further Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 730 sq.

13 On *rMa chen spom ra* see also Tohoku Catalogue no. 5625/24. According to J. F. Rock, *The Na-khi Nāga Cult and related ceremonies*, Roma 1952, I, p. 132 sq., II, p. 476, plate XXXIX, the mountain-god *rMa chen spom ra* is supposed to be known to the Na-khi under the names ^{1}*Ma*-^{3}*mi*-^{3}*bpo*-^{2}*lo* or ^{1}*Ma*-^{3}*mi*-^{2}*bpa*-^{2}*lo*. Rock describes a Tibetan painting representing this mountain-god in a different form than those outlined in the *sādhanas* translated in this book: as an armoured man with a *garuḍa* sitting on one of his hands and riding a white steed. See further Rock's article in *BEFEO*, XXXVII, Hanoi 1937, also J. F. Rock, 'Seeking the Mountains of Mystery,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (February) 1930; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, pp. 2, 278; and L. Clark, *The Marching Wind*, New York 1954.

14 Roerich, 'Epic of King Kesar' p. 279: *A myes ma chen*; Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 2: *A myi rma chen.*

yi dge bsnyen. The Bön work listed under no. 142 calls him the *rMa gnyan spom ra*. Apart from the title *dge bsnyen*, also the terms *dgra lha'i rgyal po*, *brag btsan*, and *gzhi bdag* are prefixed to his name. He is mentioned occasionally as the chief of "all the *sa bdag* of the *rMa* country". Just like the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha* and several of the other deities named above, also *rMa chen spom ra* is believed to be accompanied by a train of three hundred sixty brother-deities, shortly called the three hundred sixty *rma*, which would suggest that the *rma* are perhaps a separate group of ancient local gods.

rMa chen spom ra and his companions are primarily worshiped by the Tibetans living at the foot of the Amne Machen range, especially by the dreaded robber-tribe of the Ngolog (*mGo log*). One of the ways of venerating this mountain-god is to circumambulate the Amne Machen in the orthodox sense. According to the *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* the snow and the water from the glaciers of the Amne Machen possess healing qualities, and they are regarded as an efficacious medicine against leprosy.[15]

Tsong kha pa, who as a native of Amdo (*A mdo*) was thoroughly familiar with the cult of this mountain-god, is said to have introduced his worship within the order he established. As mentioned before, some of the *dGe lugs pa* also believe that the previously described *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* is an "emanation" of *rMa chen spom ra*. An object which points to a possible relation between these two figures is the characteristic hat of felt (*phying zhva*) worn by the former deity, which closely resembles the type of hat used by some of the tribes living around the Amne Machen. *rMa chen spom ra* is venerated as one of the special protective deities of Ganden monastery, and a life-size statue of this mountain-god is therefore kept in the chapel reserved for the worship of the *dharmapālas*. It was formerly customary to remove *rMa chen spom ra* every day at sunset symbolically from the monastery by carrying a small effigy of this deity into a shrine lying outside the holy area of Ganden. The reason for this peculiar habit is said to be the circumstance that *rMa chen spom ra* is only a lay-devotee, and since he has a consort he is not permitted to stay overnight in the monastery, because it could happen that his *śakti* would join him there, thus infringing the strict laws laid down by *Tsong kha pa*, the monastery's renowned founder. The custom of transfering the small image of *rMa chen spom ra* has been abandoned already long ago. It has been substituted by the usage that a monk specially charged with this duty will request every evening the mountain-

15 Das, 'Dsam Ling Gyeshe' p. 27.

god, aloud and in polite terms, to comply with *Tsong kha pa*'s commandments and to leave the monastery for the night.

rMa chen spom ra is described on fol. 32a of Text no. 5 as a golden figure wearing a helmet and a cuirass of gold, a white cloak, and numerous jewels. The right hand brandishes a lance with a flag attached to it, the left holds a vessel full of gems; a sack made from the skin of an ichneumon (*ne'u le'i rkyal pa*) rests in the crook of the left arm. A second source describes *rMa chen spom ra* and the offerings presented to him in the following way: "You who guard the religious teachings, "great *dge bsnyen* of the *lha*", please come unobstructed together with your train, to partake of the offerings. Mounted on a magic horse, which moves quickly like a white cloud, holding a lance with a banner attached to it, with arrow and bow and carrying a snare, you, possessing a beautiful body, full of splendour, of a clear white colour and having the marks of a hero, please take your seat quickly at this place in order to accomplish the work of the *karma*. The outer, inner, and secret offerings, these three, have been gathered like clouds. Sea-like rolls the *amṛta* drink of the *gser skyems* offering, high like the *Sumeru* is heaped up the *gtor ma* of flesh and blood – you the *brag btsan*, king of the *dgra lha*, partake of these gifts. The thousand different fragrant substances, burnt in the fire, the cloud of smoke caused by burning various kinds of sweet-smelling incense, which hastens across the sky like a mighty blue cloud – you the *gzhi bdag*, the great *dge bsnyen*, together with your train, partake of these offerings. Due to your spiritual progress, you became at the time of *Buddha Śākyamuni* a god of the tenth rank, but now you are residing at a solitary place called *rMa chen spom ra*; I pray to you, the *srung ma* guarding the wheel of religion."[16]

A text devoted to the worship of *rMa chen spom ra* is also contained in the collected works of *lCang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*;[17] there the mountain-god is described in the same way as in the source just mentioned. From the work of *lCang skya rol pa'i rdo rje* we learn, however, that apart from his three hundred sixty brothers *rMa chen spom ra* is also accompanied by his *gsang ba'i yum chen* – who carries a vessel full of *amṛta*, a mirror, and rides on a stag –, his nine sons, who wear armour, brandish weapons, and ride on horses, and his nine daughters; the latter ride on cuckoos, their attributes are a *mda' dar* and a *tshe bum*. The three hundred sixty *rma*-brothers ride on tigers, leopards, horses of an excellent breed, jackals, on mountain-game, and they brandish arrows, lances, the kind

[16] 117, fol. 1a.
[17] 141.

of staff called *gseg shang*, battle-axes, and hammers. The retinue of *rMa chen spom ra* is also described on fol. 2a of work no. 140. According to this source it consists of the following figures: the *mahāśakti Gung sman ma*, "the sons, the nine brothers", *Sras po mched dgu*, also called the *dPa' bo'i sras po mched dgu*, further "the daughters, the nine sisters", *Sras mo spun dgu* or *mZangs pa'i sras mo spun dgu*, his three hundred sixty brothers, who are called the *rma rigs sum brgya drug cu*, and the four orders of the great *gnyan* (*gnyan chen sde bzhi*). Further four goddesses who dwell in the four main quarters: in the East resides the queen *Tshe brtan ma*, in the South the *g.yang lha 'Brug rgyal ma*, in the West the *g.yang lha Phan byed ma*, and in the North the *g.yang lha Tshe 'dzin ma*. We may recall in this connection that, as we had already mentioned above, the goddess *rDo rje drag mo rgyal* too is believed to be a *śakti* of *rMa chen spom ra*.

For the worship of *rMa chen spom ra* and his retinue the following arrangements have to be made: on an auspicious day a painted-scroll depicting the mountain-god has to be hung up on a wall, and then a piece of white felt should be laid in front of it. On top of the felt one has to spread out a white cloth of the kind called "divination-basis" (*phyva gzhi*); on it have to be drawn "the symbol of the precious snow-mountain, surrounded by minor peaks", as well as an eight-petalled lotus. Again, on top of the cloth, a small measure of grain together with precious objects is to be heaped up, and on it one has to set a precious vessel, containing a *gtor ma* made of the "three sweet substances" and of butter. The *gtor ma* should have a round shape, and it must be adorned with the symbols of the sun, the moon, and a "flaming jewel". Around it have to be placed balls of butter,[18] a white *gtor ma*, a *phye mar*, two vessels containing water, offerings pleasing the five senses – flowers, scents, a lamp, musical instruments, etc. –, the "seven emblems of a world-emperor" (*rgyal sri sna bdun*), and the "eight lucky signs" (*bkra shis rtags brgyad*), further a *tsakali* depicting *rMa chen spom ra*, a divination-arrow with steering feathers made of the feathers of a vulture, with a turquoise and a mirror tied to its shaft, and also various kinds of food, weapons, silks, and dough effigies. Having made these arrangements, the mountain-god has to be called from his residence, which is compared to a *stūpa* of white crystal, the basis reaching to the depths of the earth, its peak rising up to the sun and the moon, and its middle being swept by rain-clouds.

18 Felt and butter – the latter being used to represent snow – are also applied in the ceremonies of the Na khi; see Rock, *Naga Cult*, I, p. 120.

The mountain-god is supposed to reside on the central peak, which is surrounded by three hundred sixty minor peaks.[19]

rMa chen spom ra is also known to the Bonpos, who call him the *rMa gnyan spom ra*; they believe that he is a protector of the Bon teachings: *g.yung drung bon gyi bstan pa bsrung.* The Bonpos represent him as a white man brandishing a lance, and riding either on a lion or on a horse which has a turquoise mane.[20]

Both *rMa chen spom ra* and *gNyan chen thang lha* are listed as members of the so-called *gNyan chen sde bzhi*, "the four orders of great *gnyan*", which we just mentioned above. In this case they are described in a way differing somewhat from the representations given before:

The *rMa rgyal spom ra* of the East: a white man wearing a harness of crystal and riding on a white horse. He carries a lance with a standard and a jewel, his retinue consists of the three hundred sixty brother-deities called the *rma rigs* and of one hundred thousand *rma sman;* by the latter term apparently the consorts of the *rma* brothers are meant.

The *dByi rgyal dmag dpon* of the South: a cherry-brown man riding on a horse of the same colour, and wearing a harness of gold. His attributes are a lance with a standard and a hatchet.

The *gNyan chen thang lha* of the West: a white man wearing a cloak and a turban of silk, riding on a quick-running bay-coloured ass. His hands hold a riding-cane and a lance with a standard.

The *sKyog chen sdang ra* (or *sGyog chen gdong ra*, apparently identical with the *rGad stod kyi jo bo 'gyog chen* named before as a member of the *Srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu*) of the North: a yellow man wearing a *srog zhu* and a dress of yellow silk. His mount is a swift horse with a turquoise-mane. He carries a wheel and a lance with a flag.[21]

A mountain-god who inhabits – according to Text no. 194 – a peak lying to the east of the Amne Machen, is the *sNgo la g.yu rtse*, addressed by his full name as *'brog gnas kyi sde dpon chen po gnyan rje sNgo la g.yu rtse*, "*sNgo la g.yu rtse*, lord of the *gnyan*-demons, great commander of the spirits who dwell in the solitude". Other names by which he is known are *lha gnyan chen po sNgo la g.yu rtse, Dregs pa'i lha gnyan mthu bo che*, and *sNang srid sde brgyad tshogs kyi rje dpon.*

The residence of *sNgo la g.yu rtse* is said to be a great palace, surrounded by iron mountains which are inhabited by a host of wild animals. The roof of this palace is built in Chinese fashion, and it consists of gold and

19 140, fol. 1b.
20 93, fol. 8a.
21 134, fol. 15 a, b.

turquoise. Inside this heavenly abode a red wind is blowing, and out of it emerges a brown, brilliant horse of an excellent breed, carrying a saddle and the horse-trimmings made of gold. On top of this mount sits the *lha gnyan chen po sNgo la g.yu rtse*. His body is of a purple-red colour, which glistens like fire. The right hand brandishes a hook, "gathering the glory of the three worlds", and his left holds a jewel, fulfilling the nine kinds of wishes. He wears a cloak made of tiger-skin, a cuirass of turquoise, and a helmet of leather. With his left arm he presses a banner against his body. From his girdle are suspended a quiver of tiger-skin, full of sharp and strong arrows, which were made of thunderbolts, and a bow-case of leopard-skin with a powerful bow in it.

To the right of *sNgo la g.yu rtse* stands his *śakti*, the *gnyan ma Ma le gu*. She is of a brilliant white colour, has a beautiful appearance, and her attributes are a *mda' dar* and a flat bowl full of jewels. She rides a hind. To the left of the chief deity stands the *gnyan sras Tho ri rgyal ba*. His body is pale-red, he brandishes a lance, a snare, and rides on a blue dragon of turquoise. To the retinue of this mountain-god belong also two groups of *sNgo la g.yu rtse*'s descendants, the swift and proud *sTag shar dpa' bo'i sras* and the beautiful, youthful *lHa sman sras mo*, and further a number of local deities, who apparently are the personifications of mountains: *bKra shis lha brag dkar po, Grogs byed mgo dkar mgo sngon, sDong grogs zhal dkar gnyan po, mThu dpung spos ri zlum po, Dar 'dzin skyes ri mthon po*, and *dMag bskul gnyan rje gong sngon*. *sNgo la g.yu rtse*, his wife, sons, and daughters are also collectively addressed as the *lHa gnyan chen po gsang yum lcam sras*, while the lower-ranking deities of his train are called the *las byed pho nya*, "the officers (and) messengers".

In accordance with *sNgo la g.yu rtse*'s description, nine kinds of attributes and armour are symbolically offered to this mountain-god during his worship: a hook, "with which one is able to bring into one's power the three worlds", a wish-granting jewel which fulfils all desires, "may these be even so numerous like the drops of rain", a cuirass made of turquoise, a helmet of leather, a cloak made of tiger-skin, high boots, a long lance with silk-pendants which reaches up to heaven, a quiver of tiger-skin, and a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard.

The *sādhana* of *sNgo la g.yu rtse* also enumerates the various evil actions and occurrences, which this mountain-god is able to avert: the obstacles caused by the *gdon, bgegs*, and *'byung po*-demons, the destructive magic called *mnan gtad*, and the curses (*rbod*) of the monks, Bon

priests, and magicians; the casting of the powerful *zor* and the evil resulting from exhibiting the magic notched sticks; the bad omens, the inauspicious years, months, days, and times; the occurrence of halucinations and untimely death. Further, *sNgo la g.yu rtse* is also believed to be able to prevent the outbreak of illnesses of men and cattle, and to forestall robberies planned by an enemy.

Related to *sNgo la g.yu rtse* is another local deity of Amdo (*A mdo*), the mountain-god *lha chen gNyan rje gung sngon*, also known as the *dregs pa'i mnga' bdag gNyan rje gung sngon* or *Yul gyi lha gnyan chen po.* The mountain on which this god dwells is described in the ritual as reaching with its peak up to heaven, while its foundations lie deep in the earth. In its central region falls a drizzling rain of honey, and on its slopes grow trees, covered with leaves and ripe fruit. Here lies the sacred place of this divinity: a palace with one hundred pillars, which had been built of crystal. Inside this supernatural abode stands a horse with a turquoise-mane, swift like the clouds and with a saddle and the trimmings made of gems. On top of this mount appears the king of the *dregs pa*, *gNyan rje gung sngon*, who possesses the lustre of the sky and the brilliance of a million suns. With his right hand he brandishes towards heaven a lance with one hundred points, with his left he holds a vessel in front of his heart. He wears a garment of white cloth and a harness made of turquoise and gilt inside. His helmet consists of precious *mu men* stone, on his right side he carries a quiver of tiger-skin, full of arrows, and on the left a bow-case made from the hide of a leopard. He wears high boots. In front of him stands the *śakti g.Yu sgron dkar mo*, "White Turquoise-Lamp", who holds a *mda' dar* and a mirror. She wears a garment of silk, is adorned with jewels, and rides a hind. In the retinue appears the *Sras smon pa don grub*; his colour is like that of crystal. He wears a garment of blue silk, and he lifts a vessel with both hands. His mount is an excellent white horse. To the retinue of *gNyan rje gung sngon* belongs further the so-called *lcam gangs kyi yum chen Kun bzang ma*, also known as the *ma mo Kun bzang mo* or *lcam mo Kun bzang mo*; she is red in colour, holds a *tshe bum*, and rides on a lion. On the right side appears the *blon po sPen dkar*, who is represented as a red man wearing an armour. He rides on a red horse, and holds the red lance of the *btsan* demons. The place in the back is occupied by another mountain-god, called *Ma zhing khyung rtse*. His body is white, he brandishes a spotted lance, and rides on a superb horse, possessing the colour of a conch-shell. To the left of the chief divinity appears *Nye gnas lcang dkar*, who holds a flat bowl full of jewels. All these divinities are accom-

panied by a great number of *gnyan, sman mo*, etc.[22]

Also *gNyan rje gung sngon* is believed to be able to avert various kinds of evil, and he is especially appealed to in order to prevent the manifold dangers caused by the various classes of *sri* demons: the *che sri* – malignant spirits attacking adults –, the *chung sri*, who kill children, the *mtshon srin* or "weapon *sri*", who cause wounds, and the "water-*sri*" (*chu sri*), who sweep people away when they try to cross a river. Further the *lceb sri* or "suicide-*sri*", who make one's mind waver, and the *phung sri* or "*skandha-sri*", who stirr up the five *skandhas*. Various illnesses which this mountain-god is able to prevent are the diseases of horses (*rta nad*), of cattle (*nor nad*), of sheep (*lug nad*), and of men (*mi nad*). He can also avert the damage caused by lightning, by the evil influence of the planets, and by the *bdud* and the *btsan*. Moreover, *gNyan rje gung sngon* protects all adherents of Buddhism against the various kinds of harm caused by faithless foreigners.

A second and more explicit description of the mountain-god *Ma zhing khyung rtse* or shortly *Khyung rtse*, whom we encountered above in the *parivāra* of *gNyan rje gung sngon*, is contained on fol. 18a of the same source; there he is called the *yul lha Khyung rtse* or *'brog gnas lha yi dge bsnyen Khyung rtse mthon po*. The residence of this deity is described as a huge castle, with an array of roofs built in Chinese fashion out of gold and turquoise. Inside this palace dwells the *Khyung rtse mthon po*, whose body is white like a crystal. His right hand brandishes a lance with a banner attached to it, and the left hand holds a gem granting all wishes. *Khyung rtse* appears full of lustre, wearing a golden armour, with a quiver of tiger-skin and a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. He rides on a horse of a white colour, which is swift like a cloud; it carries a saddle and the trimmings made of jewels. – In the present case the usual order has been reversed, since *gNyan rje gung sngon* appears now in the retinue of *Khyung rtse*, standing at his right side. To the left of *Khyung rtse* dwells the *Zhang po gnyan dmar*, and the place in front is occupied by the *blon po sGrog chen*.

Mt. Kanchenjunga (*Gangs chen mdzod lnga, Gangs chen mched lnga*; also called *lHa btsan* when personified),[23] the third-highest peak of the world, is believed to be the seat of several deities which are worshiped by the Buddhists living around this mountain. Especially the Buddhists of Sikkim venerate the personification of this mountain as one of the

[22] 194, fol. 8b.

[23] On the name of this mountain see J. van Manen, 'Concerning the name Kang-chen-Dzönga,' *Himalayan Journal*, IV, 1932, pp. 198–214.

divine protectors of their land. A number of legends is being told about the divinities who are believed to dwell upon this Himalayan peak. One tradition, already narrated by Waddell,[24] claims that *rNam thos sras*, the guardian of the North and god of riches, dwells on Mt. Kanchenjunga, where he has stored five kinds of treasures (*mdzod lnga*): gold, silver, gems, grain, and holy books. This form of *rNam thos sras* bears the name *rNam thos sras mdung dmar can*, "the *Vaiśravaṇa* with the red lance". Some sources speak, however, of a god named *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*, apparently regarded as an "emanation" of *rNam thos sras mdung dmar can*, who is the personification of this mountain, while other traditions claim that Mt. Kanchenjunga is the residence of five divine brothers (*mched lnga*) who dwell upon the five main peaks, and who are to be regarded as the fivefold reproductions of one and the same mountain-god.

The Buddhists of Sikkim believe that the mountain-god *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* played an active part in the work of introducing Buddhism into their land. According to a handwritten biography of the saint *lHa btsun chen po* – the chief propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim –, which is being preserved at Talung (*rDo lung*) monastery in Sikkim, the saint had set out for Sikkim from Samye, accompanied by fifteen disciples. When seeing from afar the snow-mountains of *'Bras mo gshongs* he performed a sacrifice in their honour. At this time a white bird, whom the text calls "king of geese" (*ngang pa'i rgyal po*), came flying from the direction of Sikkim and sat down on the ground near the saint: it was the mountain-god *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*, who had assumed this shape in order to meet *lHa btsun chen po* before his arrival at the confines of *'Bras mo gshongs* for confiding to him all details about the land he was going to enter. After a long discourse with the mountain-god the saint continued his journey, and when reaching a place called *gTing skyes*, still lying within the borders of Tibet, he was met there by a messenger who had been dispatched by the deities of Sikkim. When he finally reached his destination, *lHa btsun chen po* performed a thanksgiving ceremony to all deities of the country; this rite was annually repeated and became more elaborate in the course of time.[25] – The religious dance which forms an essential part of this celebration will be discussed later on.

[24] *Buddhism*, p. 370.

[25] According to notes made by the Burmiak Kazi *bKra shis dgra 'dul gdan sa pa* from the original manuscript preserved at Talung and kindly placed at my disposal: see also Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 49.

Some information about the cult of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* can also be gathered from the Chronicle of the rulers of Sikkim. This work claims that a description of Sikkim's holiest mountain is to be found in a work of the *gter ston Shes rab me 'bar*,[26] which compares the mountain *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* to a king seated on his throne, which is draped by white silk curtains. The five peaks, clad in eternal snow, are similar to a crown, and the seven lakes of crystal-clear water lying in front of the mountain are compared to cups containing water-offerings such as are placed on altars in front of images. There are white cliffs to the right and left, which look like lions ramping up towards the sky; their necks are adorned with vulture-nests. The Chronicle further claims that the *gter ston Rig 'dzin rgod kyi lden phru can* obtained an image of *Guru drag po*, *Padmasambhava*'s wrathful form, and another one of *mThing kha* – probably the goddess *mThing gi zhal bzang ma* is meant – from the top of this mountain. He informed the Tibetans about his discoveries by letters, which he tied to the neck of vultures whom he dispatched as his messengers.

The manuscript quoted under no. 83 of the Tibetan sources addresses the deities residing on the five peaks of the mountain by the name "the *gzhi bdag* of the upper part (of the mountain), the five brothers (of the) Five Treasures" (*Phu yi gzhi bdag mdzod lnga spun lnga*) and describes them in the following way: their colour is a lustrous white, yellow, red, green, and azure-blue, and the armours they wear are of conch-shells, gold, iron, copper, and thunderbolts respectively. Each of them holds a chest (*sgrom bu*) in the left hand, while with the right hand they all brandish a long, enemy-subduing lance with a banner, each of the same colour like the body of the deity who holds it. Their mounts are a lion, an elephant, a horse of the best breed, a dragon, and the *khyung*. A second source[27] addresses the "brotherhood of the *mdzod lnga*" as the *bsTan bsrung mdzad gnod sbyin mched lnga*. The description of the "five brothers" is the same as above, except for the explanation that the lances they hold in the right hand are of crystal, gold, coral, turquoise, and iron respectively. In the "outer circle" (*phyi 'khor*) of the retinue appear the *bdud btsan*, in the "inner circle" (*nang 'khor*) the (*dregs pa*) *sde brgyad*, and in the "secret circle" (*gsang 'khor*) millions of *yakṣas*.

The Buddhists of Darjeeling (*rDo rje gling*) worship as a local pro-

[26] On the life of 108 *gter ston* see the work *Zab mo gter dang gter ston grub thab ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen vaiḍūrya'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz), fols. 235.

[27] 201.

tective deity an "emanation" of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* called shortly the *rDo gling yul gangs chen*, who is believed to be the "guardian of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*'s southern gate" (*Gangs chen mdzod lnga'i lho sgo srung*). This aspect of the mountain-god, called by another name the *dge bsnyen bTsan rgod rdo rje*, is represented as a fierce rider of a brownish-red colour, who rides on a blue "wind-horse" (*rlung rta*). He carries the usual weapons of a *btsan*: a red lance and a snare. – During my stay in Darjeeling, I heard about a local oracle-priest who acted from time to time as the mouthpiece of this deity.

The chief acolyte of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* is the so-called *Yab bdud*, believed to be an "emanation" of *Mahākāla*. He is a mountain-god too, and his seat is supposed to be a mountain near the Indian town Siliguri, already outside the present borders of Sikkim. His *sādhana* describes him in the following way: "In the southern direction lies a dense forest, the place where clouds of fire and smoke arise. There, on top of defeated enemies of the religious teachings, dwells the *dPal ldan mgon po nag po chen po*, of a black colour, with one face and two hands. His brilliant body is covered by a flaming garment of black silk. With his right hand he brandishes a club of sandal-wood, with his left he lifts to his mouth a skull-cup filled with the blood of an enemy of the religious teachings. His headdress is a turban of red silk with a skull in front, and his mount is a black horse with white heels. He is surrounded by the war-hordes of the (*dregs pa*) *sde brgyad*."

In the retinue of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* appears also the *Brag btsan dmar po stong gi rje*, "the red *btsan*, the lord of thousands", addressed by the name *sKyes bu lung btsan thog gi rje*, "the nobly-born valley-*btsan*, the lord of lightning". He wears a flowing garment of red silk, and brandishes the red snare of the *btsan* demons. He rides a red horse with a white spot on the forehead, and at his side he drags along the *btsan sha* or "*btsan*-meat", a victim whom he caught in his snare.

Also Mt. Pahunri (*dPa' bo hum ri*) in Sikkim is regarded to be the seat of a mountain-god, who bears the title *dge bsnyen chen po* and is called the *bDud btsan dpa' bo hum ri*. According to his *sādhana*[28] he wears the ordinary dress of a Buddhist priest and the mitra-shaped hat used by members of the *rNying ma pa* sect, and also a necklace of jewels. His attributes are a red lance and a flat bowl. A painting contained in the manuscript here quoted shows him, however, holding a rattling-staff instead of the lance. – The Tibetan mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*,

[28] 201; this work contains also the above description of *Yab bdud* and *Brag btsan dmar po stong gi rje*.

too, is being worshiped by the Buddhists of Sikkim as one of the chief protectors of their country.

Similarly to the tradition told about *lHa btsun chen po* and the mountain-god *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* a legend circulating among the Bhutanese claims, that a mountain-deity is supposed to have played an important part in spreading the teachings of the *'Brug pa* sect in Bhutan. This legend claims that when *sTon grub rgyal mtshan*, a prominent representative of this sect who greatly contributed towards the firm establishment of the *'Brug pa* sect in this country, was approaching the Bhutanese border, he was met by the mountain-goddess *Jo mo lha ri*. She had come in order to bless him so that he may carry out his mission successfully.

A mountain-god venerated especially by the adherents of the *rNying ma pa* sect and believed to be the ruler of a mountain which – according to my informants – lies some twelve stages to the north of Shigatse, in the solitude of the *Byang thang*, is the *bKra bzang zhing skyong*. His father is supposed to have been a king of the *klu*, his mother was the *bdud mo bKra bzang ma*. *bKra bzang zhing skyong* has the appearance of a water-spirit, he is white in colour and wears the dress and ornaments of peaceful deities. He has one face, and five snakes rise out of the hair on the back of his head. His hands lift a precious vessel, and he resides on a throne of six kinds of gems. Four "guardians of commandments" (*bka' srung*), symbolic of the four minor peaks of this mountain, appear in the four cardinal points. All of them carry banners of silk. In the East stands the purple-coloured *lHa'i dge bsnyen*, who is dressed in a black cloak, and in the South dwells the smoke-coloured *bDud kyi dge bsnyen*, who has the same kind of dress like his eastern companion. The western direction is occupied by the red *bTsan gyi dge bsnyen*, who wears a red cloak, and in the North appears the blue-green *Klu'i dge bsnyen*, whose dress is made of white silk. These four deities are collectively called the *'Chi med nye pa'i dbang po*. The four *dge bsnyen* are said to carry out different kinds of work. They ride on horses of the best breed: the *lHa'i dge bsnyen*, who appears in a peaceful aspect, rides a cherry-brown steed with a white back. The *bDud kyi dge bsnyen* rides a black horse with white heels, the *bTsan gyi dge bsnyen*, "when acting as a commander of the *btsan*", mounts a red steed, and the *Klu'i dge bsnyen* "if staying in the land of the water-spirits" rides on a yellow horse with a blue mane. In the retinue of *bKra bzang zhing skyong* appear further four deities who, too, bear the title *dge bsnyen*. They dwell on the minor peaks which lie in the four intermediary directions: on a white snow-mountain lying in the south-eastern quarter resides the white *Klu sras bu lu*; the southwestern

white snow-mountain is the abode of the white *gNod sbyin rgyal thang*. The northwestern white rocky mountain is the residence of the three *lHa brag klu btsan* brothers. And lastly the northeastern peak, which has a surface of black rock, is occupied by a goddess, the black *bDud mo rno myur*.[29]

When discussing the cult of *rMa chen spom ra* we mentioned, that he is regarded to be the chief of all the *sa bdag* who dwell within the confines of the *rMa* country. Similarly also other mountain-gods are believed to rule over the *sa bdag*, who have their abode in the provinces in which the legendary dwelling of each of these mountain-gods is situated. Thus *Gang ba bzang po* is said to rule over all the *sa bdag* of the Tsang province, *Yar lha sham po* over those of the Yarlung valley, and *Thang lha yar zhur* (*gNyan chen thang lha*) is the head of all the *sa bdag* inhabiting the Ü (*dBus*) province. *'O de gung rgyal* is the chief of the *sa bdag* of *Myang po*, *sGam po dpal ri* rules those of the *Dvags po* district, the mountain-goddess *Kong btsun de mo* leads all the *sa bdag* of *Kong po*, *Kha sha snyu ri* is the chief of the *sa bdag* residing in the Mon country, *Rong lha rgyal mtshan* leads the *sa bdag* of the *Rong* districts, *dMag dpon dgra 'dul* (*dbang phyug*) those of *Tsha ba sgang*. *Khyung tho ri* is the chief *sa bdag* of *sPo bo*, *Mi mgon dkar po* leads the *sa bdag* of *Mar khams*, the mountain-god living on the *Ri bo rtse lnga* is the head of all the *sa bdag* of China, *Cog la tshal rtse* leads all the *sa bdag* of Hor, and *'Jang ri smug po* those of the *'Jang* country.[30] According to Rock the divine ruler of the last-named mountain is also worshiped by the Na-khi tribe. Rock gives further some interesting information on the cult of several other mountain-gods of Eastern Tibet. Thus he mentions that king *Sa tham*, one of the adversaries of king *Ge sar*, is venerated by the Na-khi under the name *²Boa-¹shi ²Ssan-²ddo* as the divine ruler of the Likiang Snow Range;[31] he also names the deities *Phyag na rdo rje*, *'Jam dpal dbyangs*, and *sPyan ras gzigs* – a triad known as the *Rigs gsum mgon po*[32] – as inhabiting the sacred mountain range called accordingly the *Gangs dkar rigs gsum mgon po*,[33] which lies to the northwest of the petty kingdom of Muli (*Mi li*), and the mountain-god Dorje lutru (*rDo rje blo gros*?; compare with the name of the *gnyan* ruling the *'Bring zla sgang*), who is supposed

[29] 78.
[30] 5, fol. 5b; most probably erroneously for *lJang ri smug po*. Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, pp. 155 (note 181), 248 (note 507), and Stein, 'Mi-ñag et Sihia,' p. 262.
[31] Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 101 (note 58) and especially p. 143; II, plate LVIII.
[32] Regarding this triad see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1, p. 102.
[33] J. F. Rock, 'Konka Risumgongba, holy mountain of the outlaws,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (July) 1931, pp. 1–65.

to live on the peak of the sacred mountain *Mi nyag gangs dkar*.[34]

A few of the divinities mentioned on the foregoing pages are believed to be members of an ancient group of mountain-gods known as the "twenty-one *dge bsnyen*" (*dGe bsnyen nyi shu rtsa gcig*),[35] who are named after the mountains or valleys which are supposed to be their residence:

Tsha ri gangs	*'Brong rdza gangs*
Bar yul gangs	*Bal yul gangs*
La phyi gangs	*Jo mo gangs*
gNod sbyin gangs	*rNye bo gangs*
rGyal gyi mkhan pa lung	*rDza yul gangs*
dPal gyi gra bu lung	*rNa nam gangs*
dPal gyi 'jag ma lung	*Shel bzang gangs*
sKyid kyi gro ma lung	*Rong btsan gangs*
sPang phung gangs	*sGam po gangs*
gSal ja gangs	*lHo rong gangs*
g.Yu lung gangs	

It proves, unfortunately, very difficult to identify with certainty the various members of this group. The first name of this list refers apparently to the *Tsha ri* – but more frequently *dPal rtsa ri* or *Tsva ri* – in Dzayul (*rDza yul*). This mountain is believed to be the residence of the *yi dam 'Khor lo bde mchog* and of numerous other deities, especially of *ḍākinīs* and members of the *gzhi bdag* class, among them the *zhing skyong dbang mo rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*, whom we mentioned already above, the *rTsa klu bdud rdo rje*, the *Cig car dmar po*,[36] and the *dge bsnyen sNyong kha*, who has the characteristic shape of a *klu*. The *La phyi gangs* we named before as the legendary abode of the *Tshe ring mched lnga*. The term *gNod sbyin gangs* refers probably to the mountain near Gyantse which is believed to be the residence of the *gnod sbyin Gang ba bzang po*. The name *Jo mo gangs* might refer either to the *Jo mo gangs dkar* or to the *Jo mo lha ri*, the well-known peak near Phari. The *Rong btsan gangs* is probably identical

[34] J. F. Rock, 'The glories of the Minya Konka,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (October) 1930, pp. 385–437. The spelling of the name of this mountain as given by A. Heim (*Minya Gongkar*, Bern-Berlin 1933, p. 70) is untenable. – The names of some minor mountain-deities from the Chinese-Tibetan borderland – thus the goddess *Seng ge dkar mo*, the patron-goddess of Yung-ning – have been mentioned by Rock in his work *The ancient Na-khi Kingdom of Southwest China*, Cambridge Mass., 1947, II, p. 383 sq.

[35] Compare with the list contained in van Manen, 'Concerning the name Kangchen-Dzönga.'

[36] For details on this deity see work no. 5625/75, Tohoku Catalogue. On *Tsha ri* see also text no. 5693.

with the *Rong btsan kha ba dkar po*, the *sGam 'po gangs* seems to be identical with the divine ruler of the *sGam po dpal ri*, whom we mentioned above as the leader of all the *sa bdag* of *Dvags po yul*. *lHo rong gangs* is to all probability identical to the before-named *Rong Lha rgyal mtshan*, who is also called the *lHo yi rong lha rgyal mtshan*.

Closely related to the *dGe bsnyen nyi shu rtsa gcig* are the *Gangs gnyan nyi shu rtsa gcig*, "the twenty-one glacier-*gnyan*" – *Yar lha sham po* is a member of this group – and the *Ser bdag bco brgyad*, "the eighteen masters of hail", who are most probably led by *gNyan chen thang lha*. An interesting group of thirteen mountains of the *Nyang stod* district, which were formerly sacred places of the Bon, had been discussed by Tucci.[37]

Mt. Kailas (*Te se gangs*, *Te se*, *Ti se*) in the south-western Tibetan borderland is one of the holiest mountains of the Land of Snows, the aim of both Indian and Tibetan pilgrims. Not only members of the various Tibetan Buddhist sects, but also adherents of the Bon faith venerate the mountain and the adjoining two lakes, the Manasarovar and the Rakas tal, by performing a circumambulation of the holy sphere against the sense of the clock, contrary to the direction in which the Buddhist pilgrims treck. Numerous legends are connected with Mt. Kailas, whom many regard as the legendary *Sumeru*, the central mountain of the Hindu-Buddhist cosmography. A well-known Tibetan tradition, which has only recently been discussed in detail by Hoffmann,[38] tells about a duel fought by magic means between *Mi la ras pa* and the Bon magician *Na ro bon chung*. Traces of this fight are believed to be a deep ravine on one of the mountain-slopes, said to have been caused by the crashing body of the defeated Bonpo, and also the imprints of the feet of *Mi la ras pa* and his adversary are shown on a rock.[39] Tibetan texts mention that a *btsan*, the *Ti se lha btsan*, is supposed to have his abode on Mt. Kailas. The *dkar chag*[40] of the pilgrimage to this sacred mountain tells that on the summit of *Te se gangs* the deities ruling the twenty-eight lunar mansions (Skt. *nakṣatra;* Tib. *rGyu skar nyi shu rtsa brgyad*) were subdued by *Padmasambhava*, and then bound by an oath. An ancient tradition also claims that *Te se gangs* is the seat of thirteen gods of the pre-Buddhist Tibetan pantheon, the *mGur lha bcu gsum* (in Bon works occasionally *'Gur-lha*), also known as the *rJe'i mgur lha bcu gsum*, whom the Tibetan

[37] *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV, p. 52.
[38] *Quellen*, p. 267 sq.
[39] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 271.
[40] The *gNas chen ti se dang mtsho ma pham bcas kyi gnas yig bskal ldan thar lam 'dren pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Print, fols. 17; fol. 5a.

texts usually call the thirteen evil (*gnyan po*) *mGur lha*. Tucci mentions that they are supposed to have thirty-two "ministers";[41] according to *Klong rdol bla ma* this group consists of the *Srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu*, whom we mentioned above, and of four other deities called the *Jo bo mchim lha*, *Jo bo nges sum*, *Jo bo g.ya' spang*, and *Jo bo lha bcas*.[42]

A class of pre-Buddhist deities which counts numerous mountain-gods as its members are the *ma sangs*. According to the lists of ancient Tibetan deities, which will be given later on, their leader is the *sPyid bdud rgyal gu rum rtse* or *sPyi bdud rgyal po gu ru ma*. He is being represented as a typical mountain-god: a white man wearing a white harness and a helmet of crystal. His attributes are a lance and a sword of crystal, his mount is a varicoloured horse. We mentioned already that e.g. *rDo rje legs pa* bears the title *ma sangs*, and that another name under which he is known is *Ma sangs g.ya' spangs*[43] *skyes*, and further that a group of nine *ma sangs* brothers accompanies his legendary parents. Later, among the group of the "twelve *gzhi bdag* ruling the six ridges" (*sGang drug gzhi bdag bcu gnyis*), we shall encounter the *Ma sangs g.ya' spang rdza rgyal*, and among the local protective deities the mountain-god *Ma sangs khyung 'dus*. As had been shown recently by Tucci, the *ma sangs* brothers are believed to have been ruling Tibet in legendary times. He mentions two groups of *ma sangs* brothers, one counting nine and the other seven members. The latter group is being named in connection with the legendary descent of the *Sa skya* hierarchs; the appellations of two *ma sangs* brothers are given there: *Thog tsha dpa' bo stag* and *Ma sangs spyi rje*.[44]

We saw already above that many mountain-deities are being classified as belonging to the class of the *gzhi bdag*. Especially among the so-called "twelve *gzhi bdag* ruling the six ridges" (*sGang drug gzhi bdag bcu gnyis*) we find several important personifications of mountains. The names of the six ridges and their divine rulers are as follows:

Shar zla sgang

bSe mi 'brong ri smug po: a black man dressed in a black cloak. He wields a club and a *phur bu*, his mount is a black horse.

gNyan chen g.yu rtse: a green god wearing a golden harness. He brandishes a "banner of victory" and rides on a red horse having the wings of wind.

[41] *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 632, 741 (note 49).
[42] 70, fol. 14b; see further Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 730.
[43] Or *g.ya' spang*, verdigris, used by Tibetan physicians as a medicine against leprosy. Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 679, note 8.
[44] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 625, 679 (note 7), 732.

'Bring zla sgang

Bril phrom rdo rje g.yu drung: a white figure wearing a turban of white silk and a varicoloured dress. His attributes are a sword and a lance bearing a flag, and he rides on a white horse with a turquoise-mane.*

gNyan ljang rdo rje blo gros: a blue god wearing an armour of iron and riding on a blue horse. His attributes are a "banner of victory" and a jewel.

lHo zla sgang

rGyam rgyal rdo ti (or *thi*) *gangs dkar*: a white god wearing a helmet and a harness, both having been made of crystal. He rides on a swift brownish-white horse with a turquoise-mane, and his hands brandish a thunderbolt and a "banner of victory". To the retinue of *rGyam rgyal rdo ti gangs dkar* belong his eight brothers, nine *yum*, nine "ministers", and one hundred thousand *mtsho sman*.

Ma sangs g.ya' spang rdza rgyal: he appears in three different "emanations", viz. the emanations of the body, the speech and the mind. The emanation of the body, called the *sKu sprul stobs rgyal*, is a white man wearing a helmet and a harness of silver. The second emanation, depicted as a red man wearing an armour of copper, is called the *gSung sprul 'bri byed*. The dark azure-blue emanation of mind is called the *Thugs sprul go bo* and wears an armour of iron. Each of these three figures wears also a cloak of bird-feathers, brandishes a lance and a snare, and rides a horse which has the same colour as its rider.

Zal mo sgang

sKu rgyal she ne: a god red in colour wearing a harness and a helmet of leather. His weapons are a lance and a snare, his mount is a red horse.

Ngom rgyal mtsho bkra: a white figure wearing an armour and riding a white horse. The attributes of this god are a riding-stick and a lance with a standard.

dNgul zla sgang

bZe yi ma mo mched gsum: three sister-goddesses represented as white figures dressed in silk and wearing the kind of hat called *'ob zhu*. They ride bay-coloured horses and each holds a lance with a standard and a jewel.

Zla btsan gnyan po tshe dbang rtsal: a red *btsan* carrying a *tshe bum* and a divination-arrow. In his retinue appear a number of *btsan*, *bdud* and *klu*, further his minister, queen, and children.

Tshab sgang

rDo rje dril dkar dar thod can: he is dressed in a garment with blue dots, carries a torch and a flaming piece of crystal, and rides on a black horse.

Tsha ba'i brtan ma chen mo: a goddess addressed as a *sman gcig*, depicted as a beautiful woman dressed in silks.[45]

The so-called *lha bsangs* texts of the various Buddhist sects contain long lists of *gzhi bdag*; some of these are the divine rulers of rivers, lakes or ridges, but most seem to be personifications of mountains. A few of them were already identified above. The invocations are written in verse, and many of the names appear therefore in a contracted form. In several cases it is doubtful whether their spelling is correct, and sometimes it is obvious that at least two names have been contracted into one expression. Since even learned Tibetans proved hesitant in identifying the less known of these names, all doubtful cases have been rendered in their original arrangement; in spite of this disadvantage it may be useful to publish here these lists, since they might prove later on of value in establishing the badly needed correct spelling of Tibetan mountain- and place-names.

Name of the gzhi bdag	*Region ruled by the gzhi bdag*
Ri bo bya rog	*sTag gzig*
dPag dpon mdung rtse	*Ge sar yul*
Ri bo rtse lnga bya rkang can *Glang chen 'gyings ri*	*rGya nag*
lCang ra smug po	*'Jang*
A lag gser rtse stag ri	*Sog yul*
dKar sgang rin chen phug pa	*gTsang kha*
Ri btsun smug ri bsil me rtse	*rGyal mo rong*
Kam po gangs ra spram mtsho rtse	*Li thang*
bZhag ra lha rtse	*Rab sgang*
Ho brag rma gsum rdza khra	*rMa yul*
Gri phug spyang ri rtse rgyal *Wer ti wer dgu ger mdzo gnyan* *sPo bo chu dmar*	*'Bri rgyud*
Ro so 'byor rtse ru bsam mtho *gNyan rgyal mtsho nag rba ri gnyan* *rTsi yi rag ne mthon po*	*Ngang pa rgyud*
sTong dpon gong mo ri bkra	*A 'dam gnyis*

[45] 134, fol. 15b.

Zla yi dkar na(g) sum mdo	
dGe bsnyen rdo rje dbang drag	*Zla stod*
sNying thang 'cham ri	
sMog she shin 'phrang go g.yas	
gZe yi ma mo 'phen bzang	
g.Yu mtsho klu sman hor brag	*Zla sked*
Ne btsan gter bdag rag mo ri	
'Be yi chab bzhi rdzong 'phrang	
Nag po mdung rtse do la ri	*Zla med*
Brag dkar Brag nag	
sPyi yi brag la mda' brug	
dBa' ri dbi hu brag nag po	*sPyi ngom*
sKed btsan nor lha mgar ba klu	
sGo khro gshog brgyad dil mo brgyad	*dByi shod*
Rigs phyug 'phen ri	
Gangs dkar ri bo (rnam gsum)	*Tsha ba sgang*
brTan ma dril dkar	
Rong btsan kha ba dkar po	*sPo bo*
Khyung tho dung ri	
Rin chen brtsegs (dang) rtse mo drug	
Tho ri 'bar ba brag dkar btsan	*dNgul rgyud*
sKu la brag dmar mtho cog?	
Kong lha kong btsun rgya la	eastern and western *Kong po*
Bon ri mgo dgu	
Pho brang smug ri phan men brgyad?	*Mon yul*
Brag dmar ri mo ldang lha brag	
dGe bsnyen mkha' ri lcam dral	*gNyal* and *Lo ro*
gTer bdag dge ri lcam dral	
Tsa ri tsa gong gnyan po rtse	*rDo* and *Byar*
Mog po ri (dang) drag shul can	
'Od de gung rgyal	*Dvags, Nyang* and *'Ol kha*
Gang ba bzang po gcig char dmar	
sGam po dpal ri	
Brag dmar gnam skas lcags phur can	*lHo brag (g.yas g.yon)*
sMyo kha mkhar chu sbar rjes	
Yar stod brag la yar 'brog ri	
mChims phu btsan rgod chu bo ri	*sKyid shod*
rDo rje brag skyes dongs pa'i klu	
Lo hi ta yi dge bsnyen	

Bon 'jang brag (dang) stag lung ri *Yer ba gtsug ri*	*sKyid shod*
Ti sgro sman Mal gro'i klu *Bar lha sogs ra?*	*dBu ru nyin srib*
Nag shod Nyang spyang *mGron phu'i dil (dang) thog gi ri* *rMu ru sha ru tsandan ri* *Ka chen mched brgyad kod ru thur* *'Dam gyi 'ben rgyal sbyang ri* *Bya nyal go ra gnam gyi ri* *sKyom 'dam klu shod 'phen yul ri* *Se gling bsil ri bsam gtan ri* *gNam ru ru rtse thod dkar can* *Ting lo ting sman*	*Byang rgyud*
sTag rtse ri mGon po ri *Phung po rin chen zam bu lung* *Rong mdo kha rag gzhu gnyan rtse* *Dom nag 'phrang rtse gser gsham che* *lHa ri sku lha ngo mo ri* *g.Yu phu brag dkar 'ja' ṭshom ri* *Klu bdud sbrul sna khan brag* *Sa skya dpal ri lhun po rgyal* *gNyan po ri Gangs ri rtse*	*gTsang (g.yas g.yon)*
sTag sgo ti se Ma pham mtsho *Pre ta pu ri La phyi gangs* *Tho ling snye nam lha brag* *Ri bo bkra bzang dpal 'bar ri* *sKyi rong ma ri khyung rgyal rtse* *Dung dkar ri rgyal gser gyi ri* *Ri bo dpal 'bar brag btsan rgod* *mThon po bkra shis rtse*[46]	*mNga' ri skor gsum*

Just like the *lha bsangs* texts of the Tibetan Buddhists, also the Bon *lha bsangs* contain lists of various local deities of the *gzhi bdag* type, who are supposed to rule a particular place or province. The following list gives the names and locations of a number of *gzhi bdag*, whom the Bonpos regard as the personifications of mountains:

46 134, fol. 13a sq.

Name of *gzhi bdag*	*Name of region*
Bya rgod spung ri	*rGya gar*
Me tog spungs sems	*O rgyan*
lJang ra smug po	*Li yul*
Bal yul gser phug	*Bal yul*
sPos ri ngad ldan	*Zhang zhung*
Seng ge sgra ri	*Ge sar gyi yul*
Ri bo rtse lnga	*rGya nag*
sPe ni ri bkra	*Bod yul*
Cog la mtshal rtse	*Hor yul*
g.Yu ri sngon po	*'Jang yul*
lHa ri spo mthon	*sTag gzig*
Gangs dkar rgyal po	centre of *'Dzam bu gling*
Thang lha yar bzhugs	*mDo stod*
rMad gnyan spom ra	*mDo smad*
Seng ge rgyab bsnol	*Bya ba sgrub pa'i gnas ri*
Zangs mdog dpal ri	*rNga yab gling*
Kha shag smug ri	*mGo yul*
dMu rje lha gnyan	*rGyal mo rong*
Kha ba dkar po	*Tsha ba rong*
lHa ri gyang te	*rGong po rong*
Dag lha sgam bu	*dGe yul*
'O de gung rgyal	*Nyang po yul*
Bya ma bye ri	*Ag ta rong*
Kha ba gang bzang	*dBus* and *gTsang*
Thog la rgom po	*Tsha ba sgang*
sMar mo ngang rdzongs	*sMar khams sgang*
sKu bla g.yu rtse	*Bu 'bor sgang*
gZha brag lha rtse	*Rab sgang*
Ma g.yo ka ba	*dNgul rdza sgang*
sKye ri gnyen po	*Tsong kha*
Brag dkar bya rgod	*'The chu*[47]

To these lists we may add the names of several other mountain-deities, about whom so far no further details had been obtained: *sTong ri dkar po, Kha ba klo 'dril, Zhabs ra dkar po, Jo mo nag ri, A wo dge mjo, lHa btsun bu le, Klu bdud khyags pa dkar po, bTsan zangs ri 'khyil pa, dGe bsnyen ston ka rgyal mtshan, mGon po 'brong ri* in *bSer yul* and *rNga la*

93, fol. 7a.

stag rtse in *bSer smad, gNas khá ba dkar po* in Eastern Tibet, lying to the east of Gyalthang (*rGyal thang*), *Jo bo gze rgyal, dGe bsnyen 'bo rong, 'Brog gnyan 'phya ba*, and *Byang gi gangs dkar*, who is mentioned in the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* as an evil deity sending illnesses.

CHAPTER XV

LOCAL PROTECTIVE DEITIES

Apart from the better-known *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* described in the previous chapters, there are numerous other *dharmapālas* who are only deities of local importance. Their number is by far too big to attempt listing here the greater part of them, but at least a few examples from various parts of Tibet[1] and from some of the adjoining areas should be given in this chapter.

1 - CENTRAL TIBET

A guardian-god known as the *Myang bran rgyal chen* or *Nyang bran rgyal chen* is worshiped at Sera, where his medium is living in a special shrine. The *Myang bran rgyal chen* is believed to be the spirit of a monk from Sera monastery, who undertook a journey to Eastern Tibet and drowned there when crossing a river. At first a temple was built for the monk's roaming spirit in Kham, where he became known as the *Chu rgyud dge bsnyen*; later he began to manifest himself also in a medium, which took its residence close to Sera. The *Chu rgyud dge bsnyen* or *Chu rgyud rgyal po* is also supposed to be a *gnas srung* of *Dom shod* in Lhoka. Though the legend claims that he is the spirit of a monk, nevertheless his *sādhana*[2] alleges that he was of divine descent: his father is supposed to have been the *rNam rgyal thog du rje bo*, his mother the *Klu mo ma mo spyan gcig ma*. The *Chu rgyud dge bsnyen* appears in a slightly fierce mood. He wears a lama-dress and ornaments of human bone. His right hand brandishes a cane-stick, the left hand holds a rosary made of crystal, and he rides on an ass.

The oracle-priest of this *dharmapāla* was responsible for it that the *gSer nya sprul sku*, an incarnate lama of Sera, got implicated in the plot

[1] Regarding the names of several local protective deities of Western Tibet see G. Tucci-E. Ghersi, *Cronaca della missione scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* (1933), Roma 1934, p. 375.

[2] 78, fol. 45a.

against the then Regent *sTag brag rin po che.*[3] Shortly before the revolt broke out, the medium gave the prophetic advice that the *gSer nya sprul sku* should be placed at the head of the armed forces which were to be dispatched against the Regent, since in this case the deities will grant them their help. *gSer nya sprul sku* heeded this advice, but after the plot had been uncovered by the Regent's party, he was questioned by the state authorities and eventually gave away the oracle-priest, upon whose suggestion he had acted. The seer was severely punished and removed from his office, while the incarnate lama was thrown into prison. He was released again after the present Dalai Lama had assumed power in 1950.

A *dharmapāla* venerated by the lamas of Drepung as a particular guardian of their monastery is the *dPa' bo chen po,* who is addressed by his full title as the *snang srid dregs pa'i sde dpon bstan srung dPa' bo chen po.* He is being represented in the fierce aspect, and has a human body of a brown colour. In his right hand he carries a precious vessel full of corn-juice, and his left holds a rosary of crystal, with whose help he reckons the destiny of men. He wears a sacerdotal cloak, and his headdress is a turban of white silk. His body is adorned with gems, such as are worn by a *bodhisattva,* with earrings, bangles, etc. *dPa' bo chen po*'s mount is a horse of dark-blue colour which carries a saddle and the usual trimmings, made of gold. To the right side of *dPa' bo chen po* stands the blood-coloured *bTsan gyi dmag dpon* of a very fierce appearance, who brandishes a flaming sword with his right hand, while the left one lifts the red heart of an enemy to his mouth. He rides a red steed with white heels. The place to the left of the chief deity is occupied by the black *bDud kyi dmag dpon,* who wears a cloak of black silk and a turban made of the same material. He rides a horse which runs quickly like the wind.[4]

Another local deity of Drepung is the god *Dan 'bag zhang go,* named after the neighbouring locality of *Dan 'bag.* The *Dan 'bag zhang go* is worshiped primarily by the lower-ranking monks of Drepung monastery, who believe that he is their special protector. I heard, however, the opinion being expressed, that there are actually two deities both bearing the appellation *Dan 'bag zhang go,* an "old" and a "young" one, and both being also depicted in the same manner.

The *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling* monastery in Phenyul is said to be protected by five *'jig rten pa'i srung ma.* Their chief is a deity known as

[3] See the sources mentioned in chapter VII, note 24.
[4] 105.

the "religious minister" (*chos blon*) *Bran kha dpal*;[5] who is believed to be the spirit of a minister of king *Ral pa can*. When this king, a fervent Buddhist, was killed in 836 A.D. by his brother *Glang dar ma*, who favoured the Bon religion, the *chos blon* shared the fate of his lord. He was murdered with the help of a *zor* weapon by a minister of *Glang dar ma*, who was nicknamed the *bdud blon* or "devilish minister".[6] – The other four *dharmapālas* of *dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling* are the *gnod sbyin Shing bya can* – the member of the *sKu lnga* group whose medium lives at Gadong monastery –, further *bSe khrab can*, the wrathful form of *Tshangs pa dkar po*, *Tsi'u dmar po*, and *gTsod rva can*, whose legend and iconography have already been discussed.

gTing skyes blon po mtshan lnga is a guardian-deity, whose chief medium resides at *sTod lung*. This god is renowned as a ready helper of all those who appeal to him in case of financial distress. During the trance the medium of *gTing skyes blon po mtshan lnga* usually vomits ancient silver-coins, which can be then collected by those who had asked the *dharmapāla* for assistance. Eventually, however, the full amount borrowed from the deity has to be returned again. The coins are then thoroughly washed, powdered with some saffron and handed to the seer while he is in a trance, who swallows them one by one. This *dharmapāla* is said to appear sometimes in person to some of his devotees.

A local guardian-god of Shigatse is the *Brag dkar rgyal po*, whose abode is supposed to be a white rock within Shigatse. This rock is also held sacred by the members of the local Nepalese colony; the Tibetans claim that at this spot witches assemble at night.

About a quarter of a mile away from this rock lies a place known as the *sPel chen stong gog*, the ruin of a house which once belonged to the *dGa' bzhi*[7] family. It is said to be haunted by a powerful spirit of the *rgyal po* class, known as the *Drung yig chen mo*, "Great Secretary". About the origin of this spirit the following legend is being told: one of the ancestors of the *dGa' bzhi* family – which possesses extensive landed property in the district of Gyantse – had a young and very handsome secretary, who fell in love with the wife of his master. The latter, however, soon found out that the secretary had become intimate with his

[5] Richardson, *Historical Edicts*, p. 52: *Bran ka dpal gyi yon*. According to this source the mummified bodily remains of this minister are being preserved at *sNye thang* near Lhasa. The face of the figure is covered by a mask, the right hand holds an arrow, the left a noose; see the picture facing p. 35. Further Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 303: *Bran kha dpal gyi yon tan*, and p. 319.

[6] See also p. 164.

[7] See also Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 143.

wife, and he decided to get rid of his rival by killing him. A great feast held annually on the fifteenth day of the fourth Tibetan month, at which retainers of the aristocratic families have to show their skill in riding and shooting with bow and arrow, seemed to offer a good opportunity to carry out this plan. When the day of the feast came, the master selected a wild horse and gave it to his secretary to ride, hoping that the mount would kill the youth. But the young man carried out faultlessly all the tests of skill which he had to pass. Fearing that his plan might be frustrated, the master ordered his secretary to pass the riding-test once more, but the youth again succeeded in carrying out his task. When, however, trying upon his master's orders for a third time, he fell from the wildly leaping horse and died instantaneously. His spirit, bent upon revenge, turned into a demon of the *rgyal po* class, whose first action it was to kill nearly all the horses belonging to the *dGa' bzhi* family. The Tibetans allege that to this day the priests have not succeeded yet in bringing this spirit under complete control. The *Drung yig chen mo* takes from time to time possession of a medium. It is a characteristic sign of his arrival in the body of the medium, that at the beginning of the trance he announces through the mouth of the oracle-priest: "I killed ninety-nine horses of my master, but I left one for my lady-love."

Many of the noble families of Tibet are believed to have their own particular divine protectors, whose cult is carried on from generation to generation. Thus the *bDe legs rabs ldan* family of Shigatse has two divine protectors, the spirits of two of its former servants. About two hundred years ago this family had in its service a treasurer (*phyag mdzod pa*) who is said to have been very attached to his master, and who always carried out his work in a most dutiful way. After death the treasurer's spirit turned into a roaming *btsan*, who became known as the *Phyag mdzod chen po*, "Great Treasurer"; he took residence close to the house of his master, in a *btsan khang* which had specially been built for him. The *Phyag mdzod chen po* is said to take great interest in everything what happens on the estate, and once a year he assumes possession of an oracle-priest who has specially been called in. He gives then through the mouth of the medium advice to the present foreman concerning agricultural and household work, and he predicts also the outcome of the next harvest. The *Phyag mdzod chen po* is said to be accompanied by the spirit of another retainer, who had served as an overseer (*las dpon*) on the same estate. It happened during his life-time that the next to last Panchen Lama had to flee to China. The Lhasa Government subsequently imposed as a punitive measure a heavy grain-tax on all the aristocrats

who had served the Panchen Lama, among them also the *bDe legs rabs ldan* family. The *las dpon* found it rather difficult to fulfil the repeated pressing demands for grain, and this worry eventually led to his death. His spirit became a companion of *Phyag mdzod chen po*, and during the annual divination-ceremony he, too, takes possession of the medium, usually towards the end of the seance. As soon as he had entered the body of the oracle, the spirit will start complaining through the medium's mouth about the heavy grain-tax which had been collected by the Lhasa Government.

To the group of the local guardian-deities of Central Tibet belong also four divinities worshiped primarily by the *rNying ma pa.* These are the *g.Yu phu'i rtse lha mthu bo che, Yer ba'i rdzong btsan mthu bo che, lHa sa'i bdud btsan mthu bo che*, and the *Klu bdud rdo rje spyan gcig ma.* The *g.Yu phu'i rtse lha mthu bo che* rides on a white horse with a red back. He wears a garment of white silk, and his head-dress is a turban of the same material. On his sides hang a quiver of tiger-skin and a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard; his attribute is a banner of white silk. The *Yer ba'i rdzong btsan mthu bo che* or *Yer ba'i ljongs bdag mthu bo che* rides a red horse. He wears a cloak and a turban of red silk, from his girdle hang a quiver and a bow-case; he carries a red banner and a *btsan*-snare. The third member of this group, the *lHa sa'i bdud btsan mthu bo che*, is a local spirit of Lhasa, whose mount is a black horse with white heels. His body is covered by a black cloak with three folds, and his headdress is a black turban, made of cloth of six fathoms length. He carries a quiver and a bow-case; one of his hands brandishes a banner of black silk, the other throws a black snare of the *bdud.* The goddess *Klu bdud rdo rje spyan gcig ma* rides on a white-spotted tortoise. She is dressed in a robe consisting of scorpions, and above her head rises a snake. She brandishes a "banner of victory" with the head of an otter on top (*sram gyi rgyal mtshan*) and throws the black snake-snare. This goddess is believed to reside on the *gTsang phung po ri bo che*, a mountain lying to the north of Shigatse.[8]

2 - CHUMBI VALLEY, SIKKIM AND BHUTAN

An important *dharmapāla* venerated by the Buddhists of these three areas and believed to be the divine protector and guardian of the Ha (*Ha*) province in western Bhutan is a deity of the *rgyal po* class, called the

[8] 87.

dGon gsar bla ma'i dkon mchog, whose main residence is a hill close to the Talung Valley in Sikkim. Legends claim that formerly a monastery stood at this spot, but it burned down by accident and one of the priests perished in the flames. Later the spirit of this priest began to harm people, and even after he had been appeased by some learned lamas and turned into a guardian-deity, he continued to cause injury to those who did not perform sacrifices in his honour. He usually inflicts upon people an illness which is said to leave deep, burn-like scars, apparently small-pox. These signs are supposed to remind men of the burns which the unfortunate priest had suffered. To avoid the wrath of this deity, people use to make a pilgrimage to the place where the monastery once stood and to perform there a sacrifice. This pilgrimage should be carried out annually, or at least once in three years. The *dGon gsar bla ma'i dkon mchog* has a human body, he is dressed in a white garment, his head is covered by the broad-brimmed hat worn by deities of the *rgyal po* class, and he is shown sitting.

Another local protective deity worshiped in these three regions is the *Brag dmar btsan*. A legend says that this *chos skyong* is the spirit of a pious priest who was known during his lifetime as the *Brag dmar sgrub chen*, "the great meditator of the red rock", because he lived in a cave situated in a huge red rock. One day a band of robbers assassinated the hermit in his retreat, but his spirit, assuming the form of a ferocious *btsan*, killed shortly afterwards the murderers and even annihilated their families. Later this *btsan* was subdued by a Bhutanese priest who had settled at Yatung in the Chumbi Valley, and whose descendants are still living in this village. The *Brag dmar btsan* is also worshiped by the Bonpos living in this region.

The *A sam shar ri*, a mountain close to the Chumbi Valley, also known as the *sTag thang gnas ri*, is believed to be the abode of the guardian-god *bDun po rākṣa'i mgo g.yag*. The name of this god is derived from the form in which he is believed to appear: he has the dark-red body of *rākṣasa*, with a black yak-head. The *chos skyong* holds in his right hand an iron chain, and his left hand brandishes a club. He is said to be an ancient deity, venerated by the inhabitants of the Chumbi Valley, and also by the Tibetans of the neighbouring regions; the latter regard him as an important "border-protecting deity" (*mtshams srung*) of Tibet.

Close to the point where the borders of Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet meet lies a mountain called *Khyung dung gangs*, which is supposed to be the residence of a *chos skyong* known by his full name as the *pho lha chen po*, the *ma sangs Khyung dung*. As already indicated by this appellation,

he is believed to be a "god of the males" (*pho lha*), and he is therefore especially venerated by those who desire to obtain great physical strength. He acts, too, as one of the main protective deities of the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* – the sorcerers and sorceresses of the unorganized Bon in the Sikkim-Bhutan-Chumbi area –, who are said to address him in the first place when invoking their various supernatural helpers. The *Khyung dung* is depicted in a human shape and wearing a Bhutanese dress. This god is also mentioned in the Chronicle of the rulers of Sikkim, where his name is given as the *ma sangs Khyung 'dus*, and his residence is simply called the *Ma sangs* peak. He is said to have been the family-deity of a Bhutanese called *Ngag dbang gyad pa'i dpal 'bar*, who was renowned for his great strength. This Bhutanese was defeated by *brGya 'bum bsags*, the ancestor of the kings of Sikkim, and after this encounter he propitiated his family-deity by sacrificing to it a yak with white heels. It is alleged that from this time on a sacrifice to the *ma sangs Khyung 'dus* came into vogue in Sikkim.[9]

A cave in the Upper Ha (*Ha stod*) district of western Bhutan is believed to be the abode of the *Jo g.yag btsan gyi rgyal po*, a yak-headed *btsan*. He wears the usual garment and attributes of this group of deities. If displeased, *Jo g.yag btsan gyi rgyal po* is believed to cause head- and eye-ache, and people living close to the abode of this *chos skyong* therefore make every year a sacrifice in his honour to avert his anger.

An ancient deity belonging to the *dge bsnyen* class is the *sGang ring dge bsnyen chen po*. He appears in the shape of a red *btsan* demon, riding a horse. He brandishes with the right hand a lance bearing a flag, and his left hand drags a *vighna* whom he had caught with his snare. About the origin of the *sGang ring dge bsnyen chen po*, who is known to the Buddhists of the Darjeeling district also under the name *sGang btsan pa*, the following legend is being told: there are two long ridges, which stretch from the Jeleb Pass (*rDza leb la*) far into Sikkim. One of these ridges was the residence of a *srung ma* called the *lHa bdud lcags khung pa*, while the other one remained for a long time unoccupied by any spirit. One day a monk from the Kham province, who was on a pilgrimage to India, stayed for a few days on the latter ridge in order to practise meditation. The *lHa bdud lcags khung pa*, however, began to disturb him and made it impossible for the monk to concentrate his mind. Infuriated, the pilgrim took an oath that after death he would change into a demon in order to punish the troublesome *srung ma*. It came as the monk had wished, and then for many years both spirits were fighting

9 See also *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 8.

against each other. Ultimately they came to terms, and after the *bKa' rgyud dgon pa* in the Lower Chumbi Valley (*Gro smad*) had been founded, the spirit of the monk who became known as the *sGang ring dge bsnyen chen po* and also his former adversary became guardian-deities of this new monastery. Originally the *sGang ring dge bsnyen chen po* was the highest-ranking divine protector of this monastery, but nowadays, when the local *chos skyong* are invoked by the lamas, first the *rGyal po grub dbang chen po*, the *sGang ring dge bsnyen chen po*, and lastly *lHa bdud lcags khung pa* are named.

The first-mentioned of these gods, known by his full name as the *bKa' rgyud pa'i grub dbang chen po*, is said to appear in two different aspects: in a peaceful form, in which case he is depicted as a *yogī* (*rnal 'byor pa*) wearing the attire of an Indian mendicant (*rnal 'byor gyi chas*) and sitting in the *rāja-paryaṅka* on a tiger-skin. With his left hand he whirls a *ḍamaru*, and in the right hand he holds a *rkang gling* trumpet. In his fierce aspect he assumes a human form and rides on an elephant. With his right hand he brandishes a sword, and in his left hand he holds a sling or a heart. He is believed to belong to the supernatural beings of the *rgyal po* class, and consequently he wears the so-called *rgyal chas*. The following legend explains the origin of this *chos skyong:* a few centuries ago a Tibetan *yogī* died near the West Tibetan market-place of *rGya nyi ma*,[10] and after death his spirit began to roam around and to cause harm. One day he instigated a quarrel among the monks of the *bKa' rgyud pa* monastery in the Chumbi Valley. The monks, however, soon discovered who was responsible for their dispute. They began to propitiate the spirit and succeeded in turning him into a protective deity of their monastery.

The inhabitants of the Chumbi Valley claim that in the retinue of the *bKa' rgyud pa'i rgyal po grub dbang chen po* – which consists of a host of *sman mo*, *btsan*, and *yul lha* – appears also the ghost of a European who died while on a visit to Chumbi, and whose spirit is said to have shown its presence shortly after his death. One night a few Tibetan men were assembled in one of the houses of the valley, when suddenly one of them, a young man, fell into a trance. With a voice which did not sound like his own he demanded in Tibetan that the dress and the other personal belongings of the dead European should be brought immediately. After those present had complied with his request and had brought them from another house where they had been kept, the boy suddenly began to

[10] Apparently *Gya ni ma khar*, to the west of the Rakas Tal; see the map in Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II.

talk in English – which language he normally neither spoke nor understood –, and just as the deceased had often done during his stay at Chumbi, he asked to be brought a cup of milk and he also inquired about a book, attributed to *Naropa*, which the European visitor had once examined. One of the men, who witnessed this strange occurrence and who knew a little English, brought some milk, and shortly afterwards the young man regained his senses again. He was rather surprised to hear that he had become possessed by a spirit, and he assured those present that he had never before fallen into a trance. The next day the priests of the local monastery were informed about this incident, and they performed later on a ceremony for the appeasement of the roaming ghost, claiming afterwards that they had succeeded in placing him under the power of the before-named *chos skyong*.

Padmasambhava is believed to have visited Sikkim to hide there sacred Buddhist scriptures, in order to facilitate the spreading of Buddhism in this area in the centuries to come. On his way to Sikkim he passed – as a legend claims – through the Chumbi Valley, where he learned from the local people that they were being oppressed by a malignant demon who was living in a mountain close by and who lived on men and animals. *Padmasambhava* decided to free the unfortunate villagers from this scourge and he approached the demon, threatening him with his thunderbolt. The demon got frightened and fled to the top of a high rock, but *Padmasambhava* followed him there. The spirit then changed into a snake and tried to attack the saint. The latter, however, succeeded in stepping in time on the snake's head, and through the preasure one of its eyes was squeezed out of its socket and a deep impression in the form of a snake was made into the rock, its outline being visible to this day. The saint then quickly picked up the eye and threw it across the valley. It fell upon a rock, leaving there an impression as well. Wringling under *Padmasambhava*'s foot, the demon asked for mercy, which was granted to him on condition that he would become a guardian-deity and protect the Buddhist creed in the Chumbi Valley. This demoniacal deity is known as the *Jo bo 'bo lha* and is classified among the *yul lha*. The *Jo bo 'bo lha* is also worshiped by the adherents of the Bon faith living in this valley.

A deity called *'Dam srang rgyal po* (also *Dam sangs*, named after the *Tam sang* clan of the Lepchas) is believed to have his seat on the forest-covered mountain which lies between the village Algarra – about twelve miles east of the Indo-Sikkimese border-town Kalimpong (*bKa' blon phug*) – and the village Pedong (*sPos sdong*), which is traditionally the first stage of the caravans proceeding to Tibet. The Buddhists living in

this area claim that *'Dam srang rgyal po* was once a very powerful protective deity, but that he lost much of his influence in more recent times. *'Dam srang rgyal po*, who seems to be regarded as an "emanation" of *Pe har*'s companion *dGra lha skyes gcig bu*, is also held in high esteem by the Buddhist Lepchas, and this for a particular reason. The following account – partly legend and partly historical truth – which circulates among the Lepchas tries to explain how the *'Dam srang rgyal po* came into existence. About one and a half centuries ago, when the Bhutanese were making raids into Sikkim, they met with strong resistance in the area of Pedong, where the local Lepcha chieftain of the *Tam sang* clan not only withstood their attacks, but at one time even penetrated during a counter-attack into the neighbourhood of Punakha (*sPung thang*, *Bum thang*), the capital of Bhutan. Deciding to break also this obstacle under all circumstances, the Bhutanese, after consulting various astrologic books, selected two men who were ordered to proceed to the enemy's camp and to kill the chieftain. Under some pretext they succeeded in being admitted into the camp, but were at first unable to distinguish the leader of the Lepchas from his retainers, until one of the servants betrayed to them that the chieftain wore a headdress of peculiar long feathers. The two Bhutanese cautiously approached the chieftain, and then one of them produced from his garment an apple, which he cut with his knife into halves. He began to eat one of the pieces, while the other part he offered to the leader of the Lepchas who, seeing that the Bhutanese was eating from the same apple too, did not become suspicious. This, however, proved to be a deadly mistake: one side of the blade had been covered with a strong poison, and while offering the poisoned part of the fruit to the chieftain, the Bhutanese had retained the other, unpoisoned half.

Shortly after he had eaten his share the chieftain collapsed unconscious, and now the two Bhutanese – unobserved by the Lepcha warriors – quickly drew their swords to kill their opponent. One of them, however, became so terrified by the extremely wrathful expression which the face of their unconscious victim showed, that he was unable even to lift his weapon, and thus the second man alone accomplished the evil deed. With a mighty stroke of his sword he cut off the chieftain's head which – as the legend tells – flew miraculously to the nearby Rishi La, a high mountain on the way between Pedong and the Bhutanese border, where it fell into a pond. From then on, the chieftain's spirit began to haunt the forests of the Rishi La, killing many a Bhutanese who tried to cross this mountain. The Bhutanese refrain therefore from travelling over the

Rishi La, and they sacrifice a bull each year on one of its slopes to appease the spirit. It is also claimed that in order to ward off the spirit's evil influence from the Pedong area, where many Bhutanese settled subsequently, the *gSang chen rdo rje* monastery of Pedong was built. This monastery, which counts some twenty lamas, belongs to the *sTod 'brug* or "upper *'Brug*" division of the *'Brug pa* sect, and it stands under the authority of the Pharo (*Pha ro*) monastery in southwestern Bhutan.

The above story is well known among the Lepchas and the Tibetan speaking inhabitants of Sikkim; its truth is, however, vehemently denied by the Bhutanese of Pedong. The Lepchas claim that the spirit of the chieftain is still roaming in Rishi La's forests, and that in recent years it even harmed two non-Bhutanese: the European manager of a tea-plantation, who scoffed at all warnings and camped on the Rishi La near the haunted pond; he died two days later. The other victim was a Nepalese forest-guard, who became mute after a journey over the haunted mountain.

Legends told among the Bhutanese claim that, long before Buddhism reached Bhutan, *Padmasambhava* crossed the Himalayan range and subdued many of the spirits inhabiting the *'Brug yul* in order to facilitate the work of future propagators of the Buddhist creed. Some of the demons, who escaped subjugation at that time, were turned later on into *dam can* by other famous Buddhist priests. Thus the Indian mystic *Sarava*, alleged to be the founder of the *Khri 'bur lha khang* in Bhutan, is said to have subdued a *rākṣasī* which lived at *Lo rong*, and also conquered the local demon of the Dokyong Pass (*rDo skyong la*). A number of other demons who showed themselves hostile towards the Buddhist teachings were defeated by the first *Dharmarāja* of Bhutan, *Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal 'jigs med*, with the help of his guardian-deity, the *mGon po bya rog gdong can*.

One of the best-known local protective spirits of Bhutan is the *dam can sGo bdud chen po*, who is said to have been subdued by a learned Bhutanese priest called *gTer khung pa*. The latter, thus the legend tells, meditated for seven days and nights on the shore of a haunted lake. In the last night the lake suddenly began to boil, and a terrific storm swept over the surrounding countryside. Various dreadful apparitions became visible before the eyes of the mendicant who, however, did not show the slightest sign of fear. Then the *sGo bdud chen po* appeared in the form of a black giant. Fire issued from his eyes, and fat was dripping from his mouth. His right hand was brandishing a bow and an arrow, the left one whirled a serpent-snare. The *bdud* tried to frighten the mendicant, but having

failed he suggested to *gTer khung pa* a competition to see who could assume first the bigger and afterwards the smaller size. The winner should then swallow the looser. The mendicant agreed to this proposal and the competition started. First both of them tried to reach the biggest size, and in this competition the *bdud* won; but then, when trying to reduce themselves to the smallest size, the mendicant outdid his opponent. The contest having ended with a draw, the two competitors agreed that they should swallow each other. First the priest swallowed the demon and the latter, once he was inside his opponent's body, tried to kill him by tearing at his intestines, but the mendicant quickly increased the heat of his body by means of *thu mo* and burnt the demon so severely that the latter began to cry with pain begging to be let out again. But as soon as he was out, he demanded his right to swallow *gTer khung pa*, to which the mendicant had to cede. As soon as he reached the monster's stomach, *gTer khung pa* once more began to practice *thu mo*, and he managed to increase the heat of his body in such a measure that the demon began to roll with pain, promising that he will become a protector of the Buddhist teachings if only the mendicant would stop torturing him. *gTer khung pa* then bound him by an oath, and from now on *sGo bdud chen po* assumed a human shape and followed his conqueror as an obediant servant wherever the mendicant went.

Another local protective deity of Bhutan, who is said to act as the *dgra lha* of this Himalayan kingdom, is the *bTsan chen jag pa me len*, an emanation of *rTa mgrin*. *Padmasambhava* himself is supposed to have been his subduer. *bTsan chen jag pa me len* is being depicted as a ferocious-looking red *btsan*. He wears an armour and rides on a bay-coloured horse.

Lastly we may mention four protective deities of places in the Sikkim area about whose iconography no details were available: the *mKhar bzang rgyal po* of Kurseong (*mKhar bzang*), *Zla ba seng ge* of Pemiongchi (*Padma yang rtse*), *lHa btsan pa* of Yangong (*g.Yang sgang*), and *Chos legs rnam rgyal* of Darjeeling.[11]

3 - NORTHEASTERN TIBET AND MONGOLIA

Among the number of local guardian-deities worshiped by the Mongols and Tibetans living in the provinces around the Kuku Nor one encounters even the deified form of Jenghiz Khan, called in Tibetan *Jing gir rgyal po*

[11] The three last-named deities are mentioned in the *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 356.

and supposed to be a *dgra lha chen po.* The *Jing gir rgyal po*[12] is also said to be a *yul lha* of Ordos (*'Or du su'i yul lha jing gir*). When worshiping this deity, first the *nang mchod*, a *gtor ma*, food, effigies of men and animals, etc. should be set ready, and then the appropriate text is read, which starts with a description of the place at which *Jing gir rgyal po* is supposed to dwell. This is a red mountain of clay – surrounded by the billowing sea of blood – on top of which stands a triangular *maṇḍala* with a base of jewels in its centre. Here resides the *lha'i dge bsnyen Jing gir rgyal po.* He is red in colour, has one face with three eyes, and two hands; his eyebrows are aflame and he bares his teeth. The right hand brandishes a red lance, the left one – which rests in front of the heart and makes the *tarjanī-mudrā* – holds a snare. On his head he wears a helmet of leather, and his body is protected by a cuirass made from the same material. He wears a garment of green silk and a cloak. One foot is bent, the other stretched out, and his whole figure is surrounded by a halo of fire. In front of *Jing gir rgyal po* stand his two companions, the *gZugs can snying po ho thog tha'i si chen hum* (also: *hung*) *tha'i ji* and *Sa ghan er khe hong si can tha'i ji*, the former standing on the right side and the latter on the left. Both are represented in the same manner: they are red in colour, the right hand holds a basket full of relics, the left one – which rests in front of the breast – holds a rosary of crystal "for counting off the six-syllable prayer". From the girdle are suspended a quiver and a bow-case. The two figures stand in the middle of a fire-wind.[13]

The personal protective deity of Jenghiz Khan's family is supposed to be the *pho lha Dung skyong dkar po*, who is called on account of his position the *gNam bskos sa yi tshangs pa ching gis chos kyi rgyal po'i rigs kyi bsrung ma*, and who bears the title *dgra lha'i rgyal po.* His mount is a white horse. The body of *Dung skyong dkar po* is of a brilliant white, his right hand brandishes a lance with a pendant of red silk, and the left hand holds a snare. He wears a dress of white silk, high boots, and just like *Tshangs pa dkar po*, to whom he is very similar, he has his hair bound together into a toupet from which a conch-shell is protruding.[14]

A *dharmapāla* venerated especially by the Khalkha Mongols is the *rNam snang rta nag can* or *rNam sras nag po rta sngon can* – a *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* whom we had mentioned before – known as the "religious master of the Khalkha country", *Khal kha'i yul gyi chos bdag.* His residence is a palace of skulls, with one gate, standing amidst a

[12] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 725: *Cing khir.*
[13] 161, fol. 15b.
[14] 95, fol. 2a.

cemetery. Four lakes lie next to this abode: in the East a lake of milk (*'o ma'i mtsho*), in the South a lake of melted butter (*mar khu'i mtsho*), in the West a lake of blood (*khrag gi mtsho*), and a golden lake (*gser gyi mtsho*) is situated in the North. In this palace resides the sky-blue *rNam snang*, who has the appearance of a wrathful *rākṣasa*. He wears a brown armour, a helmet made of iron which is speckled with molten gold, and a cloak of black silk. His right hand brandishes a flaming sword, the left one holds an ichneumon. He rides a black horse with white heels, carrying a golden saddle. The four lakes previously enumerated are the residence of the following four goddesses: in the eastern one dwells the black *bDud mo gshin rje mgo dgu ma*, in the southern lake resides the yellow *bDud mo gshin rje lag brgya ma*, the western lake is the abode of the dark-red *bDud mo phung khrol ma*, and the northern one is ruled by the dark-green *bDud mo gsod byed ma*. The iconography of these four goddesses has already been discussed on p. 72.[15] – All these deities are being invoked by the local weather-makers to avert damage by lightning and hail.

Lastly we may mention a protective deity of the *Phun tshogs dga' ldan chos gling* monastery in the Ordos country, the *chos bdag bDe chen grags pa*. He has the ferocious appearance of a wild *btsan*, his body is red, and his eyebrows are white like conch-shells. His weapons are a sword and a snare.[16]

4 – VARIOUS MINOR DHARMAPĀLAS

Under this heading the iconography of a number of local protective deities should be discussed, in whose case it has either not been possible to ascertain which particular locality they are supposed to guard, or where exactly the spot lies, which is named as their abode.

Yul lha rgyal po gzhon nu

A deity red in colour riding on a horse; the attributes are a battle-lance and a magic snare.[17]

gZhi bdag khang ka'i rgyal po,

also called the *lHa mchog khang kas chen po*: his colour is a brilliant white, "like that produced when the rays of the rising sun glide over a snow-mountain"; he is peaceful and his face shows a friendly smile.

15 15.
16 161, fol. 21b.
17 161, fol. 5b–6a.

His right hand brandishes a thunderbolt with five points, the left one holds towards the side of his body a bowl filled with jewels. He is adorned with jewels, wears a flowing garment, and dispatches the *khyung* and vultures as his messengers. On the right side rides on an isabel-coloured horse the *lHa chen gser gyi rgyal po*, whose colour is like that of purified gold. In his right hand he carries a flaming jewel, the left one holds towards the side of his body a bowl full of jewels. He wears a loin-cloth of white silk with a golden girdle, and he is adorned with many jewels. He is accompanied by *yakṣas* and *dmu* demons and dispatches *rākṣasa*-birds and owls as his messengers. The place on the left side is occupied by the *lHa chen khang kas*, whose body is ruby-coloured. He is of a proud bearing and laughs ferociously. He wears a cuirass and a helmet, his right hand brandishes a hook made of meteoric iron, and the left one holds a snare. *lHa chen khang kas* rides on a red horse possessing the speed of lightning; his messengers are falcons and eagles.

In front of the chief deity rides on a black horse the *lHa chen khang kas drag po*, who is black like the colour of the *mig sman*. His eyebrows and his hair, which is turned upward, are brownish-yellow, his upper teeth are pressed against the lower lip. He is adorned with bone ornaments. *lHa chen khang kas drag po* has four hands: the two right ones hold a lance and an axe, the left ones carry a bow with an arrow and a snare. From his girdle are suspended a quiver and a bow-case. In the four intermediary quarters reside the four *mahāśaktis*, who are accompanied by four queens of the *sman mo* class, and there dwell also one hundred "ministers of internal affairs" and one thousand "ministers of external affairs".[18]

Rung ma'i yul lha g.Ya' spang brgya byin,

a white deity riding a horse of the same colour. The head of this *yul lha* is covered by a red turban, the dress consists of varicoloured silks, and his attributes are a lance with a flag attached to it and a bowl filled with jewels.[19]

mTho lding gi rgyal chen,

a local protective deity of the *rgyal po* class, who rides a red horse and brandishes a battle-lance as well as a fiercely flaming fire-brand of juniper wood.[20]

18 155, fol. 2a.
19 55.
20 47, fol. 72a.

rGyal chen bsod nams dpal 'bar,

a red-brown god riding a yellow kyang. He is dressed in a human skin; in his right hand he carries a short battle-lance, and in the left one a bow and an arrow.[21]

bTsun chung me tog pa

is said to be a "*gzhi bdag* of *gCen lung*"; he is white and wears a garment of silk and a turban. His attributes are a sword held in his right hand and a thunderbolt.[22]

bKra shis mgon chen

or *mGon chen bkra shis che*, called a "*gzhi bdag* of *Sa lung chos sde*". He wears a black hat and a garment with long sleeves as worn by necromancers, together with the appropriate ornaments. His hands hold a magic dagger and a skull-cup. The *bKra shis mgon chen* is accompanied by a deity called *Jo bo mgon chen* – a figure dressed in black, riding a black horse, and carrying a divination-arrow adorned with streamers of five different colours –, further by the *mGon chung* who rides on a sheep, the "great *btsan* demon" *'Od lha 'bar ba*, and by the *śakti Klu dkar rtse mo*.[23]

gZhi bdag ga byang,

Shang kyi yul lha ga byang or shortly *Ga byang* is of a red colour; he has one face, his right hand brandishes an axe, and the left one holds a *btsan* snare. He is one of a trinity of brothers, the *Ga byang spun gsum*.[24]

rTa go ba,

a *gzhi bdag* who is being represented as a white figure with one face and two hands, riding on a horse and holding a vessel.[25]

Chos bdag bkra shis dpal,

also called the *dgra lha bKra shis dpa' gyi rtsal*. He resides on a beautiful meadow, where there are ponds full of medicines. His mount is a elephant "similar to a broken-off piece of a snow-mountain". The *dgra lha bKra shis dpa' gyi rtsal* is white, his right hand holds a conch-shell, and the left a white lance. He wears a flowing garment of silk, his body is adorned with numerous jewels, and his head is covered by a white hat. Two other deities accompany this *dharmapāla*: the place on the

21 55.
22 159, fol. 27a.
23 159, fol. 3a.
24 159, fol. 12a, b.
25 159, fol. 30b.

right side is occupied by the *Dam pa riṅ chen dpà' rtsal*. He is yellow in colour, his attributes are a *tshe bum* and a "banner of victory", his body is covered by a garment of silk, and on his head he wears a white hat. *Dam pa riṇ chen dpa' rtsal* rides a red horse which runs with the speed of lightning. On the left side rides on an elephant with six tusks the *rDo rje dpa' rtsal*, who is red and carries a jewel and a trident.[26]

lHa chen zangs rva,
a god of a ferocious appearance, who rides on a horse and carries a short lance and a "snare of the *bdud*", to catch with it the life-power of enemies of the religion. A companion of *lHa chen zangs rva* is the *bDud mgon bsam pa don grub pa*. He has the appearance of a *dge slong*, and is therefore sometimes shortly addressed as the *dge slong Don grub pa*.[27]

gTor bdag chen po ban chen po,
a minor *dharmapāla* riding on a black horse with white heels. He wears a turban of silk and brandishes a lance with a flag attached to it.[28]

rDo rje 'bar ba,
a dark-red *yakṣa*, his three eyes stare full of hatred and from the mouth protrude four sharp fangs. The right hand wields a lance of iron with a banner attached to it, its shaft being strengthened by a cover of rhino-skin, and the left hand holds in front of the heart a bowl full of jewels which grant all wishes. The body of the *yakṣa* is covered by a garment of black silk with long sleeves, and he wears high black riding boots.[29]

Chos kyi rgyal po gnod sbyin Yang dag shes
His palace is supposed to lie in the northern direction. The colour of his body is red, his eyebrows are yellow-red, and his attributes are a sharp knife of gold, a lance with a white banner, a snare of the *bdud*, and an ichneumon. His teeth are sharp and the upper ones gnaw the lower lip. An armour made of leather protects his body, and his head is covered by a helmet made from the same material. In the train of the *Yang dag shes* appear countless evil *yakṣas*.[30]

Byang bdud chen po
A black *bdud* of a ferocious appearance. He bares his teeth and his face is contorted in anger. His cuirass and helmet are made of meteoric

26 161, fol. 20b.
27 159, fol. 11a, b.
28 159, fol. 13a.
29 101, fol. 2b.
30 47, fol. 9b.

iron, his right hand holds a lance with a black flag attached to it; with his left he lifts a *kapāla* full of blood and a black snare of the *bdud*. A bow-case and a quiver are suspended from his girdle, and he wears high boots of black leather. A black horse with white heels, carrying a precious saddle, serves as his mount. Numerous *bdud*, *btsan*, and *klu* appear in the train of this deity.[31]

bTsan rgod Phun tshogs bkra shis

has the usual appearance of a *btsan* demon, viz. he wears a cuirass and a helmet, his hands hold a red lance and a *btsan* snare, etc.[32]

lHa btsan mgon lha dkar po,

a white deity wearing a white dress and a flaming harness. The right hand thrusts a lance into the heart of an enemy, the left one wields a stick.[33]

dGra lha sTong btsan pa

A dark-red deity, armed with a battle-lance, a red *btsan* snare, and riding on a red *btsan* horse. *sTong btsan pa* is accompanied by a black *bdud* wearing a *bse theb* hat and wielding a magic notched stick and a snare of the *bdud*.[34]

dGra lha gdong btsan

A red *dharmapāla;* his right hand holds a battle-lance and the left one a snare. A shield of rhino-leather is tied to his back.[35]

Brag btsan chen po A shva

or *A shos*. His body, which is covered with bone-ornaments, is vari-coloured, he has one face and two hands, in which he carries a club, a snare, a rattling-staff, and a begging-bowl. He is accompanied by the red *btsan Me lce 'bar ba*. The latter carries a lance, and his mount is a red horse of the *btsan* demons.[36]

Chos bdag brag btsan Zangs phur can pa

or the *chos bdag Zangs phur pa*. A god whose body has the colour of blood; he is in a ferocious mood, long fangs protrude from his mouth. *Zangs phur can pa* wears a harness of leather, a cloak, and his head is covered by a leather-hat with a brim of silk. His right hand holds a lance,

31 159, fol. 2a.
32 161, fol. 29a.
33 161, fol. 39a.
34 159, fol. 23b.
35 48, fol. 15a.
36 84, fol. 2a.
37 159, fol. 28a, also 161, fol. 2a and 55.

the left one brandishes a *phur bu* made of copper and a red *btsan*-snare. He rides on a horse amidst a horde of *btsan* demons.[37]

bTsan rgod Bya 'ug pa

or *Bya 'ug brag btsan* is said to be a man whose body consists of copper. He wears a dress and a turban of red silk, and rides on a kyang.

bTsan rgod Thog lha me 'bar,

a red figure with a red turban wound around its head, riding on a horse and bearing the expression of wild passion. The right hand brandishes a red battle-lance, the left holds a flat bowl full of jewels.

Gyer rgod lha btsan

also *Gyer rgod dgra lha'i rgyal po* and *pho lha Gyer rgod lha btsan*; a *dharmapāla* riding on a blue horse and carrying a hook.

dNgul chu'i gzhi bdag lCags skud pa,

also known as the *btsan rgod lCags skud dmar po* or the *btsan rgyal lCags skud dmar po*: a ferocious *btsan* who carries in the right hand a red-coloured lance and a snare in the left one. His head is covered by a *bse theb* hat, and a glistening armour protects his body.

Brag nag btsan rgod,

a local protective deity said to be residing in a red castle of the *btsan*. Its doors have a panel of leather, and the projecting ends of the beams carrying the roof consist of turquoise. Inside this abode is a lake with wildly beating waves of blood and fat. The mount of the *btsan* is a red horse carrying a saddle made of rhino-skin. He is brown-red, his right hand wields a red lance with a covering of leather, and the left one holds a shield made of the same material. His body is protected by a cuirass and a helmet made of rhino skin, a quiver full of arrows, and a bow-case with a bow protruding from it are suspended from his girdle. The *śakti* of this *dharmapāla* is the red *Klu sman gtso mo*, who smiles proudly. She holds a divination-arrow adorned with ribbons of silk in five different colours, and a flat bowl full of jewels. Her dress is white, and she wears gems as ornaments. She rides on the hind of the *sman* goddesses (*sman sha yu mo*).[38]

bsTan srung grib btsan rDo rje shog rgod rtsal

A dark-red deity, holding a sharp lance of copper in the right hand and a *'phrul gyi lde mig* in the left one.

[38] The descriptions of these five deities are contained in work no. 55.

bTsan rgod rDo rje 'bar ba,

also called the *Gangs ri ltar dkar btsan rgod dmag dpon che*, "the great war-lord, the wild *btsan* who is white like a snow-mountain". His attributes are a lance and a snare.[39]

Gyang rje btsan po

A wrathful three-eyed *btsan* of a blood-red colour, wearing a harness and a helmet made of gold. With his right hand he brandishes a flaming sword made of meteors, and his left hand holds a *btsan* snare and a *btsan* lance. He rides on a red horse with white heels.

gTer bsrung rGyal ba thod dkar

Though given the title "lord of the *gnyan*" (*gnyan gyi gtso*) he is represented in the shape of a *btsan* demon, as a red figure brandishing a lance and a snare and riding a wildly leaping horse. A quiver and a bow-case hang from his girdle, a shield made of rhino-leather is tied to his back, and a characteristic white turban, from which he derives his name, covers his head.[40]

Zangs ri btsan rgod mthu chen mched gnyis,

also called the *Srog zan btsan rgod zangs ri mched gnyis:* two *btsan* brothers, both being represented as red riders mounted on red horses. Each of them holds in his right hand a red lance, and with the left hand they lift towards the mouth the torn out heart of an enemy. They wear helmets and cuirasses made of copper. The train of the *btsan* brothers consists of their two chief acolytes, the *Srog gcod btsan rje srog zan* and the *dBugs len bdud kyi bshan pa*, and a horde of *btsan* riders.[41]

rDo rje brag btsan rDo rje dbang drag rtsal

His father is *Ral pa tshar dgu*, a dark-blue god holding a *khram shing* and a snake-snare; he has nine locks of iron, poisonous wind issues from his mouth, and he rides a poisonous snake. The mother of *rDo rje dbang drag rtsal* is the *srin mo So bdar ma*. She is dark-blue, holds a sword and a snare of snakes. A mist of illnesses and epidemics comes from her mouth. *So bdar ma* has a toupet of turquoise and she rides a tigress. In one of his aspects *rDo rje dbang drag rtsal* is black, has a single tooth in his mouth, and only one eye, which lies in the centre of his brow. His attributes are a chopper and a snake-snare, and he rides a red water-bull. There are several other forms in which he can appear as well: in his

39 74.
40 60, fol. 1b.
41 76, fol. 1a.

"inner aspect" he is a white figure riding on a white horse; in this case he carries a lance and a jewel. In his "outer aspect" he assumes the form of a *rākṣasa* adorned with the weapons usually carried by a warrior, and riding on a red horse. The "secret aspect" of *rDo rje dbang drag rtsal* is a red *yakṣa* dressed in a cloak and a turban of red silk. His feet are covered by high boots, he carries a hook and a jewel, and rides on a tigress. In another case he is dressed in the skin of a "wild man" (*mi rgod lpags*) and rides on a three-legged mule.

Brag btsan dmar po

Under this rather general term the Bon work listed under no. 131 of the Tibetan sources describes a *bon skyong*, apparently worshiped as the protector of a particular Bon temple. He is being represented as a red rider, mounted on a red horse carrying a golden saddle and reins of turquoise. His red hair stands on end, his red eyes have a noxious look, and his mouth emits a red wind. A big cloak of leather covers his body, and his weapons are the arrows, the bow, and the lance of the *btsan* demons (*btsan mda'*, *btsan gzhu*, *btsan mdung*). He is surrounded by the war-hordes of the *btsan* demons, and he sends the "red *btsan* birds" (*btsan bya dmar po*) against the enemies, especially the owl, which is named here "the owl, the *btsan* bird" (*btsan bya 'ug pa*); later, the owl is mentioned under the term *srin bya 'ug pa*, "the owl, the *rākṣasa* bird". Other animals which accompany the *Brag btsan dmar po* are foxes and vixens, stags, marmots, and dogs living in cemeteries (*dur khyi*).

Related to this deity, or perhaps only another form of it, is a *bon skyong* mentioned by the same source, the

Brag btsan stong sde rje.

Just like in the previous case, the appellation of this god seems to be rather a title than a personal name. Also the other three terms by which this *btsan* is addressed are mere titles: *srog gcod shan pa las kyi ging*, *shan pa'i mnga' bdag po*, and *srog bdag dmar po*. His father is the "wild *btsan*" *A bse rgyal ba*, represented as a dark-red figure with a turban of silk and surrounded by flames. He brandishes the *btsan* snare made of bowels (*btsan gyi rgyu zhags*), a quiver and a bow-case hang from his belt, and he rides a black horse with white heels. The mother of *Brag btsan stong sde rje* is the *Sa srin dmar mo*, the "red earth-*rākṣasī*". The *bon skyong* himself, who is supposed to be residing in a red castle made of leather, is pictured in the shape of a fear-inspiring man, with fluttering red hair, his body being covered by a cloak of red silk. His attribute is

a red *btsan* snare, which he is supposed to throw with the swiftness of an arrow; the text does not indicate whether he has a mount.

A description of this *Brag btsan* is given also in the Bon work listed under no. 130 of the Tibetan sources. According to this manuscript the *Brag btsan* took his origin from a copper-egg, which resulted from the union of *A bsve rgyal ba* with the *Sa srin ma mo*. Their son is a red-coloured man with flaming hair, bloodshot eyes, and teeth of conch-shell. On his head he wears a helmet, his body is covered by a voluminous cloak of red silk. A quiver and a bow-case hang from his girdle, his feet are covered by high boots of rhino-leather with iron soles. With his right hand he throws a red snare, the left hand holds an owl. His mount is a black horse with white heels, his companions are a multitude of *btsan*, red wolves, copper-coloured vixens, and owls. – The same source claims that the *Brag btsan rgyal po*, as he is called in this passage, was one of the deities whom *gShen rab mi bo* had bound by an oath and appointed to the position of a "guardian of the *svastika*-Bon" (*g.yung drung bon gyi srung ma*).

bsTan srung rgyal chen shel khrab,

a *bon skyong* named after his characteristic cuirass of crystal (*shel khrab*).[42]

Finally we may at least mention by name several local guardian-deities about whose iconography no details have yet become available: a *gzhi bdag* of Mongolia, known by his full name as the *Hor chen shog yon tan sbu yin thu'i dgon gyi gzhi bdag bTsan rgod dgra 'dul*, a *btsan* occupying the position of a *Lung dga' ldan gyi gzhi bdag* and known as the *Byin chung phyug po*, the *sKu dbang btsan pa* of Chamdo monastery, further the *bsTan srung rdzong btsan pa*, *Chos bdag byang bdud pa*, and *bTsan rgod legs pa don grub*.

72.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DREGS PA

In the previous chapters we encountered repeatedly the expression *dregs pa*. In some cases it had been used as the title of higher-ranking *dharmapālas*. More frequently, however, this term was applied as a general appellation of the multitude of gods and goddesses (*dregs pa pho mo*) occupying a lower rank; most of these were originally members of the Bon pantheon. There are several subdivisions of the *dregs pa*: some texts of the *rNying ma pa* sect speak about a group of three *dregs pa*, called the *Myur mgyogs kyi dregs pa skya gsum*, and about the "sixteen *dregs pa*", but it remains obscure who the members of these groups are. Better known is the group of five *dregs pa*, who act as treasure-guards, the *gTer srung dregs pa lnga*. This group is composed of the following five gods:

Yam shud dmar po – a *dharmapāla* whom we mentioned already above –, a fierce figure of a red colour, addressed in this case also as the *Shu ba srog zan btsan gyi rje* and *bSve yi skyes bu ra 'jigs pa*. He wears a coat of mail made of leather, and his brow is adorned with a diadem made of red silk and thunderbolts. His attributes are a lance and a snare, he rides on a red horse, and his companions are one hundred thousand *klu btsan*.

lHa yi dge bsnyen drag rtsal or *rDo rje dpal ldan;* his colour is said to be like crystal. He wears a cuirass of crystal, a diadem made of white silk and thunderbolts, and he rides on a white horse. The *lHa'i dge bsnyen* carries a white victory-banner, a book (*poti*), and he is surrounded by one hundred thousand *lha*.

sKos rje trang dkar dmag gi dpon, addressed by another term as the *bDud kyi rgyal po srog gi bdag:* a black god brandishing a "lance of the *bdud*" (*bdud kyi mdung*) and a snare. He wears a harness of iron and a diadem made of thunderbolts and black silk. He rides on a horse of the *bdud*, and one hundred thousand *bdud* are his companions.

Klu bdud nag po sog pa med, a yellow-red god holding a battle-lance and a snake-snare. He wears a harness made of turquoise and a diadem

consisting of thunderbolts and red silk. His mount is a horse of the water-spirits, and he is accompanied by one hundred thousand *klu* and *sa bdag*.

rDo rje gnod sbyin nor bdag, a light bay-coloured god holding a "banner of victory" and an ichneumon. He wears a leathern armour, his brow is adorned with a diadem made of thunderbolts and yellow silk, and his mount is a horse of the *gnyan*. Four hundred thousand *gnyan* are his companions.[1] – But also other deities bear the title *gter srung*, as e.g. the *gter srung Kong btsun de mo*, the *gter gyi srung ma sTong dpon dgra lha*, and the *Yon tan gyi sprul pa* of *bSe khrab* who, too, is called a *gter gyi srung ma*. Still more numerous are those deities who are supposed to be a *gter bdag* or "proprietor of treasures", as e.g. the *gter bdag gNyan chen thang lha*, the *gter bdag dGe ri lcam dral*, etc.

An important group of *dregs pa* frequently invoked in the course of magic ceremonies is that of the *Dregs pa sde brgyad*, which comprises the following six subdivisions:

Phyi yi sde brgyad
Nang gi sde brgyad
gSang ba'i sde brgyad
mChog gi sde brgyad
sPrul pa sde brgyad
sNang srid sde brgyad

Each of these subdivisions comprises eight members or groups of deities; the alternative ways of spelling their names are indicated in parentheses:

Phyi yi sde brgyad
lHa'i dbang po brgya byin
Klu'i dbang po
lHa min dbang po thags bzang(s)
Mi 'am ci ljon rta mgo
gNod sbyin gang ba bzang po
mKha' lding gser mig 'khyil ba
Chos skyong mahākāla
Dri za zur phud lnga pa

Nang gi sde brgyad
Yab gcig bdud rje nag po
bTsan rgyal yam shud dmar po
Yul lha chag sangs (also: *cha bsangs* or *phyag sangs*) *klu sras*
Srog bdag rgyal po snying sbyin (or *'byin*)

[1] 105.

Chos skyong (also: *tshe skyong*) *gnod sbyin dmar po*
Ma mo 'jig pa'i glog (*klog*) *'byin*
dGe bsnyen rdo rje legs pa
dKar mo'i nyi zla'i thod 'phreng

gSang ba'i sde brgyad
bDud po kha mtshun (also: *kha thun*) *yakṣa*
gShin rje gshed pa dmar po
Klu bdud nāgarāja
gNod sbyin shan pa gri thogs
Ma mo srin po'i (or *srid pa'i*) *khram 'debs*
bTsan po yam shud srog len
bDud pho re ti 'gong yag
Srod bdag dung gi thor tshugs

mChog gi sde brgyad
gZa' mchog rgyal po rāhula
sKar mchog khram shing kha 'thor
bDud mchog ma nu yakṣa (or *rākṣa*)
bTsan mchog gri btsan 'thu bo (*mthu* or *thum po*)
Ma mchog lce spyang mdung (or *dung*) *'dzin*
Klu mchog klu rgyal dung skyong
mGon mchog nag po lte dkar
rGyal mchog li byin ha ra

sPrul pa sde brgyad
dpung g.yas dgra lhar sprul pa dang
dpung g.yon ma mor sprul pa dang
mchu so bdud du sprul pa dang
mgo bo srin por sprul pa dang
mjug ma rmu ru sprul pa dang
lag g.yas gshin rjer sprul pa dang
lag g.yon klu btsan sprul pa dang
mig dang snying dang mchin pa gsum
gza' bdud nyid du sprul pa dang . . .

sNang srid sde brgyad
Sa bdag hal khyi nag po
Klu bdud sgo (also *sgom*) *ra nag po*
Sa yi lha mo bstan ma
rGyal chen phyogs skyong bzhi

mGon po bdun cu don lnga[a]
Yul di'i gzhi bdag tham cad
Pho lha, dGra lha, Srog lha
Mo lha, Mo sman[2]

Here follow some details about the various gods and goddesses belonging to the above subdivisions:

Phyi yi sde brgyad

lHa yi dbang po brgya byin: see the information given on p. 99.

Klu'i dbang po: apparently only a title; it was not possible to ascertain which deity occupies this place. In most works the *Klu'i dbang po* is omitted from the enumeration of the *Phyi yi sde brgyad.*

lHa min dbang po thags bzang: a king of the *asuras* (*lha ma yin* or *lha min*). His body is black, he has one face and four hands, in which he holds a shield, sword, jewel, and a chopper. His vehicle is a chariot.[3]

Mi 'am ci ljon rta mgo: a *kiṃnara* with a green horse-head, wearing a red garment and playing a *vīṇā.*

gNod sbyin gang ba bzang po: the well-known companion of *rNam thos sras*, a mountain-god residing on the *gNod sbyin gang bzang* mountain near Gyantse. See p. 204.

mKha' lding gser mig 'khyil ba: a *garuḍa* also called the *rDo rje mkha' lding gi rgyal po gser mig 'khyil pa* or *Khyung sngon 'byung po 'dur ed can* and described in the *Zur kha brgya rtsa* as a bird having a body of a sky-blue colour. His horns, beak, and claws consist of meteoric iron; his three eyes are fiery like the sun. He is accompanied by five *nāga*-subduing *garuḍas*, a white, red, blue, yellow, and a green one.– It is interesting that the *garuḍa* here described – as well as the forms which follow – have horns, the characteristic feature of the *Bon* (*op*) *khyung ru can*, "the horned *khyung* of the Bon". Since only a few descriptions, based upon Tibetan iconographic material, had so far been published on the various forms of the Tibetan *garuḍa* – whose way of representation originated from a fusion of the Indian *garuḍa* with the mythical *khyung* bird of the pre-Buddhist Tibetan pantheon[4] – it may be therefore useful to analyse here some additional material concerning this question.

Apart from the above form of *garuḍa* the *Zur kha brgya rtsa* mentions two other aspects of this figure, called *Khyung khra*, "the spotted *khyung*" (fol. 58a), and *Khyung nag me'i spu gri can*, "the black *khyung* with the

[2] 16, fols. 1b–7b.
[3] See also Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, p. 326.
[4] See also Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 145; Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III/1, p. 162 sq.; Rock, *Nāga Cult*, pp. 57, 66, 97.

flaming razor". In the first-mentioned form, the upper parts of the figure's thighs are yellow, the belly is white, the neck is fiery-red, the countenance is sky-blue, and the upper part of the back is green. The right claw is set in the *varada-mudrā*, the left one, which makes the *tarjanī-mudrā*, holds a rosary of jewels. The sharp beak consists of thunderbolts, the claws are of copper, and the horns are of meteoric iron; between them rests a jewel. The body of the *khyung* is adorned with snakes and jewels, his wings are black in the back, white in front, red in the middle, and the tail is blue. He is accompanied by four other *khyung:* in the East stands a dark-blue *khyung*, in the South a red one, a white one resides in the West, and the northern direction is assigned to the yellow *khyung*.

The so-called *Khyung nag me'i spu gri can* is black, his beak and claws are of iron, and between his two horns rests a jewel. His eyes are golden and fiery. The text does not mention, however, the golden razor from which this *khyung* derives his name, and mentions only that he lifts a poisonous snake to his beak.

A number of other forms of *khyung* are mentioned in the *Rin 'byung*[5] in connection with a description of the so-called *Phyag na rdo rje gtum chen*. On the crown of the head of this *Vajrapāṇi* resides the white *'Khor lo'i khyung* – addressed in a later passage as *Buddha-garuḍa* – who holds a wheel. From the neck of *Vajrapāṇi* issues the red *Padma'i khyung* (*Padma-garuḍa*), holding a lotus; the heart is the residence of the blue *rDo rje'i khyung* (*Vajra-garuḍa*), whose attribute is a thunderbolt. On the navel dwells the yellow *Rin po che'i khyung* (*Ratna-garuḍa*), holding a jewel. From the genitals comes forth the green *Las kyi khyung* (*Karma-garuḍa*) who carries a sword. – From the name, colour and attributes of these five *garuḍas* it is obvious that they stand in closest relation to the group of the *pañcatathāgatāḥ*. Then follows a number of *khyung*, each having a different place of residence in the body of *Vajrapāṇi;* their names are derived from the attributes they hold, or from the appellations of the demoniacal beings which they are supposed to subdue.

Place	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attribute*
right hip	*Me tog gi khyung*	red	flower
left hip	*bDug spos kyi khyung*	blue	censer
right shoulder	*Mar me'i khyung*	red	butter-lamp
left shoulder	*Dri chab kyi khyung*	green	vessel filled with a fragrant liquid

[5] 157, fol. 329b.

breast	*gNod sbyin 'dul ba'i khyung*	blue	sword
shoulder-blades	*gShin rje 'dul ba'i khyung*	?	club
below the navel	*Klu 'dul ba'i khyung*	red	iron chain
neck	*Dri za'i 'dul ba'i khyung*	green	thunderbolt
nose	*lCags kyu'i khyung*	white	iron hook
mouth	*Zhags pa'i khyung*	yellow	noose
genitals	*lCags sgrog gi khyung*	red	iron chain
anus	*Dril bu'i khyung*	blue	bell

They are accompanied by a multitude of unnamed *khyung*, of whom those who issue from the crown of the head are supposed to be nine-headed.

The *Vaiḍūrya dkar po* mentions in its chapter on the *sa bdag* a *khyung* called *gNam gyi bya khyung heng phan*, who is described as a golden bird with wings of turquoise.[6] According to Text no. 76 the *khyung* are divided into male and female *khyung* (*khyung pho, khyung mo*).

The enumeration of the *Phyi yi sde brgyad* continues then with the *Chos skyong mahākāla*, a *dharmapāla* whom we described in chapter III. Also the *Dri za zur phud lnga pa*, a form of *gNyan chen thang lha*, was already discussed above.

Nang gi sde brgyad

Yab gcig bdud rje nag po: a god of the *rNying ma pa* pantheon, dressed in black and riding a black horse. His left hand is set in the *tarjanī-mudrā* and holds a snare, the right hand brandishes a sword. The deity's long black hair hangs loosely down and it is not covered by any headdress.

bTsan rgyal yam shud dmar po: see p. 168 sq.

Yul lha chag sangs klu sras: no information was available on the iconography of this god.

Srog bdag rgyal po snying sbyin: we mentioned already on p. 121, that in the opinion of a part of the Tibetan clergy this deity is an "emanation" of *Pe har*.

Chos skyong gnod sbyin dmar po: another name for the *dharmapāla Tsi'u dmar po*.

Ma mo 'jig pa'i glog 'byin: a *ma mo* depicted as a black woman with long protruding teeth; her body is only partly covered by a long, loosely hanging cloak.

dGe bsnyen rdo rje legs pa: see chapter X.

dKar mo'i nyi zla'i thod 'phreng: a deity probably related to the *dKar*

[6] 119, fol. 467b.

mo nyi zla lcam dral described on p. 87. The hair of this divinity is done in the fashion of the Indian *yogīs*, with the sun and moon fastened at the sides of the central hair-tuft. In another form, the deity has the sun resting on her open right hand, while on the palm of the left hand lies the moon. *dKar mo'i nyi zla'i thod 'phreng* is represented either as having a white face and body, or with a white body and a red face.

gSang ba'i sde brgyad

bDud po kha mthun yakṣa: no information was available on this figure.

gShin rje gshed pa dmar po: a red form of *Yamāntaka* represented as the figure of a man dancing on a prostrate corpse; his right hand, which is stretched sideways, holds a chopper, and the left one carries a *kapāla*.

Klu bdud nāgarāja: a rather general term; it was not possible to ascertain which deity is exactly meant.

gNod sbyin shan pa gri thogs: a *yakṣa*, represented on paintings with either a red or black body, and brandishing a sword.

Ma mo srin po'i khram 'debs: a red goddess, wearing an open c'oak. One hand brandishes a *khram shing*, the other holds a sack full of diseases.

bTsan po yam shud srog len: no information was available about this god.

bDud pho re ti 'gong yag: see p. 274.

Srog bdag dung gi thor tshugs: see p. 147.

mChog gi sde brgyad

gZa' mchog rgyal po rāhula: we mentioned already several times before the chief of all planetary gods (*gza'*) *Rāhu* or *Rāhula*, also called the *Chos skyong gza' bdud chen po rāhula*, *gZa' rgod dug gi spu gri*, *Drang srong gza' bdud sgra can 'dzin*, *Khyab 'jug sgra gcan 'dzin*, *Khyab 'jug gnam mtsho'i bdag po*, *Srin po'i rgyal po gza' bdud rāhula*, *Du ba 'jug ring*, and *Rogs ste nag po*. *Rāhu* is an Indian deity which had been accepted in the Tibetan pantheon. He is said to rule the great and the minor planetary gods, the *gza' chen* and *gza' phran*. *Rāhu* occupies, as had been pointed out above, an important place especially in the pantheon of the *rNying ma pa* sect. The form in which *Rāhu* is generally represented has already been described when discussing the retinue of *dPal ldan dmag zor rematī*. Here we may add the statements of several other sources. Text no. 78 gives the following description of *Rāhu:* the *Drang srong chen po gza' bdud rāhula* appears in a wrathful aspect. He has nine heads, a raven's head on top, and his body is covered by a thousand eyes. He

bares his teeth, and a mist of illnesses issues from his mouth. The right hand holds a *makara*-banner, and the left one clutches a bow and an arrow, the latter being shot into the heart of those who break their religious vows. The lower part of his body is the coiled tail of a snake. *Rāhu* dispatches the *klu bdud* – beings which originated out of the union of a *klu* with a *bdud* – as his messengers.

A similar description of *Rāhu* is given in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*,[7] where he is assigned a place in a group of five planetary deities known as the *Khol sa bdag lnga*, "the five *sa bdag* serfs". He is associated in this case with the sky, and accordingly he is addressed as *gNam gyi gza' chen lha rgod*, "the wild god, the great planetary deity of the sky", in contradistinction to another form, which is assigned the space lying between the earth and the sky and who bears the name *Bar gyi khyab 'jug rāhu'i rtsis*. The earth is the residence of *Rāhu*'s *śakti*, the goddes *Sa yi 'phung bye nag mo*,[8] who is depicted as an ugly black woman brandishing a sickle with her right hand and holding a sack full of diseases in the left one. To the group of the *Khol sa bdag lnga* belong further the *Klu gza' nag mo* and the *gCer bu lag rdum* of a dark-blue colour; the latter has the body of a man, but the head of a snake. He rides on a dragon and his attribute is a snake-snare.

The central, main face of *Rāhu* is said to be of the *gza' bdud* type, the other eight faces are those of the *lha srin sde brgyad*. With his raven-head *Rāhu* guards the religious teachings, and his thousand eyes watch the happenings in the three worlds. A popular tradition claims that *Rāhu*'s raven-head is extremely poisonous and that a person, on whom the shadow of this head falls, will suffer a fit of apoplexy. According to another source the three lowest heads of *Rāhu* have the dark-green faces of the *gshin rje*: their nine very angry looking eyes are cast downward. The middle row of three heads has the blue-red faces of the *bdud*, and their nine blood-shot eyes look into the space lying between the earth and the sky. The three uppermost heads have the faces of the *lha* type; one of them is green, the other red, and the third white. Their nine peaceful-looking eyes are turned skyward. The latter source names the following deities as the companions of *Rāhu*: the place on the right side is occupied by the *Yab gcig yakṣa dzva la*. He is dark-red, has nine heads and two hands and two feet. His attributes are a staff and the *khrag*

[7] 119, fol. 468b.

[8] The *Gazeteer of Sikkim* (p. 13) gives the name of *Rāhu*'s *śakti* as *gZa' dmar rgyan* (?). According to this source the Sikkimese princess *dPal ldan dbang mo*, who was responsible for the murder of her half-brother *Phyag rdor rnam rgyal* (1686–1717), the third king of Sikkim, is supposed to have been an incarnation of this goddess.

mtsho. On the left side resides the black *Yum gcig klu mo klog khyug ma;* she has nine frog-heads, her eyes are gory, and the lower part of her body is the coiled tail of a snake. Her two hands hold a *klu shing* and a *khrag mtsho*.[9]

In another case[10] the retinue of *Rāhu* comprises thirteen deities; we encounter here once more the two divinities which we just named, though this time under somewhat different appellations. The distribution of these thirteen deities is as follows: on the right side sits on a throne made of bones the *Yab rdo rje srin po*, a dark-blue figure with nine heads, holding a staff and a *khrag mtsho*. On the left side dwells in the middle of a blood-lake the dark-red, nine-headed *Yum rdo rje glog 'gyu (ma)*, who holds a snake-snare and a *khrag mtsho*. The other eleven figures occupy the main and intermediary quarters of the world; several of them, as is obvious from their names, are merely different forms of *Rāhu:*

West	*lJang sden chen po;* dark-green, holds a snare and a chain.
Southeast	the pale-yellow *Drang srong* who carries a snake-snare and a trident.
North	*bDud po rog ti* (compare with *Rāhu*'s alternative name *Rogs ste nag po*, which we mentioned above): dark-blue, holds a snake-snare and a snare of the *bdud*.
Southwest	*Bikṣṭipatra*, red, lifts a snake and a razor.
East	*Byi nu rāja*, smoke-coloured, holds two banners, one with the head of a *makara* and the other with a tiger-head on top.
Northwest	*Du ba mjug ring*, dark-blue, carries a razor and a skull-cup.
South	*Khyab mjug chen po*, dark-yellow, holds a snake-snare and a *makara*-banner.
Northeast	*sGra gcan 'dzin*, smoke-coloured, holds a *makara*-banner and a *khram shing*.

Around these eight deities stand four other figures:

East	*sTag srin zor ba'i gdong can*, yellow-white, armed with a hook and a *khram shing*.
South	*Bam srin dred kyi gdong can*, dark-yellow, holds a staff with a skull on top and a snake-snare.
West	*Kong srin ba glang gi gdong can*, carries a hatchet and a snare.
North	*'Brog srin chu srin gyi gdong can*, dark-green, lifts the mount *Sumeru*.

A peculiar form of *Rāhu* is mentioned on fol. 37a of Text no. 6. According

[9] 86, fol. 4a.
[10] 66, fol. 6b.

to this source he has a human body and his dress is a black cloud. His hands hold a magic notched stick and a hatchet, his mount is a blue dragon. An aspect or perhaps an "emanation" of *Rāhu* might also be the *gZa' bdud gha ra nag po*, who belongs to the group of the eighteen *sngags srung*. *Rāhu*, apart from being the leader of the *gza'*, is also supposed to be the typical representative of a class of deities bearing the name – or perhaps only the title – *drang srong*. A member of this class is also the yellow-red goddess *Drang srong gi bu mo 'bum gyi gtso mo*, who lifts a lamp and rides on a man.

A goddess who should be mentioned in this context is the *rJe btsun ma Rig ma chen mo*, also called the *gZa' thams cad kyi yum*. Her body is white "like the moon in autumn", and she has three faces, each with three eyes, and six arms. The central face is white, the right one blue, and the left countenance is red. The main pair of hands makes the *mudrā* of preaching, the other hands hold a blue lotus, a thunderbolt, a bow, and an arrow. Countless rays emanate from her body, which is adorned with silks and jewels. In the retinue of this goddess appear nine divinities, the first seven being personifications of the days of the week, beginning with Sunday and ending with Saturday; they are distributed around the *gZa' thams cad kyi yum* in the following manner:

In front	the yellow-red *Nyi ma* (Sunday), who wears the dress of a penitent; his attribute is a red lotus.
East	the white *Zla ba* (Monday), who has the appearance of a Brahmin. His hair is tied together, the right hand holds a rosary, and the left one an anointing vessel.
South	the red *Mig dmar* (Tuesday). He appears in the shape of a *bhikṣu*. The objects he holds are the same as those mentioned in the previous case.
West	the yellow *lHag pa* (Wednesday). His attributes are again a rosary and an anointing-vessel.
North	the yellow *Phur bu* (Thursday) appears in the shape of a *bhikṣu*. The objects he holds are again the same as before.
Southeast	the white *Pa sangs* (Friday), holding the same attributes.
Southwest	the green *sPen pa* (Saturday). His hair is of a whitish-yellow colour, the right hand holds a banner, the left one rests in the posture of blessing.
Northwest	the dark-red *sGra gcan*. Contrary to the common form of *Rāhu* he has only two eyes. He is wrathful, and his hands reach for the sun and the moon which he tries to devour.

Northeast the white *mJug ring* (*Ketu*), who is supposed to belong to the class of the *klu*. The palms of the hands are pressed together.[11]

Also a text previously discussed[12] describes seven deities which are supposed to rule the various days of the week. They are, however, different from the divinities mentioned above.

Name	*Day*	*Colour*	*Aspect*
Drang srong 'od stong ldan	Sunday	pink	peaceful
Drang srong drag po gtsug rgyan	Monday	white	peaceful
Drang srong bkra shis	Tuesday	brown-red	wrathful
Drang srong zla ba	Wednesday	blue	peaceful
Drang srong blo ldan	Thursday	yellow	peaceful
Drang srong dkar po	Friday	white	peaceful
Drang srong dal 'gro	Saturday	yellow	wrathful

Also the twelve years of the animal-cycle are, too, being personified. Each of these deities has the body of a man, but the head of one of the twelve animals, after which the year of the cycle is named. Thus the god of the rat-year has the head of a rat and he brandishes a "water-sack" (*chu yi rkyal pa*), the god of the ox-year has the head of an ox and holds a golden wheel, the tiger-headed god holds a bushel of leaves, the emblem of the hare-headed god is fruit, the dragon-headed god of the dragon-year carries a flaming jewel, a flame springs from the hand of the snake-headed god who personifies the snake-year, etc.

The deity mentioned after *Rāhu* in the enumeration of the *mChog gi sde brgyad* is the

sKar mchog khram shing kha 'thor: a god of the stars, whose chief attribute is a magic notched stick.

bDud mchog ma nu yakṣa: no information was available on this figure..

bTsan mchog gri btsan 'thu bo: a *btsan* whose main attribute is a sword.

Ma mchog lce spyang mdung 'dzin: a *ma mo* who is armed with a lance which carries the head of a wolf on top.

Klu mchog klu rgyal dung skyong: represented as a divinity holding a vessel full of jewels in the right hand and a conch-shell in the left one.

[11] 158, fol. 34b; for descriptions of this goddess, but with a different train, see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, pp. 190, 234, and 267.

[12] This is the *'Bras bu'i rtsis kyi legs bshad dvangs shel dkyil 'khor bzhugs so*, a beautifully illuminated old astrological manuscript from the Drepung monastery, now included in the private library of *Rin po che Dar mdo sprul sku*. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *mGon po phyag drug pa*, p. 144 sq.

mGon mchog nag po lte dkar: it was not possible to ascertain which particular form of *mGon po* is meant.

rGyal mchog li byin ha ra: a *dharmapāla* whom we described already in the chapter on *Tshangs pa dkar po.*

sPrul pa sde brgyad

The interpretation of the abbreviated terms given under this heading makes some difficulties; a verbatim translation would read: "the right shoulder becomes the *dgra lha* emanation and the left shoulder the *ma mo* emanation and the lips and teeth the *bdud* emanation, etc." Accordingly, we receive the following arrangement:

right shoulder	– *dgra lha* emanation
left shoulder	– *ma mo* emanation
lips and teeth	– *bdud* emanation
head	– *rākṣasa* emanation
back	– *rmu* (*dmu*) emanation
right hand	– *gshin rje* emanation
left hand	– *klu btsan* emanation
eyes, heart and liver	– *gza' bdud* emanation

This list reminds somewhat of the distribution of the so-called *'Go ba'i lha lnga*, the five guardian-deities of each person, who have their seat within five parts or areas of the human body, from where they are supposed to exercise their protective influence. Their usual way of distribution has been listed by *Klong rdol bla ma:*[13]

crown of the head	– *Yul lha*
right shoulder	– *dGra lha*
right armpit	– *Pho lha*
left armpit	– *Mo lha*
heart	– *Srog lha*

sNang srid sde brgyad

Sa bdag hal khyi nag po: one of the best-known *sa bdag*, whom the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*[14] calls by his full name the *Hal khyi nag po rgyal po'i khyi.* He is represented as a figure with a black human trunk which bears the head of a dog, wings of iron, the tail of a snake, and instead of hands, bird's claws, which clutch a lance with a banner.

Klu bdud sgo ra nag po: no information was available on this god.

Sa yi lha mo bstan ma (or *brtan ma*): she belongs to the class of the

13 70, fol. 14b.
14 119, fol. 447a.

sa bdag. According to the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*[15] she is yellow in colour and holds a vessel in front of her heart.

The great guardian-kings of the four world quarters.[16]

The seventy five mGon po: among Tibetan priests one also encounters the opinion, that by this expression not always the various forms of *Mahākāla* are meant, but that this term is a collective appellation of the following six groups of supernatural beings, whose total number, too, makes seventy-five:

lHa chen brgyad	– "the eight great gods"; meant are eight chief divinities of the Hindu mythology.
Klu chen brgyad	– "the eight great *nāgas*", who are associated with the legendary eight great cemeteries.
gZa' chen brgyad	– "the eight great planetary gods".
rGyu skar nyi shu rtsa brgyad	– "the twenty-eight lunar mansions".
Phyogs skyong bcu	– "the ten *lokapālas*", who guard the four cardinal points, the four intermediary spaces, and the zenith and nadir.
rJe yi mgur lha bcu gsum	– a group of ancient deities which we mentioned in the chapter on the mountain-gods.

All the gzhi bdag of this country: when discussing the mountain-deities we mentioned already a number of deities belonging to this class. An interesting classification of the *gzhi bdag*, together with several other groups of deities, is given on fol. 29a of Text no. 77; the passage reads: "The *sa bdag* who dwell in the earth, the *klu* who dwell in the water, the *btsan* who reside in the rocks, the *gnyan* who stay in the intermediary space, the *gzhi bdag* who live on passes, the *gzhi bdag* who stay on narrow ledges, the *gzhi bdag* who live on boats and bridges, the *gzhi bdag* who dwell on roads." The latter *gzhi bdag* are related to the *lam lha*, the "road gods", whom we shall describe later.

A particular group of *gzhi bdag* are the *gzhi bdag* of the four great woods, the *Shing chen bzhi'i gzhi bdag:*

sKyi shod rdzong btsan zangs khrab can, represented as a red god wearing a harness of copper, a turban of silk, and mounted on a red horse. His hands hold a red lance and the kind of snare called *bse yi zhags pa*.

[15] 119, fol. 457a.

[16] Regarding the position and iconography of these well-known figures see Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, pp. 38–52.

Kre shod zhe da mched brgyad: a brotherhood of eight gods represented as armoured riders brandishing lances.

sMad shod rdo rje mu nam, a white man wearing a helmet and a harness of crystal. His mount is a white horse, and he holds a lance with a banner and a jewel.

rTa shod dpang mto rgyal ri, a yellow figure dressed in a cloak of silk and wearing a white hat. This *gzhi bdag* holds a gem and he rides on a blue horse.[17]

After the *gzhi bdag* follow the

Pho lha, the *dGra lha* and the *Srog lha,* three deities belonging to the *'Go ba'i lha lnga* group. We encountered already above several deities who bore the title *pho lha,* thus the *pho lha gNam the dkar po,* the *pho lha Gyer rgod lha btsan,* and the *pho lha chen po* (*ma sangs*) *Khyung 'dus.* A *pho lha* of the Bon is the *lHa'u g.yang dkar.* The *dGra lha* will be discussed later. As regards the *Srog lha,* Tibetan sources speak sometimes about one *Srog lha,* a single characteristic deity, while in other instances they mention a multitude of *srog lha* who are not closely defined, e.g. "all the *srog lha* who are in the prime of life" (*srog lha dar ma thams cad*). Here we may add the name *sKu lha* or *Lus lha,* the special guardian of the human body, who is related to the trinity of gods just mentioned. Here again we have to differentiate between one characteristic *sKu lha* and a whole class of deities bearing this name. A *sku lha* of the Bon, mentioned in some of the *lha bsangs* texts, is the *gNyan po sku lha gyer 'dzom.*

The members of the *sNang srid sde brgyad* mentioned in the last place are the

Mo lha and the *mo sman;* the *Mo lha* will be described later. The term *mo sman* is apparently only a poetical reversion of the name *sman mo.* This class of goddesses we already discussed above.

The rulers of the *dregs pa* are classified into groups comprising eighteen, thirty, and seventy-two members: *Dregs pa'i sde dpon bco brgyad, Dregs pa'i sde dpon sum bcu,* and *Dregs pa'i gtso bo bdun cu rtsa gnyis.* The names of the deities belonging to the last-named groups still remain unknown, and there is also some uncertainty regarding the names of the *Dregs pa'i sde dpon bco brgyad.* More information, however, is available about the group of the thirty *dregs pa'i sde dpon* which – according to the *Rin chen gter mdzod*[18] – comprises the following deities:

17 134, fol. 17b.
18 134, fols. 9b–10a.

dBang phyug mahādeva
bTsun mo umā devī
gShin rje yama rāja
Yum mchog sgrol byed nag mo
bDud mo ri ṭi nag mo
Srin po glog gi phreng ba
Srin mo sbal mgo khrag mig
gNod sbyin yakṣa me dbal
gNod sbyin mo sngon mo
bDud po skos rje brang dkar
sKyes bu gnam thel dkar po
Ma mo sngags kyi srung ma
Brag btsan srog zan dmar po
Mu stegs kāla nag po
lHa rabs sham po
sPyi bdud rgyal po gu ru ma
Ma mo srid pa'i rgyal mo
lHa mo mgyogs byed nag mo
Rudra rdo rje bdud 'dul
'Gong po yam shud dmar po
bGegs rgyal bina yaka
dMu bdud bkrag med nag po
Rāhula nag po
gNam sman thog gi bu yug
Klu bdud nag po mgo dgu
Klu mo yakṣa nag po
Srog bdag tshangs pa dkar po
rGyal po khyung chen klu 'brug
dGra lha rdor legs dkar po
mGon po mahākāla

Upon closer examination we notice that this list comprises the typical representatives of thirty different classes of supernatural beings. A similar enumeration is contained in the *rNying ma pa* work listed under no. 78.[19] According to this source, the following deities have to be regarded as the leaders of each particular class:

Chief of all the *lha* is *Mahādeva*,
Mistress of the *lha mo* is *Umā Devī*,
Master of the *gshin rje* is *Yama Rāja*,
Mistress of the *gshin rje mo* is the goddess *Srog bdag mo*,
Mistress of the *ma mo* is the *Srid pa'i rgyal mo* (*dPal ldan lha mo*),
Mistress of the *sngags srung* is the goddess *Ekajāti*,
Chief of the *bdud* is the *rKong rje brang dkar*,
Mistress of the *bdud mo* is the goddess *Nag mo khrag 'jag*,
Master of the *rgyal po* demons is the *Mahārāja*,
Chief of the *ging* is the *Srog bdag tshangs pa*,
Chief of the *dgra lha* is *sKyu brla gsang ba* (or *sKu bla gsang ba*),
Head of the *gza'* is the *gZa' bdud rāhula*,
Master of the *srin po* is *Rākṣa glog 'phreng*,
Mistress of the *srin mo* is the goddess *sBal mgo khrag mig*,
Leader of the *gnod sbyin* is the *Yakṣa me dbal* (or *dpal*),
Mistress of the *gnod sbyin mo* is the *Ma mo nag mo* (or *Mon mo nag*),
Head of the *mgon po* is *Mahākāla*,
Chief of the *rudras* is *rDo rje bdud 'dul*,

19 Fols. 8b–9b.

Master of the *dmu bdud* is *'Nag po bkhrag med,*
Leader of the *mu stegs pa* is *Gu lang rākṣa,*
Chief of the *yul lha* is *lHa rabs shams po,*
Mistress of the *gnam sman* is the goddess *Thog gi bu yug,*
Chief of the *ma sangs* is *sPyi bdud dgu rum rtse,*
Leader of the *btsan* is *Srog zan dmar po,*
Chief of the *the'u rang* is the (*sKyes bu*) *gNam the'u dkar po,*
Head of the *'gong po* is *Yam shud dmar po,*
Master of the *bgegs* is *Byi na ya ga,*
Mistress of the *ḍākinīs* is *Nag mo mgyogs byed,*
Chief of the *klu bdud* is *Nag po mgo dgu,*
Mistress of all *klu mo* is *Yakṣa nag mo.*

When comparing these two lists we observe, that in most cases the appellations of the figures named as the typical representatives of each particular class are the same, apart from slight differences in spelling. In several cases, however, either the names deviate considerably, or two completely different representatives of one and the same class of deities have been given, as the following scheme shows:

Class of deities	*List I*	*List II*
gshin rje mo	*Yum mchog sgrol byed nag mo*	*Srog bdag mo*
sngags srung	*Ma mo sngags kyi srung ma*	*Ekajāti*
bdud mo	*bDud mo ri ti nag mo*	*Nag mo khrag 'jag*
rgyal po	*Khyung chen klu 'brug*	*Mahārāja*
dgra lha	*rDor legs dkar po*	*sKyu brla gsang ba*
mu stegs pa	*Kāla nag po*	*Gu lang rākṣa*
ma sangs	*sPyid bdud rgyal po gu ru ma*	*sPyi bdud dgu rum rtse*

We shall give now some details about the various classes of gods and goddesses mentioned in the above lists.

1.

The *lha*, a class of ancient Tibetan deities, lost their original identity after having been set equal to the *devas* of the Indian mythology.[20] Their leader *Mahādeva* appears in several forms: either as a god of a white colour, naked, a garland of lotus-flowers hanging around his neck; his right hand holds the hook which brings into his power the three worlds, the left hand throws a snare.[21] Or, in another aspect, bearing the name

[20] Compare Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 720.
[21] 6, fol. 41a, b. He is described in nearly the same way in work no. 78 except that in the latter case his body is red in colour.

lHa chen nam dbang phyug mahādeva, he is described as a white figure, holding a white *ba dan* and a sword of crystal. He is dressed in a cloak of white silk and rides on a white *gnam ru*.[22] In his dark-blue form, *lHa chen mahādeva* holds a chopper in his right hand, and a heart in the left one. He is dressed in a cloak of black silk, and rides on a lion.[23] A typical Tibetan figure is the leader of the *lha* invoked in Text no. 6, where his title and position are circumscribed with the words "the *lha yi dregs pa*, the lord of the *lha*, is the master of the *lha* of this world" (*lha yi dregs pa lha yi rje/ srid pa lha yi gtso bo yin*). His residence is a castle with nine turrets. The *lHa yi gtso bo* is white, his attributes are a sword and a lance bearing a flag, and his mount is the white yak of the *lha* (*lha g.yag dkar po*). Originally the *lha* seem to have been regarded as deities apt to cause harm. They were believed to send madness: *lha nad myos pa*.

The mistress of the *lha mo*, a group in whose case it is difficult to tell whether they were originally Tibetan deities, is a well-known figure of the Hindu pantheon: the goddess *Umā*, who occupies, however, only an inferior position in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibetan sources usually call her the *bTsun mo umā devī* and describe her as a dark-blue figure who holds a *kha tram* and a skull-cup; she is dressed in a garment of black silk and rides on an elephant.[24]

Also the *gshin rje*, the male demons of death, and the *gshin rje mo*, the death-bringing demonesses, are apparently deities of pre-Buddhist origin. But in their case, too, an association with Indian ideas has taken place: *Yama*, the ruler of the hells, is now named as the ruler of all *gshin rje*. A member of the *gshin rje* class is named among the eighteen *sngags srung*, the *gshin rje Tshe bdag nag po*. As to the "mistress of the *gshin rje mo*" the term *Srog bdag mo* appears to be rather a title than a personal name. Whether she is identical with the above-named *Yum mchog sgrol byed nag mo* remains obscure.

A class of ancient Tibetan goddesses are the *ma mo*, who show a close similarity to the *mātṛka* of India. *dPal ldan lha mo*, the most prominent protectress of religion, is their mistress. We mentioned already above several other important members of this class, thus the twelve great *ma mo* who accompany the *Chos rgyal phyi sgrub*, further the *Ma mo gnod sbyin mdzes ldan ma*, *Ma mo sgam pa ma*, *Ma mo 'jig pa'i glog 'byin*,

22 6, fol. 37a.
23 6, fol. 34a.
24 6, fol. 34a.

etc. Most of the *ma mo* are depicted as ugly and ferocious female figures of a black colour, half-naked, with emaciated breasts and clotted hair. Their typical weapons are the sack full of diseases (*nad kyi rkyal pa*), the magic notched stick (*khram shing*), a black snare (*zhags pa nag po*), and a magic ball of thread (*gru gu*). They are being held responsible for an illness called *dal yams*. According to the *Padma thang yig*,[25] *Padmasambhava* subdued all *ma mo* on a mountain called *Chu bo ri*. Apart from the group of the twelve *ma mo* belonging to the retinue of *Yama*, there exists another group of twelve *ma mo* known as the *mThu chen ma mo* (*bcu gnyis*). Their number includes the so-called *Rematī mched gsum*, whom we discussed before; in the present case, they carry different attributes and they are joined by another form of *dPal ldan lha mo*, the goddess *sGrol byed dpal ldan remadzi*. They show a certain similarity to the *Dus bzhi lha mo*, since they have the same colour and ride the same animals like the goddesses of the four seasons. The quarters of the world, in which the abodes of the *mThu chen ma mo* are supposed to lie, and the names, attributes, etc. of these goddesses are described as follows: in the East lives a black *ma mo* having the face of a wolf. She brandishes a stick with a skull on top and a *phur bu*. Her mount is a wolf with nine heads. The southern quarter is ccoupied by a yellow *ma mo*, which has the head of a wild dog. Her attributes are a hook and a golden *phur bu*, and her mount is a wild dog possessing eight tongues. The red, fox-faced *ma mo*, who occupies the western quarter, rides on a three-legged vixen of copper, and her hands brandish a thunderbolt and a *phur bu* of copper. In the North lives the green, cuckoo-faced *ma mo*, whose attributes are the corpse of a child and a *phur bu* of turquoise.

In the upper eastern direction dwells the *dPal ldan rematī* of a dark-blue colour, who holds a mirror and a snake in her two right hands, and a trident as well as a magic dagger made of meteoric iron in the two left hands. Her mount is a three-legged mule. The dark-yellow *dPal ldan lha mo remadza*, who occupies the upper southern quarter, rides on a hind. She is dressed in a cloak of peacock-feathers, and her attributes are a golden *zor* and a chest of turquoise. The upper western quarter is the residence of the *bDud kun gtso remadzu*. She is dark-red, her mount is a black water-buffalo, and her hands brandish a hook and a *kapāla*. In the upper northern direction lies the abode of the *sGrol byed dpal ldan remadzi*. Her mount is a camel, and her attributes are a magic notched stick and a ball of thread. The lower part of the eastern quarter is occupied by the dark-blue *sa bdag chen mo rDo rje ya byin*. Her weapons

[25] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247.

are a hook and a magic dagger, and she rides on a turquoise-dragon. In the lower southern quarter dwells the yellow *rDo rje de byin chen mo*. She holds a golden snare and a porcupine. Her mount is a fox-coloured *makara*. The lower part of the West is the abode of the *rDo rje bse byin chen mo*, who is dark-red and brandishes an iron chain and a magic dagger. Her mount is a leopard. Lastly, in the lower northern quarter is supposed to reside the dark-green *rDo rje phyag byin chen mo*. She holds a bell as well as a *phur bu*, and her mount is a "blue water-horse" (*chu rta sngon po*).[26]

rNying ma pa works speak about a sisterhood of nine *ma mo* (*Ma mo mched dgu*). Other sources mention a group of eight animal-headed *ma mo*, apparently called the *lCe spyang ma brgyad;* each member of this group beats a particular kind of drum.

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attribute*
East	*Ma mo seng ge yi mgo can*	white	drum of crystal
South	*Ma mo stag gi mgo can*	yellow	golden drum
West	*Ma mo gzig gi mgo can*	red	drum of coral
North	*Ma mo dom gyi mgo can*	black	iron drum
Southeast	*Ma mo spyang mo'i mgo can*	blue	turquoise-drum
Southwest	*Ma mo kang ka'i mgo can*	brown-red	leather-drum
Northwest	*Ma mo dur bya'i mgo can*	blood-red	*gsang ba'i rnga*
Northeast	*Ma mo dred kyi mgo can*	red	copper-drum[27]

The *rNying ma pa* also worship a group of seven *ma mo*, known as the *Nam mkha' bka' srung dbang gi ma mo bdun*. They are red in colour, and each of them holds a lotus and a vessel. Works of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect, too, mention a group of seven *ma mo* comprising the following members: *Ye shes kyi ma mo*, *Las kyi ma mo*, *Dam tshig gi ma mo*, *sPrul pa'i ma mo*, *Sha za'i ma mo*, *'Jig rten gyi ma mo*, and the *Bang rim gsum gyi ma mo*. Another group of *ma mo*, depicted primarily on religious paintings of the *rNying ma pa* sect, are the three *ma mo* who live in cemeteries, the *Dur khrod ma mo gsum*. They are the dark-blue *Ro kha ma*, the white *Nam gru ma* who holds a white vessel full of *amṛta*, and the dark-red *Tsa mun tri*, whose attributes are a chopper and a heart. All three are represented as ferocious beings with one head and two hands, dressed in human skins. The title *dam can* which is usually prefixed to their name indicates, that they are supposed to be aboriginal deities who

26 108, subchapter b, fol. 5a.
27 6, fol. 33a.

were later, after they had been bound by an oath, accepted into the Buddhist pantheon.[28]

A group of three *ma mo* appears further in the retinue of the goddess *rDo rje phag mo* (Skt. *Vajravārāhī*). The *rNying ma pa* text listed under no. 57 of the Tibetan sources speaks of them as the *bka' nyan mthu bo che* of *rDo rje phag mo*, but does not give their individual names. According to the text quoted here their abode is a castle consisting of the piled-up heads of men, horses, and dogs. The foremost of these goddesses has the appearance of a black woman. With one hand she brandishes a sword, the other hand holds a skull-cup containing hearts. She rides on a nine-headed iron wolf. On the right side stands her companion, a woman of red colour, who casts the snare of the *btsan* demons; she rides on a red tiger possessing nine heads. On the left appears a blue woman who throws the noose of the *bdud*. She rides on a nine-headed wild dog of copper. All three are naked, and they are said to cover with their locks of hair a thousand realms. Each has three eyes, the mouth gapes open, the teeth of copper are bared, and the red tongue moves with the speed of lightning. Fire and black wind sweep around them. – These three *ma mo* are requested to counteract the diseases from which men and animals suffer. On the other hand, however, they are asked to let fall the "blue-red rain of diseases" and to cast the seeds of illnesses and epidemics upon the hateful enemies of the person who appeals to them.[29]

Another group, consisting of three *ma mo* and one god, comprises the following members: the East is occupied by the *ma mo bGegs 'dul ma*, who is said to rule the *gandharvas*. She holds a thunderbolt made of conch-shells. In the South dwells the *dGra bgegs 'dul mdzad ma*, whose weapon is a *thun zor*. The West is the residence of a god, the *dGra bgegs 'dul mdzad pa*. His red eyes stare full of hatred, and he carries a golden bow and arrow. In the North appears, riding on a tiger, the *ma mo 'Phrin las bdag mo ma rung pa*.

To the class of the *ma mo* apparently belong also the following seven dark-red goddesses, who all carry thunderbolts and magic daggers: *rDo rje gar gyi dbang phyug ma*, *rDo rje gsal ba srog byin ma*, *rDo rje kun bzang mthu mo che*, *rDo rje ye shes chen mo ma*, *rDo rje gsung chen 'od 'bar ma*, *rDo rje gsung dbyangs sgrog pa mo*, and *rDo rje sgrol ma za byed ma*. They are accompanied by four goddesses, who are distributed in the main world-quarters in the following order: the eastern direction is occupied by the *rDo rje spyan gcig ma*, in the South dwells the *rDo rje ral*

[28] 78.
[29] 57, fols. 74b–75a.

gcig ma, in the West the *rDo rje dbang sdud ma*, and in the North the *rDo rje las mkhan mo*.[30]

A *ma mo* whose position and iconography is not yet known is the *ma mo chen mo Thod 'phreng rtsal.* A goddess of the *ma mo* type is also the *Za byed spyang rgyal nag mo*, whom I once found included among the deities who are supposed to occupy the *Nub bde ba can* (Skt. *Sukhāvatī*), the "Western Paradise" of *Amitābha*. On this painting *Za byed spyang rgyal nag mo* was represented as a one-eyed blue figure with emaciated breasts, lifting a heart with her right hand, and the fingers of her left hand making the *tarjanī-mudrā*. At her side ran a nine-headed wolf. Finally, the *Byang phyug ma mo* should be named - who is mentioned on fol. 188b of the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* - and the *ma mo rDo rje dge bsnyen ma, rDo rje legs ldan ma, rDo rje ma bdun ma*, and *rDo rje dga' rab mo*, who are invoked when consecrating the *ma mo mdos*, the special thread-cross offered to the *ma mo*. When discussing this rite and similar ones, we shall describe also several other members of the *ma mo* class.

The class of the *sngags srung* or "guardians of *mantras*", mentioned in the list of deities after the *ma mo*, is an artificial creation of the Buddhists, and the alleged mistress of the *sngags srung*, the goddess *Ekajāti*, has already been described on p. 33. Related to the *sngags srung*, or perhaps even identical with them, are the *sNgags bdag bco brgyad*, "the eighteen masters of *mantras*", also called the *sNgags bdag dregs chen bco brgyad*. We find included in their number several deities whom we encountered before:

gShin rje tshe bdag nag po
gSod byed nag mo ral can
bDud mo me yi kha rlangs
bDud mo nag mo khrag 'thung
Srin po gcod byed 'bar ba
Srin mo za byed chen po
gNod sbyin gang ba bzang po
gNod sbyin srin mo'i gdong pa
Mahādeva dkar po
Rudra thar pa nag po
rMu yi rum rje btsan po
Mu stegs gu lang nag po
gZa' bdud gha ra nag po
Klu rgyal sog ma med
Chos rgyal li byin ha ra legs
'Gong po khu le lag dgu
Nor bdag stag sgro 'dzin pa
bTsan rgyal yam shud dmar po[31]

The *bdud* are another class of pre-Buddhist deities who occupy today an important place in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism. In the foregoing chapters we met already with several representatives of the *bdud* class.

[30] 120, fol. 3a.
[31] 134, fol. 10a.

There are said to be three hundred sixty *bdud*, whose residence is the castle of the *bdud* with nine pinnacles (*bdud mkhar rtse dgu*). Most of the *bdud* are represented as wrathful gods of a black colour. Their characteristic weapons are the "black snare of the *bdud*" (*bdud kyi zhags pa nag po*), the "magic notched stick of the *bdud*" (*bdud kyi khram shing*), and many of them ride the so-called "black horse of the *bdud* which has white heels" (*bdud rta nag po rting dkar*). They are said to cause fits of unconsciousness (*bdud nad 'thibs pa*). The above list of deities and their leaders, names *(r)Kong rje brang dkar* – also known by the names *bDud po skos rje brang dkar* and *sKos rje trang dkar dung gi dpon* – as the leader of the *bdud*. He is black in colour, holds a *khram shing* in his right hand and a hatchet in the left one, wears a cloak of dark-blue silk, and rides on a black horse.[32] His name indicates that he has to be linked with the Kongpo province in Eastern Tibet, and he might be therefore related with the *Kong rje dkar po*, the ruling deity of *Kong yul*, who was defeated by *Padmasambhava*.[33]

According to a work quoted by Tucci[34] a king of the *bdud* is the *Mi 'byams pa khrag mgo*, whose weapon is a leash with knots causing diseases. His wife is the *dMu lcam mgrin sngon*, and they are supposed to have four sons and four daughters. A list of deities, however, contained in the Bon work quoted under no. 93, which we shall discuss presently, mentions a deity called *'Byams pa khrag mgo* – apparently only an abbreviation or perhaps mutilation of the name given by Tucci – as the leader of all *bdud btsan*, while the position of the chief of all *bdud* is assigned to *Re ste 'gong nyag*, who corresponds to the *Re ste mgo yag* named by Hoffmann[35] as the king of the *bdud*, and to the *bDud pho re ti 'gong yag* mentioned above as a member of the *gSang ba'i sde brgyad*. *Mi 'byams pa khrag mgo* is apparently identical with the *Mi bdud 'byams pa khrag mgo*, a "protector of the Bon teachings" described in the Bon work no. 138. According to this source *Mi bdud 'byams pa khrag mgo* is a black figure dressed in black silks and riding on a ferocious black otter. His right hand lifts a *sta mo* made of meteoric iron, with which he kills quickly all enemies and obstacle-creating demons, his left hand

[32] 6, fol. 33a.

[33] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 245.

[34] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 718.

[35] *Quellen*, p. 140. Lessing ('Calling the Soul: a Lamaist ritual,' *Semitic and Oriental Studies, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, XI, 1951, pp. 263–284, 272) mentions this figure under the name *Re ti 'gong yag* and states further: "he transforms himself into thirteen demons who fetter the lives of the males, apprehend the life essence of the females and steal the life of babies."

brandishes a battle-lance with a pendant of black silk. His companions are a multitude of *bdud* and *btsan*.

In the retinue of *dKar mo nyi zla lcam 'dral*, we had mentioned already a king of the *bdud*, the *bDud rgyal dpa' bo 'phreng can*. Another ruler of the *bdud* is the *bDud kyi rgyal po ma rungs pa*, a black figure wearing a dress of black and azure-blue silk. His long locks are tied into a tuft and one of his hands brandishes a hatchet.[36] A few more names of various *bdud* kings are contained in one of the invocations pronounced at the time of consecrating the thread-cross offered to this particular class of demons. Some of these appellations indicate the characteristic appearance of the gods to whom they are given: *bdud kyi rgyal po 'Ug mgo can, Kha stongs me 'bar, Mi nag spres mgo can, bTsan mgo dmar po, sTag mgo can, A po kun sdud, sPyi phyir phur byed*, and *bSe'i skyes bu shogs? can sdud*.[37]

Books of the Bon speak of four classes of *bdud*, the "earth *bdud*" (*sa bdud*) occupying the East, the "wind *bdud*" (*rlung bdud*) who dwell in the North, the "fire *bdud*" (*me bdud*) who reside in the West, and the "water *bdud*" (*chu bdud*) who occupy the South; sometimes the *lha bdud*, whose abode is apparently the sky, are added as a fifth class. Leaders of these classes are five kings of the *bdud:*

sa bdud – *dregs pa bdud kyi rgyal po Ma rig 'khrul ba'i bdud*, a wrathful dark-yellow figure, casting a *bdud zhags* with the right hand and lifting a black-and-white *khram shing* with the left one.

rlung bdud – *dregs pa bdud kyi rgyal po Phung po lus len bdud*, a smoke-coloured ferocious figure. The right hand brandishes a fan, the left one holds a black *bdud zhags*.

me bdud – *dregs pa bdud kyi rgyal po Chags 'khor nyon mongs bdud*, a blood-coloured god, whose right hand holds an unidentified object described as a *bdud ta kha;* the left hand throws a noose made out of a black snake.

chu bdud – *dregs pa bdud kyi rgyal po 'Chi bdag las btsan bdud*, a dark-blue god holding a fan and a black snake-snare.

lha bdud – *dregs pa bdud kyi rgyal po Ru ma? gzug rnyen? bdud*, whose "secret name" is *bDud rje stong bdud;* a fierce figure of a dark-blue colour, holding a *khram shing* and a black snare of the *bdud*. The latter god seems to be another form of the Bon god *sTong bdud dmar po* or *sTong bdud 'chi bdag*,

[36] 44, fol. 17b.
[37] 104, fol. 25b.

depicted – in spite of the word *dmar po*, "red", in the first name – as a black deity. He bares his teeth which are said to be sharp like icicles, his right hand holds a magic notched stick and the left one a snare. *sTong bdud dmar po* rides on a dark-red ox with horns of iron.[38]

A *bdud* worshiped by the Bon is further the *Tshe bdud nag po khrag med*, "the bloodless black life-*bdud*". He is being depicted as a black figure with yellow-red hair. The roar of thunder is said to issue from his ears, his tongue moves with the speed of lightning, and the "wind of the *bdud*" (*bdud rlung*) comes forth from his nose. The right hand holds a trident, the left one a chopper. He rides on a white lion and dispatches one hundred thousand monkeys as his messengers.[39]

In Buddhist texts the *bdud* are mostly subdivided into four groups, known as the *lha'i bdud*, *nyon mongs pa'i bdud*, *phung po'i bdud*, and *'chi bdag gi bdud*. Each of these groups is supposed to count seven members, who are depicted in the following way:

lha'i bdud – they dwell in the East. They are white riders mounted on white horses. Each of them holds a flower in the right hand and a snare in the left one.

nyon mongs pa'i bdud – they are yellow men riding on yellow horses. Each *bdud* of this group carries a sword in the right hand and a snare in the left one. They dwell in the South.

phung po'i bdud – their residence lies in the West. They are identical in appearance with the *btsan:* the *phung po'i bdud* are red men who ride on red horses, and brandish lances and snares.

'chi bdag gi bdud – they dwell in the North. These *bdud* are represented as black men riding on black horses. The attributes which each of them carries are a *khram shing* and a snare.[40]

These four groups of *bdud* are believed to cause illnesses, and in order to counteract their harmful influence the so-called *brGya bzhi* ceremony is performed, which we shall discuss later on. Some Tibetan texts mention also the *rje bdud*, but details about this group are still lacking.

38 202.
39 202.
40 171.

Several other members of the *bdud* class are named on fol. 17b of Text 44:

'Jigs par byed pa'i bdud pho: he has the appearance of a black Monpa whose ears are adorned with earrings. He is dressed in a tiger-skin and carries a sickle.

sGrol byed bdud kyi shan pa: a black god whose black locks are turned upward. He is dressed in a human skin and lifts a snare.

Sha za khrag 'thung bdud kyi bu: a black Monpa dressed in a bear-skin. His hair is fox-brown and a fire-cloud rests upon his hand, which is stretched sideways.

Ya bdud tshogs kyi gtso bo: a figure with a white body of crystal, wearing a cloak of vulture-feathers. He brandishes a white sceptre of crystal (*shel gyi 'gying dkar*) and rides on a gelding of conch-shell.

The last-named deity belongs to the group of the *ya bdud* or "upper *bdud*", who stand in opposition to the *ma bdud* or "lower *bdud*". Lastly we may mention the *bDud po ze ra rva skyes*, a *bdud* whose iconography is still unknown.

The goddess *Nag mo khrag 'jag*, the mistress of the *bdud mo* according to the second list of ruling deities, is called by her full name the *yum bdud mo nag mo Khrag 'jag ma*. She holds a *khram shing*, a freshly-severed human head, and her mount is a horse of the *bdud*.[41] A description of the *bdud mo Ri ti nag mo* who is mentioned in the first list was, however, not available. In the *parivāra* of the *rNam sras nag po rta sngon can*, the black *Vaiśravaṇa* riding on a blue horse, we encountered already members of the *bdud mo* class, the first-named being a typical Bon deity: the *bDud mo gshin rje mgo dgu*, *bDud mo gshin rje lag brgya ma*, *bDud mo phung khrol ma*, and *bDud mo gsod byed ma*. Five other *bdud mo*, whom we mentioned already above, were the *bDud mo bkra bzang ma*, the *bDud mo rno myur*, *bDud mo kha 'bar ma*, *bDud mo me yi kha rlangs*, and the *bDud mo nag mo khrag 'thung;* the last two belong to the group of the *sngags srung*. To the *bdud mo* class belong further the black *bDud mo 'bum gyi gtso mo*, who brandishes a *khram shing*, and the *bDud ma hal khyi ting ting ma*. The latter seems to be related to the well-known *sa bdag Hal khyi nag po*.

After the *bdud mo* the list mentions the *rgyal po*[42] demons; their leader *Pe har* – here simply addressed as *Mahārāja* (= *rGyal po chen po*) – has already been discussed before. It remains obscure who is the *Khyung*

41 6, fol. 36b.
42 On the *rgyal po* see also Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 162.

chen klu 'brug whom the first list names as the representative of the *rgyal.*

The next class is the *ging.*[43] The term *ging* is used today mainly as a title, which is being prefixed – as we had seen before – to the names of some of the *dharmapālas.* Thus *Tshangs pa dkar po* is called the *lha'i ging chen Tshangs pa dkar po* and *Pe har* is known as the *Dam can shel ging dkar po, Rāja shel ging dkar po,* and *Ging ka ra.* Further, the word *ging,* which seems to be applied mainly in the religious language of the *rNying ma pa* and *bKa' rgyud pa* sects, is used as an appellation of deities of the type called *dpa' bo* ("hero"), but sometimes also of those known as *pho nya* ("messenger") and *las mkhan* ("officer"). In its original meaning, however, *ging* (also *'gying* and *gying*) is the appellation of a class of Bon deities. The characteristic weapon of the *ging* is the sword, as stated in the following passage: *gri thogs ging dang khram thogs bdud/ sho thogs rtsis pa shan pa bzhi,* "the *ging* who carry swords and the *bdud* who carry magic notched sticks, the astrologers who carry dice (and) the four butchers...." The leader of the *ging* is the *Srog bdag tshangs pa.* Though apparently identical with the well-known *dharmapāla* described on p. 146 – he is even called the *Srog bdag tshangs pa dkar po* –, the leader of the *ging* is being depicted in a different way: he wears a cloak consisting of vulture-feathers, his hands hold a snare formed by sunrays and a chopper. His mount is a white lion.[44] Perhaps another form of this leader of the *ging* is the dark-blue *Khro bo ging ka ra* or *Khro chen vajra ging ka ra,* whose attributes are a wheel consisting of sharp weapons (*mtshon cha'i 'khor lo*) and a heart or a human skull filled with the heart-blood of enemies. There are great *ging* (*ging chen*) and minor *ging* (*ging phran*); the great *ging* are supposed to be subdivided into four classes (*ging chen sde bzhi*). Further, there are male and female *ging* (*ging pho, ging mo*). To the last-named group belongs the goddess *sGrol ging mthu chen ma,* a companion of *dPal ldan lha mo.* Also the *Vajraḍākinī* is occasionally addressed as the *Ging mo rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma.* In the *parivāra* of *rDo rje legs pa* was mentioned the forty-two *ging 'dzin,* but it is uncertain which deities belong to this group. Further, when speaking about the retinue of *Tshangs pa dkar po,* we encountered already the expressions "eight great *ging*" and "eight *sgrol ging*". It may be that both groups are identical, since some Tibetan sources speak of the *sGrol ging chen po brgyad.* The *sgrol ging* are also called *gsang ba'i sgrol ging.* According to Tibetan oral tradition

[43] See also Tucci, *Painted Scrolls,* II, p. 617.
[44] 6, fol. 35a.

the term *sGrol ging chen po brgyad* is supposed to refer to eight classes of *ging* which are distributed in the main and intermediary regions of the world. The *sgrol ging* of the East are white, those of the South yellow, the *sgrol ging* residing in the West are red, and the *sgrol ging* of the North are green. These four groups are collectively called the *Ging gi rigs bzhi*. The four *sgrol ging* groups which are supposed to occupy the intermediary quarters have the following colours: the *sgrol ging* of the Southeast are half white and half yellow, the *sgrol ging* of the Southwest are yellow and red, those of the Northwest are red and green, and the *sgrol ging* who dwell in the Northeast are green and white.

According to another division the *ging* are classified into four groups: the white *rdo rje rigs kyi ging*, the yellow *rin chen rigs kyi ging*, the red *padma rigs kyi ging*, and the blue *las kyi rigs kyi ging*. Each of these groups consists of four members, two male and two female *ging*. All these *ging* hold a heart in the left hand, but different attributes in the right one: the *rdo rje rigs kyi ging* wield a sword of crystal, the *rin chen rigs kyi ging* carry tridents, the *padma rigs kyi ging* are armed with swords of copper, and the *las kyi rigs kyi ging* wield choppers.[45]

An ancient group of eighteen *ging* are the *sNgags bdag ging chen bco brgyad*, who might be related to the group of the *sNgags bdag bco brgyad* whom we mentioned before, and to the group of eighteen *ging* comprising nine male (*pho dgu*) and nine female (*mo dgu*) deities:

Pho dgu	*Mo dgu*
Vajra ging ka ra	*Khams gsum dbugs sdud ma*
rDo rje gnod sbyin	*dBang sdud lcags kyus 'dren ma*
rDo rje srin po	*Khams gsum g.yas 'debs ma*
rDo rje 'byung po	*gZugs med rlung ltar 'du ma*
rDo rje spyang khyi	*Gar gyi glog ltar 'du ma*
rDo rje gshin rje	*rBod ltong lam ltar byad ma*
rDo rje ro langs	*rNa nyan phra ma zer ma*
rDo rje 'chi bdag	*Khams gsum snying gsod ma*
rDo rje dus 'tsams	*Tshogs kyi phyag tshangs chen mo*

These eighteen *ging* are all depicted as pale-blue beings armed with swords.[46] The Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum*, too, mentions a group of eighteen great *ging* (*Ging chen bco brgyad*). No details have so far become available about another group of *ging*, the "twelve *ging* lifting swords" (*Gri thogs ging chen bcu gnyis*).

45 6, fol. 40a.
46 6, fol. 40b.

Groups of *ging* belong also to the retinue of *mGon po am gho ra* and the *gTer bdag chen po gshog rgod rtsal.* Further, some of the *bKa' rgyud pa* works speak of the four great *ging*, each of them being related to one particular class of deities: *lHa'i ging chen Tshangs pa dkar po*, *gShin rje'i ging chen Me ru tse dmar po*, *bDud kyi ging chen Yab rje nag po*, and the *bTsan gyi ging chen Yam shud dmar po*. *Ging* is also the name by which the eight *rNying ma pa* priests are known who take part in the great New Year procession in Lhasa, and whose function it is to drive forward the two *glud 'gong*.

After the *ging*, the second list mentions the *dgra lha* and *gza'* with their leaders. The *dgra lha* will be described later on, the *gza'* have already been discussed above. The *srin po* and *srin mo*, who are named next, are apparently deities of the pantheon of pre-Buddhist Tibet. The *Padma thang yig* e.g. mentions that *Padmasambhava* subdued all *srin po* in a valley called *Rong rong lung pa nag po*.[47] They lost, however, their identity by having been later set equal with the *rākṣasas* and *rākṣasīs* of India. The leader of the *srin po*, the *Rākṣa glog 'phreng* or *Srin po nag po glog 'phreng*, is said to be dressed in a cloak consisting of lightning and to hold corns of hail in his left hand.[48] Several *srin po* have already been mentioned above, thus the "king of the *srin po*" (*srin po'i rgyal*) *Na ra seng ha*, who appears in the retinue of the *bDud mgon seng gdong*, the *Srin po gcod byed 'bar ba*, who belongs to the eighteen *sngags srung*, etc. The mistress of the *srin mo*, the goddess *sBal mgo khrag mig* ("frog head, blood-eye") is known by her full name as the *yum srin mo sBal mgo khrag mig*. She is a black goddess holding a *phur bu* and a human head. Her dress is a cloth consisting of blood, and she rides on a camel with six heads.[49] She is similar to the *Yum gcig klu mo klog khyug ma* named before as a companion of *Rāhu*, since the latter goddess is also said to be frog-headed and to have gory eyes. Some of the *rNying ma pa* texts mention a sisterhood of nine *srin mo*, the *Srin mo spun dgu*. In the retinue of *lCam sring* we also encountered a group called the *Dus bzhi'i srin pho mo*. Two important classes of the *srin mo* are the *sa srin* and the *brag srin*,[50] the *srin mo* who dwell in the earth and in rocks.

47 Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247.
48 6, fol. 33b.
49 6, fol. 33b.
50 A *Brag srin mo* plays an important part in the legend about the origin of the Tibetan race. See Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, p. 713; M. Hermanns, 'Schöpfungs- und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter,' *Anthropos*, XLI–XLIV, Posieux 1946–1949, pp. 275–298, 817–847; Wenzel, 'The legend of the origin of the Tibetan race,' *Festgruss Roth*, pp. 70–172.

The same what has been said about the present position of the *srin po* and *srin mo* applies also to the groups of the *gnod sbyin* and *gnod sbyin mo*, who had been identified with the *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs*.[51] *gNod sbyin yakṣa sha me dbal*, the leader of the *gnod sbyin*, is a black god holding a jewel in his right hand and a sword in the left one. His garment is a fire-cloud.[52] A little-known member of the *gnod sbyin* class is the *gNod sbyin dmar nag*, "the dark-red *yakṣa*", who rides on a red *khyung* of copper. He has one head but four hands which hold a chopper, a sword, the torn-out heart of an enemy, and a snare consisting of snakes. Unfortunately, no details are available about the identity of the mistress of the *gnod sbyin mo*, the *Ma mo nag mo*. According to another enumeration of ancient deities the name of the chief *gnod sbyin mo* is *Mon mo nag* (*mo*), "the black Mon woman". The next place in the list here under discussion is occupied by the *mgon po*. Meant are apparently the various forms of *Mahākāla*, though it does not seem unprobable that this term refers to a particular class of ancient Tibetan deities, who later, under Buddhist influence, lost their original identity. In this case the term *bdud mgon*, which we encountered several times before, would indicate that under this name a class of deities should be understood who originated out of a union between the *bdud* and the *mgon po*. A group of Indian origin are the *rudras*. Their leader *rDo rje bdud 'dul* has been described on p. 77 sq. A member of this class is the *Rudra thar pa nag po*, named before among the eighteen *sngags bdag*.

The *dmu bdud*, who occupy the next place in the list, are beings which originated from unions between the *dmu* and the *bdud*. Their leader, the *dMu bdud nag po bk*(*h*)*rag med*, brandishes a sabre, a bow, and an arrow, and he rides on the horse of the *dmu*.[53] Strangely enough, the *dmu* – though one of the most important classes of early Tibetan gods – are not named here as a separate group. However, they are mentioned in another list of ancient deities, which we shall discuss presently, where it is said that their leader is called *Ga pa li dor*. Important information on the *dmu* has only recently been published by Tucci and Hoffmann.[54] The *dmu* are divided into two main groups, the *dmu chen* and *dmu phran*, the "great" and the "minor" *dmu*. We may name here several *dmu* who had not yet been mentioned in other publications: the *dMu rje btsan po*, also called *rJe dpon nag po*, is described as a black figure wearing a black

51 Compare Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 718.
52 6, fol. 33b.
53 6, fol. 35a.
54 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 714, 733; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 141.

cloak and riding on the horse of the *dmu*. His attributes are a black banner and a snare.[55] No details are unfortunately available about the iconography of the *dMu rje gos sngon*, "the lord of the *dmu* wearing a blue garment". Several names of *dmu* rulers are contained in one of the invocations chanted when dedicating the *dmu mdos*, the thread-cross prepared for the *dmu: dMu rje btsan po 'khor lo bsgyur, Thang ra smu thang rje, dMu 'bri rje, dMu shad rje rgyal gtong po rje, dMu rje brtson thogs rje, dMu theng snang dang gtso bo brgyad, dMu rje nag po kha med, dMu rje ko long tho long, dMu rje gsang ba'i mi kun, dMu rje lang dang bskol po rje*, and *Tha chung rmu lcam thang mo sman.*[56] Regarding the *dmu bdud* we may recall here that the father of *rDo rje legs pa* bears the name *dMu bdud dkar po*, "the white *dmu bdud*". A member of this class is also the *dMu bdud dmu rgyal dga' bo;* the details of his iconography still remain unknown.

The group of the *mu stegs pa* (Skt. *tīrthika*) appears somewhat out of place in this enumeration of predominantly aboriginal Tibetan deities. Their leader, the (*dpon*) *Gu lang rākṣa*, also called the *Mu stegs dgu lag nag po, Mu stegs gu lang nag po, Kālayakṣa nag po*, or *Kāla nag po*, wears a cloak of black silk. He rides on a lion, and wields a trident and a skull-cup. In another form he is depicted as a dark-blue god dressed in a human skin, whose attributes are a *kha ṭi* and a trident; his mount is a buffalo.[57] Bon works speak about another member of this class, the *Mu stegs ha shang nag po*.

The *yul lha* have already been discussed before, and their leader, the mountain-god *lHa rabs shams po*, was described on p. 203. The *gnam sman* were mentioned on p. 200, the *ma sangs* on p. 224. In the case of the *btsan* class it is surprising to see, that not *Tsi'u dmar po*, the most important *btsan*, is named as their leader, but the little-known *Srog zan dmar po* or *Brag btsan srog zan*, a red *btsan* wearing a *ral kha* of red silk and a leather-helmet. He holds a bow and an arrow and rides on a red horse.[58]

An ancient and important class of deities are the *the'u rang* (*the'u brang, the brang*), whom we encountered already in the retinue of several *dharmapālas*, e.g. of *Pe har*, where among others the group of nine *the'u*

6, fol. 37a.
104, fol. 26b.
6, fol. 37a.
6, fol. 35a.

rang[59] and the *The'u rang rkang gcig* were mentioned, of *rDo rje legs pa*, etc. Here we have to add, that the mother of the nine *the'u rang* is supposed to be the goddess *Mo brtsun gung rgyal.*[60] According to the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* the *the'u rang* originated from the fat of the golden cosmic tortoise.[61] They are deities of an evil nature, who are said to cause disunity and quarrel and to make children ill. They are also believed to influence the weather, and especially to send hailstorms. The *the'u rang* are supposed to have played a part in early Tibetan history, since a legend alleges that king *gNya' khri btsan po* was a descendant of one of the nine *the'u rang*, who had been brought forth by the goddess *Mo brtsun gung rgyal.*[62] The *gTsang ma klu 'bum* mentions on fol. 326a the group of three hundred sixty *the'u rang*. Another group are the eleven *the'u rang*, who act as "gate-guards" (*sgo srung*). According to the above enumeration of deities, the leader of the *the'u rang* is *gNam the'u dkar po*, who had already been named on p. 97, together with his two companions, the *Sa thel nag po* and *Bar thel khra bo*. The list of Bon deities given on p. 288 claims, however, that the *the'u rang* are headed by a deity called *Mang nya 'u ber;* details about the iconography of this figure are not yet available. The names of a few other *the'u rang* are contained in an invocation recited when consecrating the *the'u rang mdos: gNyan po brag srin kumāra, 'Jigs pa'i zer mo mig gcig ma*, her son *rDo rje legs pa ging gi gtso*, and the *Mon pa gri 'debs.*[63] According to the *Padma thang yig Padmasambhava* subdued the *the'u rang* at *Gla ba rkang gcig* in Kham.[64]

Only little information is available about the group of the *'gong po* demons,[65] who seem to be related to the *rgyal po*. Their leader has already been discussed above. There are three subdivisions of *'gong po:* males (*'gong po*), females (*'gong mo*), and children (*'gong phrug*). When describing the retinue of *Pe har* we spoke already about the *'gong po*, who are supposed to have iron noses and the *'gong mo* with eyebrows of turquoise. The *'gong po* are claimed to be hostile to the rulers of Tibet, and annually the evil influence of the "seven *'gong po* brothers" (*'Gong po*

[59] In Roerich, *Blue Annals*, I, p. 65, a brotherhood of nine *thi'u* (*thi'u rang spun dgu*) is mentioned which resided on the mountain *Dan tig* on the banks of the *rMa chu* (Huang-ho).

[60] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 149.

[61] Concerning this legend see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 711.

[62] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 143 sq.; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 732.

[63] 104, fol. 28a.

[64] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 246.

[65] They are supposed to have been subdued by Padmasambhava at *g.Ya' ri gong:* Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 248.

spun bdun), which might even endanger the life of the Dalai Lama, is transfered to substitute-offerings (*glud*), which are carried afterwards by two men known as the *glud 'gong* to Samye and Phenyul. This peculiar ceremony will be described later, in the chapter on the performance of magic rites for averting danger. In his work on the Tibetan guardian-deities *Klong rdol bla ma*[66] enumerates the gods who belong to the group of the seven *'gong po* brothers; here, as in many other cases, we encounter once more several deities which in accordance with other classifications were assigned to quite different groups or classes of divinities: *dKar po spyan gcig, gZa' the ljang khu, Bye ba gung ring, gNam the dkar po, Yam shud dmar po, The se nag po*, and *Le gu lag ring*. Also in early Tibetan history the evil influence of the *'gong po* is supposed to have been felt: king *Glang dar ma* is said to have been possessed by a *'gong po* called *Phung 'gong nag po*.[67] Nevertheless, the *Padma thang yig* claims that the *'gong po* demons inhabiting the ravines of *Ja* were subdued by *Padmasambhava* at *g.Ya' ri gong*.[68] The leader of the *'gong po, Yam shud dmar po*, belongs, as we may recall, also to other classes of supernatural beings.

A group of nine *'gong po* brothers are the *'Gong po bse rag spun dgu*. The texts[69] mentioning this brotherhood name, however, only two of its members, bearing nearly identical appellations: the gods *bSe rag rgyal po gzhon nu dpal* and *bSre(r) rag rgyal po gzhon nu dpal*. The former is represented as a boy with earrings of turquoise and dressed in silks. A red cane-stick and a knife are stuck in his girdle, from which a quiver and a bow-case are suspended. He rides on a blue hare. *bSre(r) rag rgyal po gzhon nu dpal* is pictured, contrary to the term *gzhon nu* ("young") in his name, as an old man of a black colour, who wears a dried carcass as his dress. Another member of this group of nine *'gong po* brothers is apparently a god whose name seems to be *Go 'dre min ga*. He rides on a pig, brandishes the red knife of a butcher (*bshan gri dmar po*), and his headdress consists of bowels. A special kind of thread-cross, called the *bSe rag skar mdos*, is offered to this group of demons.[70] Another Tibetan source speaks, however, about a brotherhood of four *bse rag*, the (*gnod byed*) *bSe rag mched bzhi*, who are supposed to belong to the class of the *dam sri* (*Dam sri bse rag mched bzhi*).[71]

66 70, fol. 14a.
67 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 313.
68 See note 65.
69 186, 187.
70 Same sources as mentioned under 69.
71 45.

There exists also a group of three *'gong po* demons: one of them resides in the sky (*gNam gyi 'gong po*), one in the earth-foundations (*Sa gzhi'i 'gong po*), and the third lives in the space in between (*Bar snang gi 'gong po*). All three have human bodies, but the head of an animal: the *gNam gyi 'gong po* has the head of a bird, the *Sa gzhi'i 'gong po* has the head of a mouse, and the *Bar snang gi 'gong po* is hare-headed. Each of them carries a *ba dan.*[72] To the group of the *'gong po* belongs further the *'Gong po khu le lag dgu*, a yellow figure riding on a vulture.[73] Other sources, however, as we saw when describing the retinue of *Pe har*, classify him as a member of the *rgyal po* class: *rGyal po khu le lag dgu.* In this case he carries a club and rides on a bull.

The *bgegs* (Skt. *vighna*) or obstacle-creating demons, who are supposed to obstruct all religious activities, have been mentioned frequently before. The king of the *bgegs*, *Byi na ya ga*, is described as a black figure, wearing a *go zu* of black silk. He holds a *kha tram*, a skull-cup, and rides on a black horse.[74] Several members of the *mkha' 'gro ma* or *ḍākinī* class have been named already in the foregoing chapters, and since this class of goddesses is comparatively well known, we may refer to other works for further information. It should be mentioned at least that none of the more important members of this class are named as the mistress of the *mkha' 'gro ma*, but the little-known goddess *Nag mo mgyogs byed* or *mKha' 'gro dpal ldan nag mo mgyogs byed ma*, who carries a snare and a magic ball of thread, is. She rides on a crow.[75]

The *klu bdud* are supposed to have originated from a union between the *klu* and the *bdud*. Their leader *Klu bdud nag po mgo dgu* has already been mentioned before, in the retinue of the *bDud mgon seng gdong* and as a companion of *Li byin ha ra*. Also other members of the *klu bdud* class, as the *Pho klu bdud thod dkar*, who accompanies the *Ma gcig rdo rje rab brtan ma*, and the *Klu bdud g.yag mgo can pa*, have already been named above. Eight female *klu bdud*, all of them being represented as girls, are described by the *gTsang ma klu 'bum:*

Klu bdud bu mo kyo stor ma: she is azure-blue, wears a blue dress, and rides on a blue cross-breed yak; she holds a magic ball of thread, blue and red in colour.

[72] 167, fol. 1a.
[73] 6, fol. 37b.
[74] 6, fol. 35a; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, I, mentions on p. 3 the deities *Śumbha* and *Niśumbha* as the chiefs of the *vighna*.
[75] 6, fol. 34b.

Klu bdud bu mo padma 'phreng: a blue-red mist of illnesses issues from her mouth; she has a blue-red dress and holds a *nad kyi rkyal pa.*
Klu bdud bu mo shel mig ma: her mouth emits a mist of diseases, and she holds a heart in her hand.
Klu bdud bu mo khrag mig ma: she has blue-red locks, her weapon is a *bdud kyi khram shing.*
Klu bdud bu mo stobs mo che: holds a snare.
Klu bdud bu mo dod 'dzin ma: carries a heart.
Klu bdud chen mo tshe 'dzin ma: her hand "lifts the lives of beings" (*skye 'gro tshe srog thogs*).
Klu bdud chen mo rgyas 'debs ma: she holds a ladle.

An important group of *klu bdud* are the nine *klu bdud* brothers, the *Jo bo klu bdud mched dgu.* They are malevolent beings, who cause bilious diseases, leprosy, dropsy, sudden pain, the vomiting of blood, etc. The leader of this brotherhood is called the *Klu bdud khri stong ral pa.* Several of his eight companions are animal-headed; they bear the following names:

Klu bdud stag dgu nam mkha' lding
Klu bdud 'gram nag ral pa can
Klu bdud gser gyi 'phrog zhu can
Klu bdud tsang pa'i mgo dgu
Klu bdud dom nag sdig pa'i mgo bo can
Klu bdud gtsang pa sbrul mgo can
Klu bdud nyu le nyab kyi lag ring
Klu bdud zhags pa dgur bcings.

The animals which are supposed to accompany the *Jo bo klu bdud mched dgu* are nine fishes with golden eyes, nine scorpions with yellow horns, nine black bear with yellow heads, nine black frogs with golden eyes, nine young bullocks striped like tigers, nine black snakes with yellow eyes, and nine yellow tadpoles.[76]

Similar to the above named scorpion-headed *Klu bdud dom nag sdig pa'i mgo can* is another scorpion-headed member of this class, who is simply called "the black *klu bdud*", *Klu bdud nag po.* He is said to have originated from a black primordial egg with blood-spots. His scorpion-head is black and has snakes as hair, the countenance and the body are covered with blood-stains. The *Klu bdud nag po* changes his mount and residence according to the seasons· in the three winter-months he rides on a black ox, in spring his mount is a scorpion, in the three summer

[76] 85.

months he rides on a black snake, and in autumn he dwells on an alpine meadow.[77]

In the last place the list here under discussion names the *klu mo*, the female water-spirits. It would lead too far to deal here once more with this rather numerous class, about which ample information is to be found in several works already published.[78] We shall give, however, at least the description of the mistress of this class, the *Yum klu mo yakṣa nag mo*. She is smoke-coloured and wears a *go zu* of snakes. The lower part of her body is a snake-tail. She lifts a sack full of diseases, a *dug thun*, and rides on a black tortoise.[79]

When surveying once more the lists of deities just discussed, we notice that several important classes have been omitted, as e.g. the *klu*, the *sa bdag*, and the *gnyan*. However, a similar enumeration of various classes of deities and their leaders, which includes these three classes, is given in the Bon work quoted under no. 93, which lists eighteen different categories of supernatural beings. Their leaders are most probably identical with the group of the eighteen *dregs pa'i sde dpon* mentioned in the works of the *rNying ma pa* sect.

Class of deities	*Leading divinity*
lha	*dBang po brgya byin*
lha ma yin	*Thang bzang ring skyes*
bdud	*Re ste 'gong nyag*
dmu	*Ga pa li dor*
btsan	*lHa btsan rgyal po*
bdud btsan	*'Byams pa khrag mgo*
'tshams	*Ya ba mgo dgu*
gnyan	*gNyan rje gong sngon*
klu	*rGyal ba byin chags*
sa bdag	*Tsang tsang 'khor ba*
rgyal po	*dKor bdag chen po*
blon po	*dKar po spyan ('u?)*
tshong dpon	*sKyes bu chen po*
gshin rje	*dMrig pa g.yag mgo*
srin po	*Kha la me 'bar*
bgegs	*Byi na ya ga*

77 170, fol. 6a.
78 See note 85 of this chapter.
79 6, fol. 34a.

the'u rang	*Mang nya 'u ber*
dri za	*mKha' lding rgyal po*

When comparing this list with the foregoing ones, we observe that they agree in regard to the leaders of the various classes only in three points, viz. in the case of the *lha*, the *bgegs*, and also of the *rgyal po*, since the name of the head of the latter group, *dKor bdag chen po*, is only one of the names under which *Pe har* is known.

Thang bzang ring skyes, the head of the *lha ma yin*, the *asuras* of the Indian mythology, seems to be identical with the *lHa min dbang po thags bzang* whom we mentioned when enumerating the *Phyi yi sde brgyad*. That in the present case *Re ste 'gong nyag* (*Ri sti mgo g.yag* or *Re ste mgo yag*) replaces the *Kong rje brang dkar* as the chief of the *bdud* has been said already before. Here we may recall that the former god is also a member of the *gSang ba'i sde brgyad*, where his name was given as *bDud pho re ti 'gong yag*. According to Tucci[80] – who gives his name as *bDud ri ti 'gong nyag* – he is supposed to be the father of the goddess *Rematī*. The *dmu* and the *btsan* have already been mentioned above; the leader of the latter, the *lHa btsan rgyal po*, is most probably identical with *Tsi'u dmar po*, who is also called a *lha btsan*. It may well be that the *lha btsan* are a separate class of deities, which originated from a union between the *lha* and the *btsan*. To this group would then belong the *lHa btsan mgon lha dkar po*, whom we mentioned in the chapter on the local protective deities. *'Byams pa khrag mgo* – or probably rather *Mi 'byams pa khrag mgo* –, here assigned the position of a leader of the *bdud btsan*, has also been named before. The nature of the *'tshams* or *mtshams* – whom Hoffmann[81] mentions among the number of Bon deities whose residence is the sky – remains still to be clarified, and no details about the iconography of their leader, the nineheaded *Ya ba*, have so far become available.

The *gnyan* on the other hand are an important and comparatively well-known class of ancient Tibetan gods. We had met before with several representatives of the *gnyan* class, e.g. the *gNyan chen thang lha*, *lHa gnyan sngo la g.yu rtse*, his *śakti gNyan ma ma le gu*, the group of the *gNyan chen sde bzhi*, etc. The *gnyan*, who are closely related to the *sa bdag* and *klu*, are usually assigned a position in the space lying between earth and sky, and their characteristic colour is yellow. They are spirits of an evil nature, and it is said that due to their influence people

80 *Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 219.
81 *Quellen*, p. 140.

become lame. There are both "great *gnyan*" (*gnyan chen*) and "minor *gnyan*" (*gnyan phran*); the latter are supposed to be forty-one in number. The leader of the *gnyan*, according to the Bon text quoted above, is the *gNyan rje gong sngon.*[82] The *gTsang ma klu 'bum*, however, while listing *gNyan rje gong sngon* among the various *gnyan* kings, says that the chief of all *gnyan* is called *gNyan spar ba dung mgo g.yu'i thor tshugs can.* He is crystal-coloured, his body is covered with numerous ornaments made of turquoise, and his main attribute is a "banner of victory" with the figure of a goose on top (*ngang pa'i rgyal mtshan*).[83] As the main dwellings of the *gnyan* we mentioned already the trees and forests, but other sources, primarily the various *Klu 'bum*, claim that also the snow-mountains, the earth and the foundations of the earth, rocks – especially those of slate (*g.ya' brag*) –, stones, rivers, lakes, fire, clouds, and the wind, the rainbows, further the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets are places where the *gnyan* live. Accordingly, there are various classes of *gnyan* called the *gangs gnyan* or "glacier *gnyan*" – we mentioned, when discussing the mountain-deities, a group of twenty-one *gangs gnyan* –, the *sa gnyan* or "earth *gnyan*", *brag gnyan* or "rock *gnyan*", *g.ya' gnyan* or "slate *gnyan*", the *rdo gnyan* or "stone *gnyan*", the "tree *gnyan*" (*shing gnyan* and *rtsi gnyan*), *nags gnyan* or "forest *gnyan*", the *rdza gnyan* or "mud *gnyan*", the *gnyan* inhabiting water and rivers (*chab gnyan* and *chu gnyan*), the *mtsho gnyan* or "lake *gnyan*", the *me gnyan* or "fire *gnyan*", the *gnyan* who dwell in the clouds and in the wind (*sprin gnyan, rlung gnyan*), the *gzha' gnyan* or "rainbow *gnyan*", the "sky *gnyan*" (*gnam gnyan*), the *gnyan* inhabiting the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets (*nyi gnyan, zla gnyan, skar gnyan, gza' gnyan*). Some of the *gnyan* are assigned fixed positions in the main quarters of the world:

North — *rlung gnyan*
West — *chu gnyan*
South — *me gnyan*
East — *shing gnyan, nyi gnyan, zla gnyan, gza' gnyan*

The *gTsang ma klu 'bum* enumerates a great number of *gnyan* kings and minor *gnyan*; their names have already been published by Tucci.[84] The *gnyan* are also supposed to have their own Bon priest (*gnyan bon*), called *Thang thang gyer mkhas*, who is apparently identical with the *Thang thang khrol ba* mentioned in another passage of the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. The

[82] According to a source quoted by Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica*, III 2, p. 100) the goddess *dPal ldan dmag zor ma* is supposed to have been called in the Hor country the mistress of nine *gnyan* brothers, *Hor mo gnyan gyi spun dgu'i gtso.*

[83] Fol. 84b.

[84] *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 721 sq.; see also Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 158 sq

gnyan bon Thang thang gyer mkhas is said to be a figure of a colour like crystal, carrying a "banner of victory" with a goose on top. The goose is in this case called the "*gnyan* bird", and accordingly the name of this particular banner is *gnyan bya ngang pa'i rgyal mtshan*.

Among all the various classes of ancient Tibetan deities, the *klu* are so far the best known, and comprehensive material has been collected on them by Schiefner, Laufer, Lalou, Tucci, Hoffmann, and Rock.[85] It may suffice therefore to mention shortly, that the *klu* are prevalently water-spirits, who have been identified by the Tibetan Buddhists with the *nāgas* of India, and consequently many a well-known *nāga* or *nāgī* is today found included in their number. According to the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* the various orders of the *klu* are supposed to have originated from six eggs which had been laid by the golden cosmic tortoise. Their names are: *klu rgyal rigs*, *klu dmangs rigs*, *klu bram ze'i rigs*, *klu gdol pa'i rigs*, *klu dkar rigs*, and *klu byol song gi rigs*. In several instances, however, the same work speaks only about five different orders of the *klu*: the white horse-headed *klu rgyal rigs*, the yellow goose-headed *klu rje rigs*, the blue *klu dmangs rigs* who have the heads of black oxen, the red mouse-headed *klu bram ze'i rigs*, and the blue *klu gdol pa'i rigs* who have the heads of lizards.

A king of the *klu* (*klu'i rgyal po*), whose way of representation differs somewhat from the usual description of *nāgarājas* as given by the various *Klu 'bum*, is described in a *rDzogs chen pa* work. The abode of this divinity is a great blue castle of the water-spirits. Its foundations consist of cornelian, the parapets are of gold, the walls are constructed out of turquoise, the pinnacles are of crystal and of gold, the doors consist of *mu men* stone, and the staircases are made of gold. Lapis lazuli had been used for manufacturing the roof, and this whole four-cornered edifice is adorned with silver-bells. The *Klu chen rgyal po*, who resides in this palace, is blue in colour, one-headed and two-handed. He rides on a blue "horse of the water-spirits" (*klu rta*); his right hand holds a flaming jewel; the left one carries a pouch full of precious stones. His body is protected by an armour of turquoise, and his head is covered by a helmet made of the same material. In the retinue appear one hundred thousand *klu sman*.

[85] A. Schiefner, 'Das weisse Nāga-Hunderttausend,' *Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. de St. Petersbourg*, St. Petersbourg 1881; B. Laufer, 'Eine verkürzte Version des Werkes von den hunderttausend Nāgas' *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors 1898; M. Lalou, 'Les "cent mille nāga",' *Festschrift Moritz Winternitz*, Leipzig 1933; M. Lalou, 'Le culte des Nāga et la thérapeutique,' *JA*, Paris 1938; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 722; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 157 sq.; J. F. Rock, *The Na-khi Nāga Cult and related ceremonies*, Roma 1952, 2 vols.

This *klu* is one of the supernatural beings who are worshiped in the ceremonies of black magic. The *Klu chen rgyal po* therefore is exhorted: to cut quickly the life-breath of the enemy and to make him suffer from various kinds of illnesses, especially from leprosy (*mdze nad*), said to be a disease caused by the *klu*. Two kinds of leprosy are mentioned in this context: the "red leprosy" (*mdze dmar*) and the "gray leprosy" (*mdze skya*). Other diseases which the *Klu chen rgyal po* is supposed to cause are cancerous abscesses, consumption, ulcers, itch, and sores.[86] The swelling of limbs is, according to the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*, another illness caused by the *klu*.

The main source for the study of the various *sa bdag* – the class of deities which the list under discussion mentions after the *klu* – is the Tibetan astrologic compendium called *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*.[87] A great number of *sa bdag* are listed in this work, some by name only, while in the case of others details of their appearance and their astrologic position and influence are given, or even their pictures are reproduced. A few of these deities have been mentioned in works previously published,[88] and several of them were also described in the foregoing chapters. It would lead too far to mention all the *sa bdag* enumerated by the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*, and we may limit therefore our study to a description of the most important members of this group.

Gi 'u then po sa yi lha: a golden-coloured *sa bdag* holding a branch of the wish-granting tree (*dpag bsam shing*). All the foundations of the earth (*sa gzhi*) are said to be his realm.

Sa 'dzin lag pa chen po: depicted as a man with flowing hair, wearing only a loin-cloth and lifting with both his hands the Mount *Sumeru*.

The eight main and intermediary quarters of the world are said to be the residence of the following *sa bdag:*

East — a *sa bdag* depicted sitting on a golden throne covered by a leopard-skin. His right hand holds a golden stick with silken streamers, and the left one lifts a bushel of leaves.

South — a *sa bdag* – apparently called *Tsang kun lcags kyi 'khor lo can* – sitting in a low carriage with four wheels. His

[86] 115, fols. 12a.

[87] 119, fol. 442 sq.

[88] A. Grünwedel, 'Die Sternschnuppen im Vaidūrya dkar po,' *Festschrift Eduard Seler*, Stuttgart 1922; L. A. Waddell, 'The Tibetan house-god,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, London 1894.

right hand holds a stick bearing an iron wheel with eight spokes, the left one lifts a broom of silver.

West — the so-called *Hang phan*, who has the head of a snake and who wears a loin cloth consisting of snakes. He holds a "snare of sun-rays" (*nyi zer zhags pa*), and his mount is a white tiger.

North — *Be'u 'byin chu yi zhags pa can;* he derives his name from his main attribute, a "water-snare" (*chu yi zhags pa*). He is said to dwell in the middle of rivers and lakes – but apparently also on coracles and ferry-boats – and his mount is a fish white like a conch-shell.

Southeast *Pi ling 'phar ma.*
Southwest *Grub snyan lag pa can.*
Northwest *Drang ba'i mi bo che.*
Northeast *Sa bdag gser nya bo.*

In addition to the above rulers of the four main world-quarters, the text mentions that in the East resides the *sa bdag 'Khōr nag can*, in the South the *Ba dan ser po can*, in the West the *gZig gi mjug ma can*, and in the North the *sa bdag Ze ba can.*

According to another source,[89] however, the following *sa bdag* are supposed to dwell in the various world-quarters: in the East a whitish tiger (*Sa bdag stag skya bo*), in the South a blue turquoise-dragon (*Sa bdag g.yu 'brug sngon po*), in the West a red bird (*Sa bdag bya dmar po*), and in the North a whitish tortoise (*Sa bdag rus sbal skya bo*). In the centre resides a golden monkey, the space above is the abode of a *sa bdag* called *Gyi ling 'phar ma*, and in the space below resides the *Sa bdag tsang kun khyab pa.* This division differs therefore in two points from the enumeration of *sa bdag* given on fols. 62 and 76 of the Bon work *gTsang ma klu 'bum* – and published already by Tucci[90] –, where it is mentioned that the *Sa bdag 'brong nag po*, "black wild yak", dwells in the West., while the *Sa bdag bya dmar po* is said to be residing in the North.

An important *sa bdag* is the *The se rgyal po* or *The se chen po*, whom the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po* mentions on fol. 443a. King *The se* is a god of a flaming red colour and wears a red fur-coat. He holds a "great *khyung* of copper", and his picture shows him sitting in the *rāja-paryaṅka.* The chief queen of *The se rgyal po* is called *rGyal yum chen mo the khyim.* She is dark-brown, her hands hold a vessel and a mirror. His second wife in

[89] 171.
[90] *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 722, 740, note 32.

rank is called *Ha ngi phan* or *Hang ne*. She is white and carries a large golden vessel. The son of *The se rgyal po* is called *Te so*. He is red, wears a red fur-coat, his right hand holds a golden box and the left one an iron stick. A cloth to wipe off perspiration (*rngul gzan*) made of white silk hangs over his shoulder. The court of king *The se* comprises further the following *sa bdag:* his minister, who is pink-coloured, wears a garment of red silk and the emblems of a *zhang blon*. His right hand holds a staff of crystal, the left one a precious vessel, and he rides on a spotted tortoise. The *Se ba bla mkhyen* is the king's astrologer (*rtsis mkhan*), and accordingly he carries the utensils used by men of his profession: a divination-arrow with streamers of yellow silk attached to the shaft and a magic mirror. He is yellow-red, has the appearance of a Buddhist priest, and on his head he wears the *srid pa'i zhva mo*, a broad-brimmed hat with three knobs on top and the symbols of the sun and the moon in front. A



Fig. 1. The *sa bdag Se ba rang rta rgyal po'i chibs* (according to a drawing in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*).

servant of the *sa bdag* king is the *Hang phan ser po bya ra ba*, "the watchman, the yellow *Hang phan*", also called *Hal khyi'i kha khrid*. He is a yellow-red figure dressed in a garment of blue silk, holding a *nad rkyal* and a torch. The king's treasures are guarded by the white *Se byi*, who has the body of a man, but the head of a tiger and the spotted tail of a leopard. He carries a "banner of victory" with a cat's head on top (*byi bla'i rgyal mtshan*). The dark-red, very fierce *Mi gsod se shar* acts as a body-guard. He wears a helmet and a harness, in the right hand he holds a sword and in the left a shield. He rides on a water-bull. The horse of king *The se* is called by its full name *Se ba rang rta rgyal po'i chibs*. It has the golden body of a horse, but the head of a man. It is being depicted standing on its hind-legs and holding with the front-hoofs two ladles, one of turquoise and the other one of gold. The equerry is the *Sa bdag se 'u rta khrid*, and armoured rider of a yellow colour.

After the description of this *sa bdag* king and his companions, the

Vaiḍūrya dkar po mentions a great number of other *sa bdag* – some of them perhaps belonging to *The se*'s retinue as well – of whom we shall mention only several more important ones.

Dus 'dzin se bya: a *sa bdag* of a brilliant yellow-red colour. He has the body of a man, the head of a bird, and wings of copper and iron. He carries a trumpet and a *phur bu.*

rGyal po'i bu mo dkar sham: a white woman of a pleasing appearance, wearing a dress of red silk and holding a mirror of silver. Her bridegroom is a pale-yellow *sa bdag* called *sBal te,* who is represented as a young man. He wears a garment of blue silk, his right hand holds a small arrow of gold and the left one a bow of silver.

dMag gi lbang ging: he is pictured as a red-coloured warrior, ready to shoot off an arrow.



Fig. 2. The *sa bdag Zin 'phung nag po* (according to a drawing in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*).

Sa bdag zin 'phung nag po: a black figure with a human body and the head of a scorpion. He is represented brandishing a sword and a snare and rides on an ox.

The *sme ba dgu,* a diagram of nine squares frequently used in Tibetan astrology and divination, is believed to be the residence of nine *sa bdag* who rule its various fields. The distribution of these deities is as follows: on the first white square dwells the "earth goddess" (*sa yi lha mo*) *Rab brtan ma.* Her body is said to be white like crystal. She wears a robe with a train, made of white silk, and a golden diadem. With the right hand she lifts the Mt. *Sumeru,* her left hand holds a vessel full of *amrta.* The second, black square is ruled by the black *bDud kyi rgyal po,* who is dressed in a black cloak and wears a golden diadem. His right hand holds a magic notched stick, the left hand throws a snare. The third, azure-blue square is the residence of the *Sa btsen gdug byed.* He is dark-blue, his

attributes are a rosary consisting of skulls of children, the left hand lifts a skull-cup. His dress is a voluminous cloak of black silk. The fourth square is green. Here dwells a goddess called *lHa mo dal byad* or *Klu rgyal lba ru*. Her body and her dress are green and her head is adorned with a golden diadem. With the right hand she lifts a precious vessel. On the fifth, yellow square dwells the yellow *Sa bdag rgyal po 'jig rten bdag*. He is dressed in a golden garment, his right hand holds a precious vessel, the left one a trumpet. The white *rGyal po skye 'gro'i dpal* resides on the sixth, white square. His dress is white, the right hand holds a club, and the left hand a precious "banner of victory". The seventh, red square is ruled by the vermilion-coloured *bTsan dmar chen po*. His head is adorned with a golden diadem, and he wears a cloak of red silk.



Fig. 3. The *sa bdag rGyal po'i nor bsrung se byi* (according to a drawing in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*).

He carries dice and a lance. On the eighth, white square resides the white *lHa chen dbang phyug che*. He is dressed in a garment of white silk, his right hand wields a trident, and the left hand holds a skull-cup full of blood. The ninth, red square is the abode of the dark-red *Ma mo dza mun ti*. Her dress is a red cloak. In the right hand she holds a sack full of diseases, in the left hand a coil of thread. – We may mention in this connection, that also the geomantic diagram known as the *spar kha* (from Chinese *pa k'wa*) is the seat of a *sa bdag* group, called the *sPar kha brgyad kyi sa bdag*.

The passage which follows after the description of the nine *sme ba* deities has already been discussed by Grünwedel,[91] and we shall mention therefore only some of the more important figures of this section. – There are two "black sky-dogs" (*gnam khyi nag po*), a male and a female one. The male has the body of a dog, the wings of a bird, the hump of a pig,

[91] See the paper of Grünwedel mentioned in note 88 of this chapter.

and the tail of a snake, with a human head in its coils. The bitch has the body of a horse, the head of a dog, the wings of a *khyung*, and the tail of a snake. Her head is enveloped in flames and she rides on a tortoise. *dBus kyi 'brug lha ga pa* is apparently a thunder-god (*'brug lha*); he has the head of a dragon and a dark-blue human body. His attribute is a large iron pan as used for parching grain. The *Zla ba'i sa rgyal* is dark-blue, he has the body of a man and the head of a snake. He rides a turquoise-blue dragon, and with one hand he wields a snare consisting of snakes.

The goddess *Sa sman* or "earth-*sman*" is blue, has the head of a snake, and a snake is her mount. She holds a snake-snare. The *Sa bdag rgan rgon* is dark-yellow. He has a human body, the head of a mouse, and he wields a sceptre of crystal. An important *sa bdag* is the red *Nang lha*[92] or *Khyim nang lha*, the "god of the inside of the house". He has a human body and the head of a pig. In his right hand he holds a three-forked stick, called *srid pa'i ldem shing*, his left hand holds the "victory banner of the *lha*" (*lha'i rgyal mtshan*). In a later passage he is mentioned as a member of a group of nine gods, enumerated in the following sequence: *Zhag lha, Dus lha, Khyim nang lha, Thang lha, Shing lha, Se yi lha, Ro lam lha, sPyid yi lha*, and *gTad lha*. Pig-headed is also the god named next, whose appellation is *Byi lam sngon mo*, depicted as a blue woman dressed in white silk and riding a mouse. She carries a *nad kyi rkyal pa*. Related to the *Nang lha* is the *Thab lha*, the god of the hearth, who is represented as a red man wielding a snare which consists of snakes, or as a white man holding a banner of white silk.[93]

Sa bdag rug zor dmar po: a *sa bdag* with a red human body and the head of an ox. His right hand holds a sickle, the left one a black snare of the *bdud.*

'Phar ma mgo dgu: he is brown in colour, has the body of a man and nine wolf-heads. His dress is made of blue silk. The right hand of this *sa bdag* lifts a hook and the left one a magic notched stick.

Tshes gnyan ro dgu: a small man riding on a black horse. He holds a magic notched stick called *srid pa'i khram byang*.

Sa bdag se bdud: a black man holding a *khram shing*.

gShin gyi pho rog: a figure with a human body and a raven's head.

Sa bdag mche ba can: a man with long fangs.

Sa bdag dur len: he has a human body but a frog's head.

92 See also Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 375

93 Waddell, *House-god*· Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, pp. 25 (note 18), 144 (note 141), 376 (note 758); regarding his worship see Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 48.

Sa bdag ku ku: a man with the head of a dog.
Phyi shar ba dan khra bo: a white man holding a spotted banner.
sNang sel khrab gyon: he is depicted as a warrior, holding a sword in the right hand, a banner in the left one. He rides on a yellow man.

According to other Tibetan sources Mt. *Sumeru*, the seven circles of legendary golden mountains, the seven seas, etc. are all supposed to be inhabited by *sa bdag*, who are accordingly addressed as the *Ri rab chen po'i sa bdag*, *gSer gyi ri bdun sa bdag*, and *Rol pa'i mtsho bdun sa bdag*. Also the historic places of Buddhism in India are said to have their own *sa bdag*, just as the various provinces of the Snowy Land are believed to be inhabited by particular members of the *sa bdag* class. Tibetan texts speak e.g. about the *sa bdag* of Bodhgayā (*rDo rje gdan gyi sa bdag*) and the *sa bdag* of *Rājagṛha*, the *Bya rgod spungs po'i ri bo'i sa bdag*, the *sa bdag* of the Tsang province, *gTsang gi lha rgod mdud rtse*, etc. *Tsang tsang 'khor ba*, alleged to be a ruler of the *sa bdag*, is not named among the members of this class, listed in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*. He seems to be identical with the *sa bdag gi rgyal po rTsang rtsang* mentioned in the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. According to this work, the *sa bdag* are led by a golden-coloured goddess, whose full name is *Sa bdag bstan ma gser mdog gser gyi bum pa can*. A goddess of the *sa bdag* class is further the *Sa bdag bu mo 'bum gyi gtso mo*. She is represented as a dark-yellow figure, holding a skull-cup and riding on a pig. Some texts speak also about four groups of female *sa bdag*, each comprising eight members, who are brought into connection with a particular class of deities; all these *sa bdag* hold a *phur bu* in the left hand:

sa bdag bdud 'dul chen mo – they are white, and their residence lies in the eastern direction. Each of them holds a hook in the right hand.

sa bdag gza' 'dul chen mo – these eight deities are yellow, they dwell in the South, and besides the *phur bu* they carry snares.

sa bdag klu 'dul chen mo – they occupy the West. Their bodies and faces are red-coloured, and each of them lifts a chain with the right hand.

sa bdag btsan 'dul chen mo – they are of a green colour, and their residence lies in the North. Each of these eight goddesses holds a bell in the right hand.

The *sa bdag* are supposed to have their own Bon priest, called the *sa*

bdag gi bon po Khri stag or *sa bdag gi bon po Khri stag ral mi bo che.* His body is golden in colour, he has a toupet of gold and carries a vessel filled with *amṛta*, which has the quality of healing dumbness.[94]

An interesting *sa bdag*, who is said to have originated from a union between the *gNam lha zhe sdang khen pa rgan po* and the *Sa bdag 'dod chag khon ma*, is the *Ha sa garbha*, a black, winged figure with three heads, viz. that of an elephant (or ox?) in the centre, the head of a tiger on the right side, and of a pig on the left side. He has six hands; the first pair holds a chopper and a skull-cup, the second a sword and a hook, the last one a snare and a bow together with an arrow. The lower part of his body is the coiled tail of a snake. In front of this *sa bdag* stands a red, three-headed figure, having the heads of a pig, a snake, and a bird. This acolyte is ready to shoot off an arrow, and he is accompanied by a minor god who has the wings and feet of a bird, and the head of an earless marmot (*shang shang bra ba'i mgo*). To the right side of the chief deity stands a *bdud*, to the left a *btsan*, and in the back rides a *ma mo* on a camel.[95]

To conclude our discussion of the *sa bdag* class we have to mention, that also the *sa bdag* are believed to be malevolent deities who are held responsible for a number of illnesses, the *gTsang ma klu 'bum* mentioning especially that they cause a patient's limbs to become thin and emaciated. The way in which the harmful influence of the *sa bdag* can be counteracted will be described in a later chapter.

The class of the *rgyal po* named in the Bon list after the *sa bdag* has already been discussed above. The *rgyal po* are followed by the *blon po* or "ministers", a class which is just as little known as that of the *tshong dpon* or "traders". To the latter class belongs apparently the *Tshong dpon nag po*, a god with five snake-heads, who had been mentioned by Tucci.[96] Also the *Tshong lha tshogs bdag glang sna*, who is a member of the group of thirteen *dgra lha*, stands most probably in close relation to the *tshong dpon* class. Of the deities enumerated in the last five places of the Bon list, the leader of the *bgegs*, *Byi na ya ga*, had already been mentioned above. No information is yet available on the *dMrig po g.yag mgo*, who is named here as the leader of the *gshin rje*, *Kha la me 'bar*, the head of the *srin po*, *Mang nya 'u ber*, who is supposed to be the chief of all the *'u rang*, and the *mKha' lding rgyal po*, who leads the *dri za*, the *gandharvas* of the Indian mythology.

94 2, fol. 157b.
95 96, fol. 3a.
96 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, p. 714.

Most of the classes of gods and goddesses which we had just discussed are believed to possess a characteristic colour and to occupy certain well-defined places in the universe. Thus Text no. 57 contains on fols.19a,b the following classification:

"White is the order of the *lha*,
Black is the class of the *bdud*,
Red is the order of the *btsan*,
Varicoloured is the class of the *gza'*,
Blue is the order of the *klu*,
Yellow is the class of the *gnyan*,
Purple-brown is the class of the *dmu*,
Green is the order of the *sa bdag*."

A similar enumeration has been given by *Klong rdol bla ma*, [97]who lists under the name *'Dod pa'i sde brgyad* the following classes of deities:

dkar po lha'i sde (white)
dmar po btsan gyi sde (red)
nag po bdud kyi sde (black)
khra bo gza' yi sde (varicoloured)
smug po dmu yi sde (brown)
sha za srin po'i sde
dkor bdag rgyal po'i sde
nad bdag ma mo'i sde

The spheres and places, which are the abodes of various classes of supernatural beings, are: in the upper sphere reside the *gza'* and the *drang srong*, down below the *klu* and the *sa bdag*, and in the sphere lying in between the *gnyan* and the *the'u rang*. On fol. 4a,b of Text no.58 the various main classes of gods and goddesses are enumerated in the following manner: in the white upper sphere resides the multitude of the *lha*, in the varicoloured intermediary space dwell the *gnyan*, down below in the black sphere reside the *klu* and *sa bdag*. In the East dwell the *dri za*, in the South the *gshin rje*, and the others are distributed in the following way: West: *klu*; North: *gnod sbyin*; Southeast: *drang srong*; Southwest: *srin po*; Northwest: *rig 'dzin*; Northeast: *bgegs* and *'byung po*. In between these: the *gza'* and the *rgyu skar*. On the white mountains dwell the orders of the *lha*, on the black rocky mountains the *bdud*, on the red rocky mountains the *btsan*, and on the meadow-covered mountains the *gzhi bdag* and *yul lha*. Rocky caves and caves in the earth are the abode of the *the'u rang*,

[97] 70, fol 12b.

streams and the confluences of rivers are the residence of the *klu bdud*, in the calm, great lakes dwell the *mtsho sman*, at springs and on meadows live the *klu*, trees and forests are the abode of the *gnyan*, in green meadows and in virgin forests dwell the *gnyan*. Swords and cemeteries are the residence of the *gri btsan*, in castles dwell the *dgra lha*, in temples and monasteries reside the *rgyal 'gong*, and places of meditation are the abode of the *dam sri*.

In the latter enumeration we encounter several classes of deities which we had not yet discussed: the *rig 'dzin*, *'byung po*, *rgyal 'gong*, and the *dam sri*. Also the *rig 'dzin* and the *'byung po* are to all appearances spirits foreign to Tibet, the latter group corresponding most probably to the Indian *bhūtas*. The *rgyal 'gong* on the other hand are truly Tibetan deities, who are supposed to have been created by a union between the *rgyal po* and the *'gong po*. They seem to have retained some of the qualities of the former group, since they are said to reside in temples and monasteries. We may mention in this context the class of the *btsan 'gong*, who are a mixture between the *btsan* and the *'gong po*. A *btsan 'gong* called *bTsan 'gong dmar po*, or, with his full name, *bTsan 'gong mi ring dmar po*, is named in the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*. Also *Yam shud dmar po* is sometimes called a *btsan 'gong*. As regards the *dam sri*, we have to recall, that in the retinue of *Pe har* we mentioned the nine black *dam sri*, and in connection with the *'gong po* was named a group called *Dam sri bse rag mched bzhi*. The *dam sri* are, however, only one particular group of the *sri*, an important class of early Tibetan deities. Also in the case of the *sri* a story about their origin from eggs is told, similar to the accounts which we already encountered several times before, as in the case of *Pe har*, the *btsan*, and the *klu*.

The origin of the *sri* is narrated on fol. 8b of Text no.129: in the so-called "*sri*-country of nine continents" (*Sri yul gling dgu*), in the castle of the *sri* which consists of piled up skulls, there came forth the first ancestors of the *sri*. They were the "sky *sri*" (*gnam sri*) *Gal* and *Gel*, and the "earth *sri*" (*sa sri*) *Cha ma mtsho dgu*. Then originated the male so-called *Ya ma dam sri* – who took their origin from men who had broken their oath – and the female *Ma nges dgu shor*, who came into existence out of women who had adhered to heretic teachings. As the next came into existence the father of the *sri*, called *gNam gyi bya nag gshog chags*, "the black bird of the sky with the broken wing", and their mother, whose name was *Sa yi byi gshog*, "the winged earth-rat". Out of the union of these two, the "thirteen eggs of existence" (*srid pa'i sgo lnga bcu gsum*) originated. One of the eggs hatched, and from within came forth beings with a human body,

but having the head of a wolf. They choose the peaks of mountains as their abode, and since they started to eat male beings, they were given the name *pho sri*. Then, from another egg, there originated beings with the body of a man, but having the head of a camel. The depth of the ocean became their abode, and as they began to devour females, they were given the name *mo sri*. Next, beings with a human body and possessing a weasel's head were hatched; they began to dwell under beds, and as they were eating children, the name by which they became known was *chung sri*. Further, beings were hatched with a human body, but having the head of a *khyung*. Since they dwelled on the mountains of the *bdud* (*bdud ri*) and started to eat the life-power of the *ma mo*, they were called the *bdud sri nag po*, "the black *bdud sri*".

From one of the eggs were born beings with the body of a man, but having the head of an owl. These beings resided on the mountains of the *btsan* demons, and thus they were given the name *btsan sri dmar po*, the "red *sri* of the *btsan*". Then demons originated with a human body, but having the head of a pig. These beings dwelled in the interior of temples, and therefore they were given the name "the white *rgyal sri*", *rgyal srid dkar po*. Furthermore, beings were hatched from one of the eggs, which had human bodies but the heads of pigs. They chose the points where three valleys met as their abode; to these, the name *dam sri* was given.[98] From another egg, the snake-headed "blue *klu sri*", *klu sri sngon po*, originated, who began to dwell in the depth of the ocean. Then also yak-headed beings were hatched, who took their residence on the borders of the countries of their enemies, and who were called the "young enemy-*sri*", *dgra sri dar ma*. From the tenth egg, stag-headed beings came forth, who began to dwell on the points of weapons and to whom therefore the name "the evil sword-*sri*", *gri sri ngan pa*, was given. At the same time also a group of beings with fox-heads was hatched; they let themselves down on the bodies of relatives and obtained the name "*sri* of old age", *rgan sri*. From the twelfth egg were hatched beings with horse-heads, who began to live on the peaks of nine mountains, they were given the name *byes sri*. These *sri* cause that a person who is absent from home might suffer while away some damage to its reputation; or these *sri* might steel a saddle from the horse of their victim. Finally, from the thirteenth egg, a group of beings originated, which had human bodies but the heads

[98] According to Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, the *dam sri* were subdued by Padmasambhava at *Zul phug*, at *So sha* (p. 248) and in Nepal (p. 193). Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica*, III/2, p. 93) mentions a black female *dam sri*, *Dam sri ma nag mo*; see also the same work, p. 104.

of goats; these demons chose small caves as their abode. They were given the name *god sri*, "*sri* of misfortune;" they are said to cause cattle to degenerate.

According to another division, mentioned by the same work, the *pho sri* have a yak's head, the *mo sri* that of a black bitch, the *dgra sri* can also be wolf-headed, the *dur sri* or "cemetery-*sri*" have the head of a fox, the *chung sri* have sometimes the head of a puppy, the *god sri* are occasionally depicted as having the head of a wild dog or a wolf, the *phung sri* – who are divided into several sub-groups (*rgyal po'i phung sri*,[99] *blon po'i phung sri*, *yul pa'i phung sri*, etc.) – are camel-headed, the *rgyal sri* are supposed to have sometimes a cock's head, the *gri sri* can also be bird-headed, and the *byes sri* are in some cases goat-headed.[100]

Another source [101] giving information about the *sri* describes most of them in the same manner as had been done above. There are, however, a few differences which it is worth to record: the *rgyal sri* are supposed to be white in colour, they have the body of a man but the head of a lion. The *pho sri* are big-bellied and their colour is like that of iron. The *mo sri* are said to be ugly, naked beings with a wrinkled skin; meteorites fall out of their mouths. The *god sri* are azure-blue or black and they are pig-headed. Then two classes are named which had not been mentioned yet: the scorpion-headed *nye sri* – perhaps a group of *sri* causing accidents (*nye zho*) – and the goat-headed *gdon sri*.

There exist also, besides the *sri* mentioned above, the *lo sri* or "year *sri*" and the *zla sri* or "month-*sri*", who are twelve in number; the *zhag sri* or "day-*sri*" of whom thirty exist; the *dus sri* or "time *sri*", a group which counts sixty members; further the *'gong sri*, the *keg sri* or "harm *sri*", the *byad sri* or "wicked *sri*", the *god sri* and *med sri*, the "*sri* of being and not-being", the *bgegs sri* or "obstacle *sri*", the *gnod sri* or "*sri* of injury" the *lceb sri* or "*sri* of suicide", the *dmigs bsal sri*, the *dgos sri* or "*sri* of desire", the *me sri* or "fire *sri*", the *chu sri* or "water *sri*", the *lha sri* and the *sdang ba'i sri* or "*sri* of hatred"; further the *nad sri* or "*sri* of illness", *'chi sri* "*sri* of death", *rta sri* or "horse-*sri*", *gzhon sri* or "*sri* of youth", *dar ma'i sri*, the "*sri* of manhood", *che sri*, a kind of *sri* who attack adults, the *za ma'i sri* or "*sri* of food", the *yar pa'i sri* or "*sri* of adolescence", the *sgo sri* or "*sri* of the gate", the *phur pa'i sri*, and the *srangs pho'i g.yal sri*.

99 The description of a *phung sri* is given on p. 366 of Stein's paper on Tibetan divination. On the relation of the *phung sri* to the Buh ada of the Mongols see Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 161.

100 Fol. 3a.

101 7.

When surveying the above enumeration we notice that there exists a number of *sri* related to various classes of divinities, as the *lha sri*, *bdud sri*, *btsan sri*, and the *klu sri*; perhaps also the *bgegs sri*, who might be connected with the *vighnas*, and the *gdon sri*, who are possibly related to the class of the *gdon* demons. Moreover, we note that there are two groups of *sri*, one of them harming only males (*pho sri*) and the other only females (*mo sri*). Other groups of *sri* attack man in his various stages of life: small children are threatened by the *chung sri*, one of the *sri* groups named most frequently. At the time of adolescence one is threatened by the *yar pa'i sri*, and later by the *gzhon sri*. Men in the prime of life are endangered by the *dar ma'i sri*, adults in general are attacked by the *che sri*, and old people by the *rgan sri*.

A few additional remarks should also be made about various other classes of early Tibetan divinities, some of whom had been mentioned already in the foregoing chapters.

Little is known about the class of *'brog mo* goddesses. As their name indicates, they are supposed to live in pasture land. *Padmasambhava* is said to have conquered them at *Khar ga g.yag mig* in Tsang. The *gTsang ma klu 'bum* mentions the following groups of *'brog mo*: the four *'brog mo* (*'Brog mo bzhi*), the eight *'brog mo* of the North (*Byang gi 'brog mo brgyad*), and the nine *'brog mo* sisters (*'Brog mo spun dgu*). A mixture between the *klu* and the *'brog mo* are the *klu 'brog mo*. To this group belong eight queens, who have human bodies but the heads of different animals: the white *Klu 'brog rgyal mo* has the head of a wild yak, the blue *Klu 'brog rgyal mo* has the head of a bear; the red *Klu 'brog rgyal mo* has the head of a stag, and the green *Klu 'brog rgyal mo* has the head of an antelope. Then follow four *klu 'brog* queens with the head of a yak, of a wood-grouse, of a cross-breed between a tiger and a leopard, and of a musk-deer.[102]

Most of the higher-ranking deities, as we had seen before, have their "messengers" (*pho nya*), who are mostly regarded as being nothing else than merely "emanations" of the chief deity itself. In some texts, however, one finds the *pho nya* listed as a separate group of deities, which is variously claimed to have three hundred sixty, sixty-four, or fifty-four members. Mistresses of the three hundred sixty *pho nya* are supposed to be the following four goddesses: the white *dPal gyi pho nya las mkhan mo*, who sends hail and lightning. She has teeth of conch-shells, sucks the blood out of the hearts of enemies and carries a razor. Further the black *lCags*

102 2, fol. 60a.

kyi lan tshar can: she has an ugly face and her body is naked. Her attributes are a skull-cup and a knife. The white, wrathful *Nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ma*, and lastly the dark-green *'Khyil pa'i thod gdengs can*, who brandishes a sword.[103] No further information is available about the sixty-four *pho nya* whom one finds mentioned in the works of the *rNying ma pa* sect. About the fifty-four *pho nya* we know at least that they are divided into four groups, each consisting of sixteen members. All these *pho nya* are said to have wings and long claws.

Name of group	*Colour*	*Attribute*
rdo rje rigs kyi pho nya	white	hook
rin chen rigs kyi pho nya	yellow	snare
padma rigs kyi pho nya	red	lotus
las kyi pho nya	green	bell[104]

Also the expression *dge bsnyen* has been mentioned frequently before, mostly as a title of various *dharmapālas*. Especially mountain-gods bear often the title *dge bsnyen*, and one group of mountain-deities is even known under the name "the twenty-one *dge bsnyen*". The expression *dge bsnyen* corresponds to the Sanskrit term *upāsaka*, a Buddhist lay-devotee, and accordingly some of the Tibetan priests claim that the title *dge bsnyen* is given to those *dharmapālas* who still occupy a lower rank (see e.g. the legend told about *rMa chen spom ra*). It seems, however, that the *dge bsnyen* were in reality a class of ancient Tibetan deities; thus the *gTsang ma klu 'bum*, a work belonging to the Bon literature, mentions the *dge bsnyen* as a class of divinities who are apt to cause illnesses, and on fol. 236a it speaks about the "seven great *dge bsnyen*" (*dGe bsnyen chen po bdun*). Even Buddhist texts bring the *dge bsnyen* into connection with Bon ideas, since they speak about a group of three hundred sixty *dge bsnyen*, also called the three hundred sixty *mched zla*. Moreover, the *Padma thang yig* mentions that all *dge bsnyen* were subdued by *Padmasambhava* at a spring called *Gem pa chu mig*.[105] The three hundred sixty *dge bsnyen* are divided – according to the *lha bsangs* texts of the *bKa' rgyud pa* – into the following three groups, each consisting of hundred twenty members: the white *lhai' dge bsnyen*, the red *btsan gyi dge bsnyen*, and the black *bdud kyi dge bsnyen*.[106] This is a division similar to that

[103] 44, fol. 2b.
[104] 6, fol. 42a.
[105] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247.
[106] 5.

which we mentioned when describing the mountain-god *bKra bzang zhing skyong*.

Another group are the *Chu bzhi'i dge bsnyen*, the *dge bsnyen* living in four rivers. This group comprises the following members:
sMyo kha'i mkhar nag zo ra, also called *Bha ba nag klu yi bdud* and *Na bun dge bsnyen mthu bo che*, who dwells in the *Zla yi gnas chu*: this *dge bsnyen* is depicted as a white man wearing a helmet and a coat of mail made of crystal. He holds a golden wheel and rides on the horse of the *klu*.
gSer chu 'bri klung dge bsnyen, or *Klu bdud rdo rje nor 'dzin*: a white god riding on the horse of the *klu*. Seven snakes rise above his head. He wears a silken garment and numerous gems, his hands hold the wish-granting tree and a jewel.
Nas chu spyi 'om klung gi bdag or *Bar blo rdo rje bdud 'dul*: a snake-faced blue figure riding on a blue horse and wearing an armour of turquoise. This *dge bsnyen* carries a lance with a standard and a small chest.
dNgul chu'i dge bsnyen rdo rje dpal: a white god having the typical appearance of a *nāga*, viz.: the lower part of his body is the coiled tail of a snake, and seven snakes rise above his head. His body is covered by silks and gems, and his hands hold a divination arrow and a jewel.[107]

Lastly we may mention a *dge bsnyen* about whom so far no details have become available, the *dGe bsnyen khra leb chen po*.

A group with an indefinite number of members is that of the so-called *'khrung lha* or "birth-gods". Tibetans believe that each person has one or more *'khrung lha*. These are the deities in whose area of influence one had been born, and consequently the *'khrung lha* will be mostly a local *gzhi bdag*, *sa bdag*, *btsan*, etc. The worship of the personal *'khrung lha* is an important religious duty; its neglect might incur the displeasure of the birth-gods with the usual disastrous consequences as illness, calamities, etc. As an example we may enumerate here the five *'khrung lha* of one of the Tibetan hierarchs, whom Text no. 94 addresses as the *Kun mkhyen rgyal dbang mchog* and later as the *sKyabs mgon rgyal ba'i dbang po khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang*. Among them we find the well-known *Li byin ha ra*, but also the Bon god *Klu bdud nag po mgo dgu*, whom we mentioned before as the leader of the *klu bdud* class. The names of these five *'khrung lha* are:
Drag chen srid pa'i rgyal po; a three-headed deity with six hands, riding on a mule and holding a club, a skull-cup full of blood, a *khram shing*, a snare, a mirror and a *phur bu*.

107 134, fol. 17a.

The one-eyed *Li byin ha ra*, riding on a white lion; he carries a sword and a lance.
The brown-red *rDo rje rdzing btsan*, riding on a black horse; his attributes are a lance, a snare of sun-rays, and a shield.
Shel gyi khrab can, who wears a harness of crystal and brandishes a flaming sword.
Klu bdud nag po mgo dgu with eighteen hands, whose mouth emits flaming vapours.

The so-called *Phyugs lha spun bdun*, "the cattle-gods, the seven brothers", are a group of divine protectors of cattle, who are mainly worshiped by the Tibetan nomads. The story of their origin tells that the grandfather of the *Phyugs lha spun bdun* was called *Zla ba'i phyugs po*, their grandmother was the goddess *Nye pha'i btsun mo*, their father was known as the *Phyugs rje btsan po*, and their mother as the *Phyugs bdag btsun mo*. From the union of the latter two deities originated seven sons: *rTa lha* (the god of the horses), *g.Yag lha* (the god of the yak), *'Bri lha* (the god of tame yak), *mDzo lha* (the god of the mongrel-breed of a yak-bull and a cow), *Ba glang lha* (the god of oxen), *Lug lha* (the god of sheep), and the *Ra lha* (the god of goats).[108] The way of worshiping the *Phyugs lha spun bdun* will be discussed later on.

Apart from the above-mentioned *rTa lha* there are several other deities, all of a higher order, who are regarded as protectors of horses. In the course of the *rTa lha'i bsangs mchod*, the ceremony of "offering praise to the horse-gods", the following deities are invoked: the black *rTa mgrin padma he ru ka* with one face, two hands and two feet. He has three eyes, and a small horse-head rests upon the top of his main head. His attributes are a staff with a thunderbolt and a chain. Secondly the *rTa lha'i rgyal po remanta* is invoked. He wears a golden harness and rides on a blue horse. Iron falcons rise from his shoulders, two tigers roam in front of him, two lions crawl in the back, and a *khyung* soars above his head. He is surrounded by five hundred acolytes brandishing bows and arrows, swords, lances, thunderbolts, etc. The third protector of horses is the black *mGon po* riding on a black horse with white heels, and the fourth another *mGon po* represented as a white figure riding on a red horse. As the last the *Nor lha rta bdag kubera* is invoked, who wears a dress of leather and rides on a blue horse. His attributes are a sword and a *ba dan*.[109]

[108] 124, fol. 1a.
[109] 29.

Similar to the *ma mo* are the five black mistresses of pollution (*grib*), the *Grib bdag nag mo lnga*, who are believed to be subordinate to the five chief *ḍākinīs*. The *Grib bdag nag mo lnga* are being depicted as black women, dressed in black garments and wearing the "black turban of pollution" (*grib thod nag po*). Each holds a black banner in the right hand and a "black broom of pollution" (*grib phyag nag po*) in the left one. They ride on the "black horses of pollution" (*grib rta nag po*), black birds, called the *grib bya nag po*, soar above their heads, at their side run black dogs, the *grib khyi nag po*, and in their train follow other masters and mistresses of pollution (*grib bdag pho mo*).[110] Later, when discussing the ceremony of offering the so-called *mkha' 'gro grib mdos*, we shall encounter these five goddesses represented in a somewhat different form.

The king of the masters of pollution, *Grib bdag rgyal po*, whose residence is the "castle of pollution" (*grib mkhar*), is said to be the son of *Mun pa nag po*. He is a black man dressed in a black garment, lifting a scarf of black silk called the *grib dar nag po*, and riding on a black horse, the *grib rta nag po*. His retinue consists of black birds and black dogs, his companions are four demons, each possessing a human body but the head of an animal: the two acolytes standing in front are bird- and snake-headed, the two acolytes who stand in the back have the heads of a pig and a frog.[111]

Similar to the *Grib bdag nag mo lnga* is a group of five evil goddesses, who are being worshiped by the Bon, called the *Nad kyi bu mo spun lnga*. They are believed to be the mistresses of all illnesses and epidemics (*nad dang yams kyi bdag mo lnga*). Each of them emerges from a particular lake. They are all armed with a sack full of diseases (*nad rkyal*) and a disease-causing snare (*nad zhags*), and around them sweeps a disease-bringing storm (*nad kyi bu yug*). From a blue turquoise-lake emerges the blue *brDa'i 'phrad*, armed with a blue *nad zhags*; she sends madness to her enemies. From a white silver-lake comes forth the white *'Gying dkar ma*. She carries a whitish *nad zhags* and inflicts dropsy upon her enemies. The yellow *Chu 'phrul can* emerges from a golden lake. Her weapon is a yellow *nad zhags*, and she sends jaundice to her enemies. The red *dBang bsdud ma*, who comes forth from a red lake of blood, carries a red *nad zhags*, and she causes illnesses of the blood. From a black lake of poison emerges the black *gSum brag ma*. Her weapon is a black *nad zhags* and she causes dysentery.[112]

110 25, fol. 1b.
111 97, fol. 10a.
112 16.

A goddess sending illnesses is also the "queen of the *pretas*" (*yi dvags kyi rgyal mo*) *Kha la me 'bar ma*. Her limbs are said to be extremely thin, but her belly is "big like a pond". Her body is white, her eyes are red, the hair is bristled, and in her widely gaping mouth, from which a mist of illnesses and epidemics issues, her sharp teeth are visible. She is accompanied by the "masters of illnesses" (*nad bdag*) and the "masters of epidemics" (*rims bdag*).[113]

The group of the twenty-eight *rgyu skar* (Skt. *nakṣatra*),[114] the personifications of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, has already been mentioned several times before. Though these twenty-eight goddesses are undoubtedly of Indian origin, their cult having spread in the Snowy Land only after the introduction of Indian astronomico-astrologic conceptions, we find nevertheless in Tibetan texts passages which speak of them in a way just as if they had originally belonged to the pantheon of the Bon faith. Thus it is being claimed that *Padmasambhava* subdued the *rgyu skar* and bound them by an oath on the peak of Mt. Kailas.[115] They are also subdivided into four sections assigned to the four quarters of the world, which are then enumerated in Bon fashion:

The Pleiads etc. – the seven stars of the East (*sMin drug la sogs shar skar bdun*).

The *Me bzhi* (the twelfth lunar mansion) etc. – the seven stars of the North (*Me bzhi la sogs byang skar bdun*).

The *lHa mtshams* (the sixteenth lunar mansion) etc. – the seven stars of the West (*lHa mtshams la sogs nub kyi skar ma bdun*).

The *Bra nye* (first lunar mansion) etc. – the seven stars of the South (*Bra nye la sogs lho yi skar ma bdun*).[116]

Related to the *srin po* and *srin mo* are four groups of deities, known collectively as the *Lang ka bzhi*; each of these four groups consists again of four members. All of them are said to be fierce deities, who bare their teeth in a terrifying manner. These four groups are the white *rdo rje rigs kyi lang ka*, the yellow *rin chen rigs kyi lang ka*, the red *padma rigs kyi lang ka*, and the dark-green *las kyi rigs kyi lang ka*. The deities belonging to the first group are all armed with thunderbolts and a trident, those of

113 14, fol. 3a.

114 Mahāvyutpatti, p. 163 sq.; Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *mGon po phyag drug pa*, p. 146 sq.

115 Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247. See also chapter XIV, note 48.

116 134, fol. 10b.

the second group carry jewels and tridents, each of the four members of the *padma rigs kyi lang ka* holds a lotus and a trident, and each member of the last group carries a pair of crossed thunderbolts and also a trident.[117] These four groups are apparently ruled by sixty deities, the *Lang ka'i bdag po drug cu.*

The various *Klu 'bum* mention together with the *klu, gnyan* and *sa bdag* also the *gtod* and *gzed*, two categories of deities about whom very little is known so far. Both the *gtod* and *gzed* are of an evil nature, and they are said to cause people becoming mute. A king of the latter class of deities is the *Lan tsha ding khung*, who is being depicted beating an iron drum. Scarcely any information is found in Tibetan works on the *grul bum*, the Indian *kumbhāṇḍhas*, [118] whom we mentioned several times as a class of supernatural beings appearing in the retinue of various *dharmapālas.* A goddess belonging to the *grul bum* class is the dark-brown *Grul bum gyi bu mo 'bum gyi gtso mo.* She carries a club and rides on an undefined beast of prey.[119] Occasionally the *grul bum* are also represented in religious mask-dances (*'bag 'cham*), e.g. one of the dancers appearing in the *'cham* performed during the New Year celebrations at the Potala in Lhasa represents a *grul bum.* His mask is a lion's head with a green mane.

The *lha bsangs* texts mention a group of ancient Tibetan deities called the 'evil peak-gods of castles', *mkhar gyi rtse lha gnyan po,* said to count thirteen members. Two other names under which they are known are *mkhar la gnas pa'i lcog lha* and *mkhar lha btsan po.* Together with the *rtse lha* one often finds mentioned the *sgo lha*, the *lha* dwelling at gates.

A mixture between the *klu* and the *btsan* are the *klu btsan.* The best-known representative of this class of deities is the *Byang bdud klu btsan* with nine horns of copper and iron, nine eyes, and nine long arms, who is supposed to have been subdued by king *Ge sar.* Several other figures of the *klu btsan* category had already been mentioned in the foregoing chapters, as e.g. the *Rāja gos sngon gyi klu btsan*, the *lHa brag klu btsan*, etc. Another member of the *klu btsan* class is the *Klu btsan dmar po 'od zer rje*, who is supposed to have hatched from a "red egg of light" (*'od kyi sgo nga dmar po*). His body is red, he has the blood-coloured head of a

117 6, fol. 41a, b.
118 See Mahāvyutpatti, p. 173.
119 6, fol. 43a.

bear, and his red mount is known as the *klu glang dmar po.*[120] – A related class of deities about whom only very little is known are the *klu srin*, who originated from a union between the *klu* and the *srin mo*. A member of this class is the *Klu srin rtol mgo can*, whose father is said to have been the *Ba ru rgyal ba* (*Varuṇa*) and his mother the *klu srin ma Srin mo 'gram ring ma.*[121]

The title (*b*)*shan pa*, "butcher", as we saw above, is given to many of the wrathful *dharmapālas*. Thus in the train of *lCam sring* we encountered the *shan pa Ma ru rtse*, *Mi dmar bshan pa*, and the *Shan pa mi zan*. The *bKa' rgyud pa* works speak about a whole group of "sixteen butchers who take the life-breath", the *dBugs len gyi shan pa bcu drug*. In their tantric aspect they bear the name *dBugs len gyi shan pa yab yum bcu drug*. The passage mentioned on p. 378 speaks of four *shan pa*. To the *shan pa* group belongs further the *Shan pa nag po*, "the black butcher", who is depicted as a black man dressed in a human skin, holding a heart and a sack full of diseases.

Very little is known so far about the class of the *se*, *bse*, or *bsve*, who are supposed to have entered into relations with the *bdud* and the *btsan*, thus forming the categories of the *bse bdud* and *bse btsan*. We encountered already above several *bse* and deities related to them, as the *bSe bdud ngu ru ki* in the retinue of *lCam sring*, the Bon god *A bse rgyal ba*, and the king *bSe te re* in the retinue of *Pe har*. Also among the *'gong po* seem to appear several deities, who belong simultaneously to the *bse* class. Numerous *bse* are to be found among the *sa bdag*; a note on these has already been published by Tucci.[122] To the *se* belong further the four *Se ju* brothers (*Se ju spun bzhi*) – a member of this brotherhood is the *Se ju le drag pa* – and the *bSe'i lha mo ga ma*. Special pieces of the outfit of the *bse*, though carried frequently also by other deities, are a hat known as *bsve zhva*, a lance called *bsve mdung*, and a snare, the *bsve zhags*.

Also information about the *gdon* is still lacking. There are supposed to be "four common *gdon*" (*gDon phal pa bzhi*), further "fifteen great *gdon*" (*gDon chen bco lnga*) and "eighteen great *gdon*" (*gDon chen bco brgyad*); the latter are most probably identical with the *Byis pa'i gdon chen bco brgyad*, the eighteen great *gdon* who injure children.[123] In his work on the

120 170, fol. 6b.
121 170, fol. 8b.
122 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 714 sq.
123 Ribbach (*Drogpa Namgyal*, München 1940, p. 12) speaks even of one hundred thousand *gdon* who threaten children: *byis gdon 'bum*.

guardian-gods and related divinities, *Klong rdol bla ma*[124] mentions several times the *gdon*. He speaks about the *gnas gdon*, *lus gdon*, and *las gdon*, and under the heading "the eighteen *gdon*" he gives the following enumeration: *lha*, *lha min*, *dri za*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin*, *Tshangs pa*, *srin po*, *sha za*, *yi dvags*, *grul bum*, *byad ltems*, *g.yengs byed*, *ro langs*, *mtshun lha*, *bla ma*, *drang srong*, *rgan po*, and *grub pa*. According to a Tibetan oral tradition there are supposed to be four hundred twenty four *gdon*, who are described in a book called shortly the *gDugs dkar*, "White Umbrella", which is alleged to have been composed by *Buddha Śākyamuni* himself.

A rarely mentioned class are the *mtshun* (*tshun*, *btsun*) or *mes btsun*, the ancestral spirits, whom we mentioned in the retinue of the mountain-god *'O de gung rgyal*. The dictionary of Jäschke claims that these are the "household-gods of the shamans".[125] The deified *mtshun* bear the name *mtshun lha*. Many of them seem to be regarded as spirits of an evil nature: *mes btsun gnyan po*. They are divided into two groups: the spirits of the male and the female ancestors, known as the *pha mtshun* (*gnyan po*) and *ma mtshun* (also *ma btsun* and *mo btsun*). To the group of the *pha mtshun* belong the *Pha mtshun yab lha rdal* (also *gdal*) *drug* or *Pha mtshun yab lha spun drug* – a brotherhood of six *yab lha* or "father-gods", apparently identical with the so-called *Yab lha sde drug* – and a brotherhood of nine *dgra lha*, known as the *Pha mtshun dgra lha spun dgu*. A member of the *ma mtshun* group is the *Ma mtshun rgyal mo mthing go* (also: *Mo btsun rgyal mo theng ge* and *Mo btsun rgyal mo mthing ge*).

Among the multitude of beings accompanying some of the *dharmapālas* appear also the *pho rgyud* (or *pha rgyud*) and *mo rgyud* (*ma rgyud*). They seem to be aboriginal Tibetan deities, since the *Padma thang yig* claims that all the *pho rgyud* were subdued at a place called *g.Yu 'jin phug mo*;[126] but also the *mo rgyud* must have been conquered by this or some other saint, since some of the Tibetan sources call them the *dam can mo rgyud*.

In the foregoing chapters we encountered already several *bon skyong* or *bon srung*, the guardian-deities of the Bon; we also observed that a number

124 70, fol. 14a.
125 p. 456; Waddell (*Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 354) calls the ancestral gods the *sMra zhang chung gi lha* and claims that it is customary to worship these in summer.
126 Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 247.

of Buddhist *dharmapālas* are worshiped by the Bonpos as guardians of their own faith, e.g. *Pe har*, the local protective deity *Jo bo 'bo lha*, etc. The best-known of all *bon skyong* is the *g.yung drung bon gyi bstan srung sTag lha me 'bar*, a tiger-headed black figure surrounded by flames. He is dressed in a cloak of silk, in tiger and leopard-skins, his right hand holds a flaming ball of metal (*thu lum me 'bar ba*), the left one carries a *stag sgro*.[127]

An important category of *bon skyong* are the *dbal*,[128] who are supposed to have originated from eggs. In this particular case it is even being claimed that three groups of *dbal*, each numbering nine members, came forth from nine eggs at different times. First nine wrathful, animal-headed goddesses are supposed to have originated, who seem to be known under the collective name *gZe ma dgu*, "the nine who run quickly". There are two other terms by which these goddesses are addressed. The first one, *dBal gze ma mi bzad chen mo*, refers to their alleged swiftness and invincibility. The second appellation is *Dam can dbal gyi gze ma chen mo*, a title which apparently indicates that they had been subdued and bound by an oath by *gShen rab mi bo*. In accordance with their position as *bon srung*, they are invoked to harm or destroy all enemies of the Bon faith. The nine eggs from which they originated are called the *srid pa'i sgo nga* (*dang mo*) *dgu*, and each of them was hatched or broken open in some particular way. Each of these nine *dbal* goddesses is named after the animal head she has. From these names we learn that they have the heads of a dragon, snake, jack-daw, lion, brown bear, wolf, tiger, *khyung*, and *makara*. The blue *'Brug gi mgo can* was hatched by the sound of thunder, the dark-green *sBrul gyi mgo can* by the sound of wind, the black *sKyung ka'i mgo can* by the voice of the *bdud*, and the white *Seng ge'i mgo can* by the voice of the lion. The meaning of the text is, however, obscure in the case of the red *Dred kyi mgo can*, since the sound which is said to have caused her to come forth from the egg is described as the *dbal kha gnam sgo can gyi sgra*; similarly, the egg from which the dark-red *sPyang khu'i mgo can* took her origin was broken open by a sound called the *dgu tshigs gzhu gi sgra*. The dark-brown *sTag gi mgo can* was hatched by the sound of blazing fireclouds, the yellow-green *Khyung gi mgo can* by the sound of the drum and the *gshang*, and the egg of the blue-green *Chu srin mgo can* was broken open by the sound of a *rgya gling*.

127 200. See the picture in Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 520; he is known to the Na-khi as the *⁴Dta-²la-¹mi-²mbu* (Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, plate XXV).

128 Francke, 'gZer myig,' *Asia Major*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1924 p. 329; Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 130 sq.

Later, nine strong-bodied goddesses were hatched from the nine *srid pa'i sgo nga (bar mo) dgu*, who were called the *Mi bzad dbal gyi gyad ma dgu* or *Gyad mo stobs chen ma dgu*. These nine goddesses, who are requested to throw the varicoloured *btsan zhags* against the enemies of the Bon faith, to scare them by their evil-portending voices, to tear their bodies to pieces, etc., have the head of a wild yak, heron, black bear, ox (or elephant?), leopard, owl, falcon, snowy leopard, and wild boar.

Gying ma 'brong gi mgo can, yellow-red, was hatched by the voice of the strong yak of the *dbal*.

Kang ka bya rgod mgo can, white; the sound which caused her to come forth from the egg is described as the *lha ri spos mthon sgra*.

gTum chen mi bzad dom kyi mgo can, black, was hatched by the voice of the black *klu*.

(*Thig chen*) *stobs ldan glang po'i mgo can*, yellow; her egg was broken open by the voice of a kind of *ma mo*, called the *Za mkhan ma mo*.

mDzes ldan gzig gi mgo can, blue, was hatched by the voice of a man and a *btsan*.

'Jigs byed thabs ldan 'ug pa'i mgo can, yellow-green; the egg of this *dbal* was broken open by the mighty roar of thunder.

mGyogs ma khra'i mgo can, red, was hatched by the sound of the flaming lightning.

gDug mo gsa'i mgo can, gray, her egg was broken open by a snowy leopard, called the *lHa chen gsa'*.

dMig ngan phag rgod mgo can, dark red; it is obscure what is meant by "the sound of the right attribute" (*phyag mtshan g.yas kyi sgra*), which is said to have broken this egg.

The last set of nine eggs, called the *dbal gyi sgo nga tha ma dgu*, originated from a union of the goddess *Srid pa'i rgyal mo gnam phyi gung rgyal* and the god *Mi bzad gnam kyi lha rgod thog pa*. The latter is a dark-blue god with four heads and eight arms. His right head is white, the left one red, and the central head is azure-blue. The fourth head, which rests on top of these three heads, is red. He is dressed in the skin of a "sky *bdud*" (*gnam bdud lpags*) and in a skin drawn from a cross-breed between the broad-headed tiger (*gung*) and a leopard. He wears a turban decorated with the eight planets, his toupet is adorned with the sun and the moon, and his earrings are swastika-shaped. The shape of some of the attributes he carries is not clear: the right hands hold a sword, a lance, a small drum, and a *gcu sta*; the left ones a snare, a chain, a *gze ma*, and a *kha tse*. One hundred thousand wild *lha* of the sky (*gnam gyi lha rgod*) accompany him. His *yum*, who is also called the *Srid pa'i rgyal mo 'dren*

(or *'gren*) *gyi zla med ma*, is dark-green and has hundred heads and thousand arms. Seven hundred thousand *dbal gyi ma mo* emanate from her body. The eggs which were the result of the union of these two divinities were a white egg of conch-shell, a yellow egg of gold, a black iron egg, a brown egg of cornelian, a blue turquoise egg, a white crystal egg, a red copper egg, a jewel egg, and a stone egg. Each of these eggs reached a different sphere: the white conch-shell egg went up to the sky, ruled by the *gNam rje smon thang rgyal ba*. There it was hatched by the wind of the *lha*, and out of the egg a white woman came forth who, on account of the sphere in which she had been born, was called the *gNam gyi byin te chen mo*. The yellow egg of gold reached the earth ruled by the *Se lha mgon bu*. There it was broken open on a golden stone. The black woman with locks of leather who emerged from it was called the *Sa'i byin te chen mo*. The black iron egg broke open on the edge of a black rock of the *bdud*, lying in the black *bdud*-land ruled by the king of the *bdud*, *Ri bo 'gong g.yag*. Out of this egg a black woman with nine leathern faces came forth, called the *bDud kyi byin te chen mo*. The brown egg of cornelian reached the country of the *dmu*, ruled by the *dMu rje btsun thogs skyol po*, and there it broke open on the rock of the *dmu*. A brown woman with azure-blue locks emerged from it, who was called the *dMu'i byin te chen mo*. The blue turquoise-egg rolled to the land of the *klu*, the domain of the *Nāgarāja Ba ru rgyal ba* (*Varuṇa*). Having been broken open on the point of the white horn of the water-spirit ox, a blue woman came forth from its shell, with six faces similar to stars. She was given the name *Klu'i byin te chen mo*. The white crystal-egg went to the land of the *gnyan* ruled by a deity, whose name seems to be *gNyan gsum gtod de rgyal ba*. It was opened on a huge golden bolder, and from it came forth a white woman with two turquoise-faces, who received the name *gNyan gyi byin te chen mo*. The red copper-egg reached the black country of the *srin*, ruled by the king of the *srin*, *Lan ka mgrin chu*. There the egg was broken open on the varicoloured stone of the *srin*, and the red woman with nine terrifying heads which emerged from it received the appellation *Srin gyi byin te chen mo*. The jewel-egg went to the land of the *phyva*, ruled by the *Phyva btsun steng gi rje*, where it broke open on the pinnacle of the castle of the *phyva*, and from it came forth a blue-green, two-headed woman, who was called the *Phyva yi byin te chen mo*. The stone-egg, which had been created as the last one, fell into the hand of the king of the *bgegs*. Later it was broken open on the side of a copper-yak who stood on a red rock, and from it emerged a dark-red woman with iron locks, who received the name *bGegs kyi byin te chen mo*.

Each of these nine goddesses, who are shortly called the *Byin te dgu*, is brought into relation with a group of nine beings, who are referred to as the *khri'i 'a mo:*

Byin te dgu	*Khri'i 'a mo*
gNam gyi byin te chen mo	*gNam gyi spar ma dgu*
Sa'i byin te chen mo	*Sa srin spar ma dgu*
bDud kyi byin te chen mo	*Ma bdud spar ma dgu*
dMu'i byin te chen mo	*Dal bdag spar ma dgu*
Klu'i byin te chen mo	*Klu srin spar ma dgu*
gNyan gyi byin te chen mo	*Gangs rgyud spar ma dgu*
Srin gyi byin te chen mo	*Srin mo'i mgo brnyan dgu*
Phyva gyi byin te chen mo	*Phyva sman spar ma dgu*
bGegs kyi byin te chen mo	*Phug bdag spar ma dgu*[129]

The first group is brought into relation with the sky, while the appellation *sa srin*, which forms a part of the name of the second group, indicates that these nine goddesses belong to the class of the "earth-*rākṣasīs*" mentioned above; similarly, the group named next is classified as belonging to the "lower *bdud*" (*ma bdud*), a class which had been mentioned above. A group yet unknown are the *dal bdag*, named in connection with the nine goddesses occupying the fourth place. The *klu srin*, as had already been explained, are a mixture between the *klu* and the *srin mo*. A group whose nature is yet unknown are the *gangs rgyud*; they are probably related to the before-named *pho rgyud* and *mo rgyud*. What the term *srin mo'i mgo brnyan*, "dreadful apparition of the *srin mo*", exactly means remains obscure. The *Phyva sman spar ma dgu* are apparently a mixture between the *sman* and the *phyva*,[130] the gods of divination; within the *parivāras* of several forms of *rNam thos sras*, we encountered already a member of this category called *Phyva sangs*. The last group of nine goddesses is addressed as the "owners of caves" (*phug bdag*); it is difficult to say whether this is a mere title or whether the *phug bdag* are perhaps a particular class of pre-Buddhist deities.

Also the four Bon goddesses known as the *lHag ma bzhi* or *lHag bsdud ma* belong possibly to the category of the *dbal*. Their distribution in the four cardinal points is as follows:

East – the white, lion-faced *lCags sgrog ma*, who holds a *gshang* of – conch-shell (*dung gshang*).

129 11.
130 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 143.

North – the blue, dragon-faced *gShang thog ma*; it was not possible to – identify her attribute, which the text calls a *bsve khab zang gder*.
West – the red, pig-faced *Zhags pa mo*, who holds a special *gshang* of – copper, known as the *zangs gshang gling chen*.
South – the black, bear-faced *Ral gri ma*; also her attribute remains un- – determined: the text says that she lifts a *gze shag* (perhaps *zhags* ?) made of meteoric iron.[131]

To the class of the *dbal* belong further four gods and four mythic animals; each of the gods is called the *dBal gyi gyad chen*, "giant of the *dbal*", and collectively they are known as the *Gyad dmag dpon bzhi*. These figures are distributed in the main and intermediary quarters of the world, and their enumeration is carried out in the Bon way: in the East is a small man of conch-shell who lifts the "white lance of the *dbal*" (*dbal mdung dkar po*). The North is occupied by a small man of turquoise who holds the "arrow and bow of the *dbal*" (*dbal gyi mda' gzhu*). In the West stands a small man of copper who lifts the "hatchet of the *dbal*" (*dbal gyi dgra sta*), and in the South is a small man of iron holding an unknown attribute called a *ral kyu*. A varicoloured "tiger of the *dbal*", *dBal stag khra bo*, stands in the Southeast, in the Northeast is the "blue dragon of the *dbal*", *dBal 'brug sngon po*, in the Northwest the "white yak of the *dbal*", *dBal g.yag dkar po*, and the Southwest is occupied by the blue *dBal gyi bya bzang*, who is identical with the *dBal khyung*. To the name of each of these four animals is prefixed the word *sprul pa*, "emanation".[132]

The word *dbal* forms a part of the names of various Bon deities, thus e.g. the *dBal chen ram pa* or the well-known Bon deity *sTag lha me 'bar*, who is occasionally called the *dBal bon stag lha me 'bar*. The appellation *dbal* seems to indicate, that these deities stand in some relation to the above groups of the *dbal*. Such a relation appears to exist also in the case of the Bon god *dBal gsas rngam pa khro rgyal 'gying kha* and his *yum*, the *rNgam*

[131] 18, fols. 45a, 63a, 77a.
[132] 18, fol. 14a, b. The characteristics of these four animals are described in onomatopoetic words, which are rather difficult to render in an adequate translation; this description is therefore given here in the original:

sPrul pa dbal stag khra bo
dung gi mche ba tham se tham
lcags kyi dbal sder shags se shags

sprul pa dbal g.yag dkar po
dbal ru gnam du segs se segs
dbal mig sa la shags se shags
dbal gyi dar skad thang se thang

sprul pa dbal 'brug sngon po
dbal gyi 'brug sgra di ri ri
dbal gyi glog chen gya ma gyu
dbal gyi thog sgra chems se chems

(sprul pa) dbal gyi bya bzang sngon po
dbal ru gnam du zangs se zangs
dbal gshog sa la yug se yug
dbal gyi mchu sder shag se shag.

mo yum chen srid pa'i bde sgrol ma. This Bon god is represented as a dark-blue figure with nine heads, eighteen hands, and four feet. Red lightning issues from his eyes, the roar of thunder comes from his ears, a black wind blows from his nose, and the "great hail of the *dbal*" (*dbal gyi ser chen*) falls from his tongue. The heads are arranged in the following way: in the lowest row are three human heads, a white one on the right side, a red one on the left side, and a dark-blue head in the centre. On top of the central head is the head of a great fierce "lion of the *dbal*" (*dBal gyi seng ge*), above the head on the right side is that of a ferocious tiger, and above the left head is that of a great angry spotted leopard. On the lion's head rests the "great *khyung* of the *dbal*" (*dBal gyi khyung chen*), on top of the tiger's head is that of a dragon, and on the leopard's head rests the head of a *makara.* The first pair of hands holds a *phur bu,* which had been dipped into five kinds of poison. The other eight hands on the right carry, when starting the enumeration from above, the following objects: a "banner of victory", a sword, an unidentified object called *sha 'bal kha chen,* a kind of *ba dan* called the *srid pa'i ba dan,* a long lance of copper, a battle-lance with the figure of a *khyung* on it (*khyung gi ru mtshon*), the before-last hand lets loose the ferocious tiger of the *dbal,* and the lowest hand holds an arrow-head made of meteoric iron. The left hands lift a bow and an arrow, a snare, a hook, a kind of fork made of copper (*zangs kyi sha zung*), a chain, a great *gshang,* a cat(?), and a bolder.

The *yum* of *dBal gsas rngam pa khro rgyal 'gying kha* is usually called the *rNgam mo yum chen srid pa'i bde sgrol ma,* but there are in addition to it six other names by which she is known as well: when she acts as the mistress of the castle, known as the *gSas mkhar rgyas pa,* she is called *Sa trig er sangs rgyal mo dbyings kyi yum.* When she acts as the mistress of the hundred thousand minor *sman* (*sman phran*), her name is *gNam phyi bdud rgyal nam mkha'i mdzod 'dzin ma.* As the mistress of the castle called the *gSas mkhar zhi ba* her name is *Thugs rje byam na skye 'gro gso ba'i ma,* in her capacity as the *sgrol yum* of *lHa rgod thog pa* her name is *Srid pa'i rgyal mo 'gran gyi zla med ma,* and as the secret consort (*gsang yum*) of the *Kha 'byings lha* she is given the name *mKha' la gdug mo bdag kun gyi yum.* Her sixth name is *bZang za ring btsun lha mo dar gyi yum.*[133]

To the class of the *bon skyong* belong apparently also the Bon gods *Nam mkha'i gza' chen thog ser bdag* and the *lHa gnyan tshogs lha gu ru,* who are mentioned even in the *lha bsangs* texts of the Buddhists.

135, fol. 4a, b.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DGRA LHA

The title *dgra lha*, "enemy-god", is usually given to those deities who are believed to be especially capable of protecting their worshipers against enemies, and to help them to increase their property. Thus, as we had seen already, *Pe har* is addressed as the *skye bo yongs kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of all men", or simply as *dgra lha chen po Pe har*, "the great *dgra lha Pe har*", also as *dgra lha'i rgyal po gnas chung*. Also numerous other *dharmapālas* bear the title *dgra lha:* the deity *rDo rje shugs ldan* is called a *dgra lha'i rgyal po chen po*, "great king of the *dgra lha*", *Tsi'u dmar po* is a *dgra lha'i rgyal po*, *rDo rje legs pa* bears the title *dgra lha chen po*, "great *dgra lha*" – one of the classifications of ancient deities discussed before even assigned to him the position of a leader of all *dgra lha* – and *Kṣetrapāla*, one of the "ministers" of *mGon po phyag drug pa*, is a *rnal 'byor gyi dgra lha*, "*dgra lha* of the *yogīs*". The legendary king *Ge sar* is occasionally called "the king *Ge sar*, the *dgra lha* of *Zhang zhung*", *Ge sar rgyal po zhang zhung gi dgra lha*, and the *bTsaṇ chen jag pa me len* is, as we mentioned above, believed to be the *dgra lha* of Bhutan.

The term *dgra lha*,[1] – pronounced colloquially *dabla*, and therefore sometimes erroneously written *dgra bla* – is, however, also the name of one particular, personal protective deity. The seat of the personal *dGra lha*, whom each man is supposed to have, is the right shoulder, while the *Pho lha* – next to the *dGra lha* the most important personal guardian-deity – is supposed to occupy the right armpit. The grave consequences which are believed to result once the *dGra lha* and the *Pho lha* have left a man are described in the legend about the death of the Tibetan king *Gri gum btsan po*. This ancient Tibetan ruler was killed in a duel with his cunning minister *Long ngam*, after the latter had succeeded in driving away these two deities protecting the king's body. A detailed study of this interesting legend has recently been made by Hoffmann in his

[1] On *dgra lha* see also *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 354; Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, pp. 173 and 252; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 741, note 44; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 161, 171; Bleichsteiner, 'Srog bdag', p. 115 sq.

valuable work on the history of the Bon religion[2]. The description of the personal *dGra lha* will be given later on, when discussing once more the group of deities known as the *'Go ba'i lha lnga*.

Apart from the personal *dGra lha* residing on the right shoulder, there are supposed to exist whole groups of *dgra lha*, mostly called the *dgra lha* brotherhoods: the group of three *dgra lha* brothers, called *Mi thub dgra lha spun gsum*, said to be worshiped primarily by the Bon, the five orders of *dgra lha* (*dGra lha sde lnga*), the seven *dgra lha* (*dGra lha bdun*), the nine *dgra lha* brothers (*dGra lha mched dgu*), who are also called the *dGra lha gnyan dgu mched dgu*, the thirteen *dgra lha* (*dGra lha bcu gsum*), and the twenty-one *dgra lha* (*dGra lha nyi shu rtsa gcig*).

The personal *dGra lha* as well as the divinities belonging to the various *dgra lha* groups are believed to protect the lives of their worshipers, to help them in overcoming obstacles and defeating their enemies. Moreover, they are said to aid them to achieve a higher rank and social position. They are therefore extensively venerated by both Buddhists and Bonpos. It is customary that should the prayers be answered, the fortunate worshiper will arrange for a ceremony to be held in honour of the *dgra lha*, to express thus his gratitude. This ceremony is known as the *dGra lha dpangs bstod*, "high praise of the *dgra lha*", and is usually preceeded by another rite, shortly called *lHa bsangs*. Though the ceremonies connected with the cult of the *dharmapālas* will be described in the second part of this book, it is preferable to discuss these two ceremonies already here, since their description involves an analysis of iconographic material.

The *dGra lha dpangs bstod* and the *lHa bsangs* take place in the house of the man who has ordered these ceremonies to be performed. They are officiated in the early morning by up to twenty priests. First, the *lHa bsangs* is carried out, and for this ceremony a special book is used — the *lha bsangs* texts of the various sects to which we already refered several times – containing long enumerations of gods and goddesses, most of them of pre-Buddhist origin. To all these divinities collectively the priests offer a *gtor ma*, incense, and a great number of dough-effigies, representing men and various animals, which had been made with the help of a wooden mould (*zan par*). Three different types of *lHa bsangs* are being distinguished by the Tibetans, depending on whether the ceremony is performed by *dGe lugs pa*, *rNying ma pa* (or members of other Buddhists sects opposed to the teachings of the *dGe lugs pa*), or Bon priests. If officiated by *dGe lugs pa* priests, the ceremony bears the name *lHa bsangs rnam dag chos sku*, while in the second case it is known as *brGya*

[2] *Quellen*, p. 298.

brngan lha bsangs; if officiated by Bon priests, its name is *sTong rgyas lha bsangs*. The special *zan par* used for the latter two ceremonies are known accordingly as the *brGya brngan lha bsangs gi zan par* and *sTong rgyas lha bsangs gi zan par*.

After the collective sacrifice to all the spirits has been made, each divinity is invoked individually in order to receive a separate offering: the chief officiating priest takes a small cup, which an assistant fills with some Tibetan beer (*chang*), and places then a small cone of dough (*bshos bu*) into the liquid. If the offering is made to a *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* of the wrathful type, then a piece of meat is put into the cup as well. While reciting the invocation of the particular divinity, the cup is emptied into the air with a quick thrust of the hand, and an assistant then hands over to the officiating lama the substances to be offered to the next deity mentioned in the *lha bsangs* book.

It would lead too far to list and explain here in detail the numerous deities which are invoked on this occasion, and it may therefore suffice to mention only a few of them.

The first group of deities mentioned in a *lha bsangs* text used by the *rNying ma pa*[3] are the "fifty-eight blood-drinkers" (*khrag 'tung lnga bcu rtsa brgyad*), who are depicted as ferocious beings wearing ornaments of human bone. They are followed by five groups of deities, enumerated in accordance with a classification characteristic of the Red Hat sect:
a) *'Jam dpal sku yi lha tshogs*, a term refering to *'Jam dpal dbyangs* (Skt. *Mañjuśrī*), his forms and retinue.
b) *Padma gsung gi lha tshogs*, refers to *'Od dpag med* (Skt. *Amitābha*) and his train.
c) *Yang dag thugs kyi lha tshogs*, refers to *Khro bo bdud rtsi 'khyil ba*,[4] a *yi dam* worshiped primarily by the *rNying ma pa*, but known to the *dGe lugs pa* as well, whom the *Zur kha brgya rtsa* (fol. 246a) describes as a deity of a green colour, possessing one three-eyed head and two hands. He is supposed to appear in a wrathful aspect. With his right hand he brandishes a club adorned with a double-thunderbolt (*rdo rje rgya gram*), his left hand, which is set in the *tarjanī mudrā*, holds a snare. Around his body are wound the eight great *nāgas*. He wears a loin-cloth of tiger-skin, and an upper garment of blue silk. The whole figure is surrounded by flames, and its feet – one bent and the other one stretched – stand on a "sun-lotus" pedestal. Since only very little had been known so far about

[3] 77.

[4] Regarding this deity see also Tucci, *Indo Tibetica*, IV/1, 180, 188, 212 sq.: *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 589, 603.

this member of the Tibetan pantheon, it may be useful to give here a description of several other forms of this god.

In an aspect very similar to the one already described, *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba* is represented as a blue-green deity, holding a double-thunderbolt in the right hand, and a bell in the left one. The wrathful blue form of *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba* has one face and two hands, the right one holding a double-thunderbolt, and the left one resting in the *tarjanī mudrā*. A tiger-skin serves him as a loin-cloth.[5] *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba*'s black, one-faced, and two-handed form holds a thunderbolt and a snare.[6] In another black-coloured aspect, *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba* appears as a ferocious deity, with three heads: a black, a white, and a red one. He bares his teeth, his yellow eyebrows and hair are aflame. His three right hands hold a hatchet, a sword, and a thunderbolt, the uppermost of his left hands makes the *tarjanī mudrā*, while the other two hold a pestle and a snare. His head is adorned with a crown, consisting of dry skulls as well as of freshly severed heads, and with his left foot he treads to earth the king of the *vighnas*.

Eight deities, all of them with smiling faces, emanate out of the black *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba*: in the East the blue goddess *rDo rje bdud rtsi ma*, who has three faces: a blue, a white, and a red one. Her six hands hold a lotus, mirror, hatchet, snare, pestle, and the last hand makes the *tarjanī mudrā*. The West is occupied by the blue *bDud rtsi lus can ma*. Her three faces are blue, white, and red, her six hands hold a lotus, an image of a Buddha, a sword, hatchet, snare, and one hand makes the *tarjanī mudrā*. In the North resides the white *bDud rtsi spyan ma*. Her three faces are white, black, and red, her three right hands hold a lotus, the moon, and a sword, two left hands wield a hatchet and a snare, and the third one makes the *tarjanī mudrā*. Further belong to the *parivāra* the green *A me ya*, who is supposed to dwell in the fire. She has three faces - they are green, white, and red - and six hands; one of them makes the *tarjanī mudrā*, the others carry a lotus, sword, pestle, snare, and a hatchet. Another companion of the chief deity is the yellow *Bu gzugs bzang ma*, living in the northwestern direction: her central face is yellow, the other two are white and red. The three right hands hold a lotus, a thunderbolt, and a sword, one of the left ones makes the *tarjanī mudrā*, and the remaining two hold a hatchet and a snare. In the wind resides the yellowish *mDzes pa'i gzugs can ma*. Her three faces are yellow, white, and red, and she carries the same attributes as *Bu gzugs bzang ma*. This is also

[5] 43, fol. 17b.
[6] 43, fol. 64a.

the case with the red goddess *bDe sgrub ma*, who dwells in the "sphere of power", except that instead of the thunderbolt she wields a pestle.

Four gates lead into the *maṇḍala* of *bDud rtsi 'khyil ba*, and each of them is guarded by a three-headed and six-handed ferocious goddess; the appearance and distribution of these divinities are as follows:

Eastern gate — the red *rDo rje lcags kyu ma;* her faces are red, white, and black. Right hands: hook, sword, thunderbolt; left hands: pestle, hatchet, *tarjanī mudrā.*

Southern gate — the yellow *Zhags pa ma;* her faces are yellow, white, and red; right hands: snare, sword, thunderbolt; left hands: same as in the case of *rDo rje lcags kyu ma.*

Western gate — the white *lCags sgrog ma;* her faces are white, black, and red; right hands: chain, sword, hatchet; left hands: pestle, thunderbolt, and *tarjanī mudrā.*

Northern gate — the green *Dril bu ma;* her faces are green, white, and red; right hands: bell, thunderbolt, sword; left hands: hatchet, pestle, and *tarjanī mudrā.*[7]

d) *Che mchog yon tan lha tshogs*, refers to the deity *bDe mchog* (Skt. *Saṃvara*). The *rNying ma pa* recognize three main types of this deity; one with three heads and six hands, another with nine heads and eighteen hands, and one with twenty-five heads and forty-two hands.

e) *Phur pa 'phrin las lha tshogs*,[8] refers to *rDo rjë phur pa*, a well-known

[7] 43, fol. 7b.

[8] The text here quoted mentions, apart of the five groups named above, five other less known groups: *bDud rtsi sman gyi lha tshogs*, *Ma mo rbod gtong lha tshogs*, *Bla ma rig 'dzin lha tshogs*, *'Jig rten chod bstod lha tshogs*, and *rMod pa drag snag lha tshogs*. Eight of these ten groups stand in relation to the "eight tutelaries" (*sGrub pa bka' brgyad*, according to Li An-che) whom Li An-che enumerates on p. 147 of his publication 'Rñiṅ ma pa: the early form of Lamaism,' *JRAS*, London 1948, pp. 142–163. in the following order:

'Jam dpal sku'i lha	*Phur pa 'phrin las lha*
Padma gsung gi lha	*Ma mo rbod gtong lha*
Yang dag thugs kyi lha	*dMod pa drag sngags lha*
Che mchog yon tan gyi lha	*'Jig rten mchod bstod lha*

A similar enumeration is to be found on p. 106 of Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals; there are mentioned the "eight Doctrines of Propitiation" (*bKa' brgyad*) as practised by the *rNying ma pa*, which stand in connection to the *pañcatathāgatāḥ:*

'Jam dpal sku	*rNam snang*
Padma gsung	*'Od dpag med*
Yang dag thugs	*Mi bskyod pa*
bDud rtsi yon tan	*Rin 'byung*
Phur pa phrin las	*Don grub*

yi dam of the Red Hats.[9] The five main aspects of *rDo rje phur pa*, the *Kīla rigs lnga*, are classified in the following manner:

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Lower part of the body*
Centre	(*sKu mchog*) *Buddhakīla*	azure-blue	*phur bu* of conch-shells
East	(*Thugs mchog*) *Vajrakīla*	white	,, ,, silver
South	(*Yon tan*) *Ratnakīla*	yellow	,, ,, gold
West	(*gSung mchog*) *Padmakīla*	red	,, ,, copper
North	(*'Phrin las*) *Karmakīla*	green	,, ,, iron[10]

Among the more important divinities listed as the next in the book on the *lHa bsangs* ceremony, we may mention the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis*, the eight planetary deities, the twenty-eight *rgyu skar*, the eight great *nāgas*, *Jambhala* and the host of *gandharvas* guarding the eastern quarter, the *dam can rDo rje legs pa*, the mountain-gods *rMa chen spom ra*, *gNyan chen thang lha*, *lHa btsun bu le*, *Yar lha sham po*, and a great number of minor *btsan*, *dmu*, *gzhi bdag*, *yul lha*, etc.

The *bon po'i lha bsangs*,[11] after enumerating the various offerings presented to different members of the Bon pantheon, mentions several high-ranking Bon deities, among them the *Bon kun tu bzang po*, the *lHa rgod thog pa*, *sKu gsum me lha*, *dBal chen ram pa*, *gSang mchog rgyal po*, *bsKal pa bzang po*, *'Od zer dpag me*, and the *g.Yung drung phyug mo*, further the religious masters and the "treasure-book discoverors" (*gter ston*) of the Bon and various *ma mo;* the latter are named as the representatives of particular groups of goddesses belonging to this class:

Ma mo	*Group*
Srid pa rgyal mo	*Dus drug sprul pa'i ma mo*
mKha' dbyings lha mo	*Bon nyid dbyings kyi ma mo*
Dus yum lha mo	*Rang bzhin mkha' nyid ma mo*
Ma gcig lha mo	*rDzu 'phrul klong gi ma mo*
bDe 'gro gsang yum	*Drag byed sprul pa'i ma mo*
gNam phyi mched gsum	*Bon nyid dbyings kyi ma mo*
rGyal mo rnam gsum	*mKha' klong dbyings kyi ma mo*

This *lha bsangs* text mentions next the *dGra lha'i rgyal mo*, further the *Ma bdud rgyal mo*, the five orders of the *gTer bdag yum*, and the classes

9 For a detailed description of the position and iconography of this deity see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 588.
10 108.
11 128.

of the *bdud, btsan, gshin rje, ging, pho nya, lha,* and *dgra lha.* Then follows an enumeration of various gods and goddesses, many of them of Buddhist origin. With one exception, they are brought into relation with one or two groups of supernatural beings:

Deity	*Group*
Tshangs pa chen po	—
dBang po brgya byin	*wer ma* and *lha*
Thang bzang ring skyes	*rdzu 'phrul lha men* (= *lha ma yin*)
rNam sras rgyal po	*gnod sbyin* and *nor lha*
Zur phud lnga pa	*mkha' lding* and *dri za*
Yama rāja	*'chi bdag* and *gshin rje*
Ekajāti	*srog bdag* and *ma mo*
gTsug na rin chen	*nāga* and *klu*
gNyan rje gong sngon	*gnyan*
Tsang tsang 'khor ba	*dbang chen* and *sa bdag*
Lang ka mgrin bcu	*sha zan* and *srin po*
Byi na ya ga	*dbang ldan* and *bgegs*

After this enumeration follows the list of Bon *gzhi bdag,* which has already been reproduced in the chapter on the mountain-deities.

Of main interest to us, however, are the enumerations of various *dgra lha* contained in the *lha bsangs* texts. Thus one of the *lha bsangs* works, used by the *rNying ma pa,*[12] names first fourteen *dgra lha,* who – according to my Tibetan informants – are mainly worshiped by the Bon. Their names are rendered here in the same spelling as used in the original text, and it might therefore contain a number of errors:

Med pa yod ces dgra lha
sTong la chags pa'i dgra lha
'Byung ba chags pa'i dgra lha
Ma chags stong gi dgra lha
Ye nas srid pa'i dgra lha
'Dod dgu chags pa'i dgra lha
Mi thub dgra lha spun gsum
Pha mes brgyud kyi dgra lha
Mi rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha
Phyi rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha
dMu rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha
gTsug rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha

77, fol. 13a.

Mi'u gdung drug dgra lha
Sri pa chags pa'i dgra lha[13]

Later follow seven other *dgra lha*, or possibly *dgra lha* groups:

Grogs la 'go ba'i dgra lha
dGra bas grub pa'i dgra lha
Dar ma thob pa'i dgra lha
Che btsun smon pa'i dgra lha
Med pa yod srid dgra lha
Gling bzhi dar ba'i dgra lha
sKu gsung thugs kyi dgra lha

We find among these divinities a number of *dgra lha*, who are most probably ancient gods, as e.g. the group of the three *dgra lha* brothers, known as the *Mi thub dgra lha spun gsum* or the *Mi'u gdung drug dgra lha;* other of the above names, however, seem to bear traces of a perhaps more recent systematizing, as e.g. the "*dgra lha* of the attachment to the nine desires", '*Dod dgu chags pa'i dgra lha*, or the *dgra lha* of the body (*sku*), speech (*gsung*), and mind (*thugs*), *sKu gsung thugs kyi dgra lha*, an appellation which reminds us of the expressions *sku'i sprul pa*, *gsung gi sprul pa*, etc. We also encounter here an interesting group of *dgra lha* who are brought into connection with various types of descent: *Pha mes brgyud kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of the ancestral lineage", *Mi rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of the lineage of mankind", *Phyi rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of the lineage of the later generation", *dMu rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of the *dmu* lineage", and the *gTsug rabs brgyud kyi dgra lha*, "the *dgra lha* of the lineage of the first generation".

A second *rNying ma pa lha bsangs* work, listed under no. 184 of the Tibetan sources, mentions a number of other *dgra lha;* most of these we find enumerated in the same sequence, though sometimes in a somewhat different spelling, also in a *lha bsangs* text of the *rDzogs chen pa* sect:

Srid pa chags pa'i dgra lha
sMon pa 'grub pa'i dgra lha
Gleng gzhi 'grub pa'i dgra lha
dPa' snying che ba'i dgra lha
Myur shing mgyogs pa'i dgra lha

[13] Three groups which stand apparently in some relation to the groups named above are the *dMu rabs brgyud kyi zo dor*, *gTsug rabs brgyud kyi zo dor*, and *Mi'u gdung drug zo dor:* two similar groups are the *gCod khams bzang ba'i zo dor* and the *Tshe rabs brgyud kyi zo dor*.

'Go ba'i dgra lha spun gsum
lTa ba mig rno'i dgra lha
Nyan pa rna ba'i dgra lha
sNom pa sna yi dgra lha
sMra ba lce mgyogs dgra lha
dPa' rtsal che ba'i dgra lha
mGyogs pa rta yi dgra lha
Sra ba ber gyi dgra lha
bTsan po khrab kyi dgra lha
rNo ba mtshon gyi dgra lha
sTag gdong khra bo'i nang du ni/
sGro snyug 'dzoms pa'i dgra lha
gZig shubs thig le'i nang gnas pa'i/
Rva shing 'dzoms pa'i dgra lha
Kha 'dzin shag 'debs dgra lha
sTeng gi dgra lha mu khri
Sa yi dgra lha mtshan rtags
Kha zas (dang) sprod pa'i dgra lha
Lag nor (dang) sprod pa'i dgra lha

The *lha bsangs* of the Bon subdivides the *dgra lha* into several groups, each headed by one or several particular *dgra lha:*

Leading dgra lha	*Group*
Yab lha rgyal po	*Thugs kar dgra lha'i dmag tshogs*
'Brug gang? seng gsum	*Srid pa rgyud kyi dgra lha*
Dom mgo glang snying	*dGra srog gcod pa'i dgra lha*
rNod gcod gting 'byin	*g.Yul po rgyal ba'i dgra lha*
Tra dmar mched dgu	*dGra sdang 'dul ba'i dgra lha*

We shall discuss now the groups of three, five, seven, nine, thirteen, and twenty-one *dgra lha* which we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Only very little is known so far about the brotherhood of the so-called *Mi thub dgra lha spun gsum*, who seem to be identical with the *dGra lha spun gsum* of the *rNying ma pa* works. To the latter brotherhood belong the following *dgra lha:* the *dPa' brtan bzlog med*, who is said to be the eldest member of this group. The middle one bears the name *Dom mgo glang gi snying* – whom we just mentioned in the Bon list – and the youngest is called *rNo gcod snying 'byin*, apparently identical with the Bon god *rNo gcod gting 'byin.*[14]

[14] 134, fol. 19a; they are accompanied by their sister (*sring mo*) *Chung stag chas can* and they are jointly called the *lCam dral bzhi.*

The group of the *Grogs pa'i 'go ba'i dgra lha* or shortly *'Go ba'i dgra lha* – also known as the *dGra lha sde lnga* – comprises the following categories of *dgra lha:*

mGon skyab byed pa'i dgra lha
dPung gnyen byed pa'i dgra lha
g.Yul las rgyal ba'i dgra lha
mThun grogs byed pa'i dgra lha
mZa' brtsug can gyi dgra lha.

Most probably these five categories of *dgra lha*, and also the *'Go ba'i dgra lha spun gsum* whom we mentioned in the second *rNying ma pa* list, stand in close relation to the *'Go ba'i lha lnga*, a group of five ancient Tibetan deities – to which we refered already when discussing the *sNang srid sde brgyad* – composed of the following members: firstly, the *Mo lha* (*mo*), "goddess of the women", the white goddess *Ma gcig dpal gyi lha mo*, whose mount is a hind. She is of a youthful, pleasing appearance, wearing a dress of white silk, a cloak of blue silk, and a diadem studded with gems. In her right hand she holds a divination-arrow and in the left one a mirror. A number of women emanate from her body, further the *Zhang lha* who has the appearance of a man in the prime of life, the bird-headed *Zhang blon*, and countless other emanations.

The second member of the *'Go ba'i lha* group is the *Srog gi lha*,[15] the "god of life", represented as a man with a powerful body of a white colour and riding a black horse with white heels. He wears a helmet and a cuirass of gold. A quiver and a bow-case hang at his sides. His right hand wields a lance with a flag of silk, and his left hand holds a snare. Out of his body emanate countless "gods of male beings" (*skyes pa'i lha*), who have the appearance of strong men and are decorated with jewels. The third deity is the white *Pho lha*,[16] "god of men", a divinity of youthful appearance, wearing a dress of white silk, a blue cloak, and high boots. His hair is bound to a tuft by means of a silk-ribbon. *Pho lha* holds in his right hand the wish-granting jewel, and his left hand lifts a flat pan full of gems. He dispatches his numerous emanations – among them the "thirty-three gods of might" (*dBang thang gi lha gsum bcu so gsum*), who are decorated with silks and jewels – to the ten quarters of the world. The fourth member of this group is the white *Yul lha* or "country god",

[15] According to Rock (*Nāga Cult*, I, p. 146, note 150; p. 250, note 527) the *Srog gi lha* or *Srog lha* is supposed to correspond to the ³*Ssu* of the Na khi.

[16] Identical to the ²*P'u* ¹*la* of the Na-khi; see Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 375, note 755; II, p. 468.

named as the representative of the multitude of various *yul lha* and depicted as a man wearing an armour and riding a white horse. A quiver and a bow-case hang from his girdle, and his hands hold a bow and an arrow. His messengers are the *yul lha* and the "gods of the castles" (*mkhar gyi lha*) – who are dressed in garments of heavy silk and wear jewels –, further countless birds, sheep, and white yak, which he dispatches to the ten quarters of the world. In the last place is named the personal *dGra lha*, represented as a youthful smiling man of a white colour, wearing a white cloak, high boots, a turban of white silk, and riding a white horse. A bow-case and a quiver are suspended from his girdle, his right hand brandishes a lance with a flag, and his left hand holds a snare. His countless emanations have the appearance of Buddhist novices, religious instructors, etc.[17] – The *'Go ba'i lha lnga* are mentioned in the same sequence also in the Bon work listed under no. 185.

According to a second Buddhist source, however, the group of the *'Go ba'i lha lnga* comprises the following members: *Pha lha*, *Ma lha*, *Zhang lha*, *dGra lha*, and *Srog lha*.[18] A similar group, which we shall discuss in connection with the brotherhood of the thirteen *dgra lha*, is that of the *dBang thang 'go ba'i lha lnga*. This group comprises the *Thab lha*, *Bang lha*, *dGe lha*, *Ka lha*, and *sGo lha*. There exists also a group of "nine evil *'Go ba'i lha*", *'Go ba'i lha dgu gnyan po;* details about this group are still lacking.

The names of the deities who form the group of the seven *dgra lha* have not yet become known. More information, however, is available regarding the nine *dgra lha* brothers, the *dGra lha mched dgu*. Their father is supposed to be the *lHa rgod thog 'bebs*, "the wild god Falling Thunderbolt", and their mother the goddess *Klu mo dung skyong ma*, "the female water-spirit Protectress of Conch-Shells". Their children are:

dPa' brtan dmag dpon (chen po)
mThu chen dgra 'dul
sNang grags 'brug ldir
Drag rtsal thog 'bebs
sKyes pa srog 'dod
sDang ba'i srog gcod
sKyes bu rang chas
Bya khra sngon mi
dGra sman gshog dkar

17 28.
18 134, fol. 19b, also 70, fol. 14b.

The appearance of these nine deities is the same: they are all of a radiant white colour, and ride all-knowing horses of an excellent breed. Each *dgra lha* wears on his head a helmet made of thunderbolts, his body is protected by a yellow-coloured armour made of gold, and on his feet he wears high boots. On his right side hangs a quiver of tiger-skin, and on the left a bow-case made from the skin of a leopard. One of his hands brandishes a cane-stick with three whorls (*sba lcag chog gsum*). Back of each figure soar falcons of iron (*lcags kyi bya khra*), on the right shoulder of each *dgra lha* rises a lion, and on the left shoulder a tiger is lifting himself up. Behind, black dogs and bear are running, and in front hasten many of the *Dregs pa sde brgyad.*[19] – I have seen, however, also paintings showing a *dgra lha* who was brandishing a sword instead of the stick. In some cases *dPa' brtan dmag dpon* is shown riding a white horse, amidst the other eight *dgra lha*. With his left hand he holds an ichneumon, while his right hand brandishes a banner. The group of nine *dgra lha* when depicted in this style shows greatest similarity to *Vaiśravaṇa* with his eight companions.

The place of *dPa' brtan dmag dpon* is frequently taken by a deity called *rTa thug dkar po* (in some texts also: *rTa thugs dkar po*),[20] regarded to be the chief of this group of *dgra lha* brothers. *rTa thug dkar po* is said to belong to the before-named order of the *g.Yul las rgyal ba'i dgra lha*. As regards the iconography of *rTa thug dkar po*, a book dedicated to his worship describes him in exactly the same way as his companions, viz. he wears a golden cuirass, a lion sits on his right shoulder and a tiger on the left one, his attribute is a stick with three whorls, etc.[21]

The occurrence of the expression *sman* in the name of the ninth member of the *dgra lha* group seems to indicate, as had been suggested by Tucci,[22] that this deity is a female *dgra lha;* this was, however, denied by the Tibetan priests whom I questioned on this point, and who claimed that there is no goddess included in the above group. There exists nevertheless a number of female *dgra lha*. Thus the adherents of the Bon worship a *dGra lha'i rgyal mo*, who is supposed to have taken her origin on the bank of the lake *Mu le hed*. She is a goddess of a peaceful nature, dressed in a garment of white silk with a golden pattern and adorned with turquoise. She rides on a golden-coloured lion, who has a bell of turquoise

19 77.
20 On *rTa thug dkar po* see also the text quoted under no. 5625/38 of the Tohoku Catalogue.
21 24.
22 Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 741, note 44.

hanging from his neck (27, fol. 1a). Further, we mentioned above that the goddess *Ekajāti* is called a *dGra lha rgyal mo.*[23]

In connection with this description of the *dGra lha mched dgu* we have to recall that we mentioned above another group of nine *dgra lha*, the *Pha mtshun dgra lha spun dgu.*[24]

The group of the thirteen *dgra lha*, which we find enumerated in a *lha bsangs* text of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect,[25] includes at least two *dgra lha* goddesses:

sKyes bu (')phrag lha
dGra lha ma lha bu rdzi
dGra lha thab lha g.yu mo
dGra lha khyim la ske thung (also: *ke'u thung*)
dGra lha rgyal chen rnam thos sras
Nor lha ārya jambhala
Tshong lha tshogs bdag glang sna
mGon po mgron lha
mGon po (')thab rkyen sna nag
mGon po jag lha
dGra lha mgon po dmar po (or *dGra lha lha mgon dmar po*)
mGon po zas lha
mGon po srog lha dkar po

sKyes bu (')phrag lha: he is represented as a white man wearing a harness made of conch-shells. He brandishes a "banner of victory" and a lance with a flag, and rides on a *khyung*.

dGra lha ma lha bu rdzi: a golden-coloured woman, who holds a spindle and a coil of thread. She is the goddess of maternity, who influences the birth of children.

dGra lha thab lha g.yu mo: another female *dgra lha* described as a woman wearing a dress of white silk and turquoise ornaments; she holds a golden ladle. This goddess dwells upon the three hearth-stones (*thab sgyed gsum*) supporting the cooking pot, and she is supposed to exercise her influence when butter is being melted over the fire. Her name and

[23] A female *dgra lha* is also mentioned in the *Padma thang yig* (Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 244 sq.): *dGra lha mu tsa med*, a goddess of *Zhang zhung*, who was subdued by *Padmasambhava* and who became under the name (*Gangs kyi yum chen*) *rDo rje g.yu bun ma* a member of the *bsTan ma* group; see list c of the *bsTan ma* goddesses.

[24] The *lHa bsangs* of the *bKa' rgyud pa* sect, listed under no. 5, mentions three members of another group of nine *dgra lha*. These are the god of wealth (*Nor lha*), the god of food (*Zas lha*), and the friend-god (*Grogs lha*).

[25] 5, fols. 35a–67a.

position are similar to that of the *Thab lha*, the god of the hearth, who had been mentioned in the enumeration of the various *sa bdag*.

dGra lha khyim lha ske thung is perhaps a goddess too. This deity is described as possessing a blue body adorned with earrings of turquoise, and holding a pillar made of conch-shells (*dung gi ka ba*). *dGra lha khyim lha ske thung* is invoked to protect the house and to prevent its pillars from overturning.

dGra lha rgyal chen rnam thos sras: Vaiśravaṇa, the important *dharmapāla* whose various forms we had already discussed before. Here he is described as a golden figure wearing a diadem and numerous jewels. His right hand brandishes a precious stick, the left one holds a sack made from the skin of a mongoose; he rides a white lion.

Nor lha ārya jambhala: the second important aspect of one and the same deity. Most probably we encounter here, as in several other cases within this group, a figure created by the fusion of pre-Buddhist and Buddhist traditions. The *Nor lha* is described as a golden figure sitting on a golden throne. His right hand holds an ear of corn, the left one a sack made from the skin of a mongoose. – We may mention in this context, that some Tibetan texts mention a group of eight *nor lha* brothers, the *Nor lha mched brgyad.*

Tshong lha tshogs bdag glang sna: Gaṇeśa, who occupies in this case the position of a "god of trade" (*tshong lha*). He is white like a conch-shell, and has an elephant's head with three eyes. His right hand brandishes a stick adorned with a gem, and the left hand holds again the *ne'u le'i rkyal pa*. He is often mentioned in the company of *Nor lha* and *Grogs lha*. – The six *dgra lha* who are enumerated after *Gaṇeśa* all bear the appellation *mGon po:*

mGon po mgron lha: he is described as a three-eyed man of a white colour, which is lustrous like the sparkling of a crystal. He wears a white helmet, a golden cuirass, his right hand brandishes a lance with a white flag attached to it, and the left hand holds again the *ne'u le'i rkyal pa.* His mount is a horse white like a conch-shell.

mGon po (')thab rkyen sna nag: he is supposed to have the body of a man of noble origin but the head of a lion, from whose snout a storm is blowing. On the crown of his head rests the "king of birds" (*garuḍa*), and instead of hands he has the claws of a *makara.*

mGon po jag lha: depicted as a three-eyed man in the prime of life, whose body is of a brilliant white. He wears a helmet made of conch-shells and a flaming cuirass of leather. A magic bow with magic arrows is attached to his girdle. His right hand lifts a white *ya tsha*, his left hand holds a

lance bearing a red flag; he rides on a white horse. – The *mGon po jag lha* might be related to the Bon gods *Jag la 'gro ba'i jag dpon* and *Jag yag cang se gnyan po* mentioned in work no. 77.
dGra lha mgon po dmar po: a copper-coloured man wearing a harness of iron and carrying a magic bow and arrow in his hands. He rides a light-bay horse.
mGon po zas lha dmar po: depicted as a man with a copper-coloured body and wearing a harness of jewels and gold. His attributes are a golden-coloured gem, and a magic bow and arrows. He rides a white horse.
mGon po srog lha dkar po, also called the *Srog bdag dkar po:* a man with a body white like a conch-shell, wearing a harness of crystal. He holds a *tshe bum* made of crystal and rides on a golden horse.

Another source[26] mentions shortly the main characteristics of these thirteen *dgra lha* in the following way:
Phrag lha is an armed man riding on a *khyung*. He is said to act as the perpetual guardian of each person.
Ma lha is adorned with jewels. The function of this *dgra lha* is to increase and guard the family.
Thab lha holds "a lake of liquid butter" (*mar khu'i mtsho mo*); he is able to increase one's riches.
Khyim lha sits on a white ox (or elephant?). He is able to bring well-being and happiness to the household.
rNam thos sras rides on a white lion. He amasses gold and silver.
Nor lha dwells on a lotus; he accumulates jewels.
Tshong lha is white and has the shape of a young elephant. He is able to ensure great profits.
mGron lha is white, and he can influence feasts in an auspicious way.
Lam lha is skillful and rides on a tiger. He can rescue a person from death on a dangerous ledge or from drowning in a river.
Jag lha is in the prime of life and holds a banner with a pendant. He destroys the wealth of enemies.
dGra lha is red and holds a hatchet. He is the subduer of all enemies.
Zas lha is a red figure, under whose influence eatables are said to turn into medicines.
Srog lha is white and carries a *tshe bum*. He is the preserver of life-power.

The above mentioned *Thab lha* is also a member of a group called *dBang thang 'go ba'i lha lnga*, which comprises the following members: *Thab lha*, who is supposed to make the food nourishing and good-tasting,

[26] 134, fol. 19a.

Bang lha or "store-room god", who increases eatables and property, *dGe lha* or "god of happiness", who grants a good harvest, *Ka lha* or "pillar god", who safeguards luck and prosperity, and lastly the *sGo lha* or "door-god", who increases wealth.[27]

In the enumeration of the *dgra lha* brotherhoods we mentioned after the group of the thirteen *dgra lha* that of the twenty-one *dgra lha*. Unfortunately no information is yet available telling who the members of this group are.

A *dgra lha* whose name was not included in the above lists is the so-called *sTong dpon dgra lha*. This *dgra lha* is described as possessing a fear-inspiring body of a brilliant black colour. He wears a purple coloured cloak with nine folds, and his flaming eyes survey a thousand lands. His dark-brown hair stands on end. His right hand brandishes a club with a skull on it as an ornament, and the left one holds a skull-cup full of blood. On the left side stands the goddess *Ro zan shanti*, black and ferocious, brandishing a corpse with the right hand and holding a skull-cup in the left. In the four directions appear deities who all bear the title *dmag dpon*. The eastern section is occupied by *Pe har*, here called *Ging chen dkar po srog gi bdag*, who is the commander of the *rgyal po* demons. In the South dwells the *mGon po mahākāla*, who is called the *Mun pa'i dmag dpon*. In the western quarter appears *Yam shud dmar po*, addressed as the *Srog gi bdag po*, who is the commander of the *btsan*. The North is occupied by *Kubera*, the owner of treasures (*gTer gyi bdag po*), who commands the *yakṣas*.[28]

Another *dgra lha*, who had not yet been named above, is the *gNyan stag dmar po*, who is mentioned in connection with the exploits of king *Ge sar*. The iconography of this figure, however, still remains unknown.

The title *dgra lha* is also given to the four animals who occupy the four corners of the so-called *rlung rta* or "wind-horse" flag.[29] These four animals are distributed, according to Tibetan texts, in the following way: in the East a lion, white like a conch-shell and having locks of turquoise, in the South a turquoise-coloured dragon with a hump of copper, in the West a spotted tiger and in the North a *khyung* with a jewel on his head. Each of these four is called a *Rlung rta dar ba'i dgra lha*.[30] Also many of the deities belonging to the class of the so-called *wer ma* bear the title

27 70, fol. 14b.
28 78.
29 On the *rlung rta* see Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 410; *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 348.
30 29.

dgra lha. The *wer ma* is an important category of Bon deities.[31] About the position of the *wer ma* Tibetan sources say: "... the *wer ma*, the angry, ferocious and fearless ones, are the *dgra lha* of the arrows and lances" (*wer ma khro gtum 'jigs med de| mda' dang mdung gi dgra lha yin*).[32] There are two main groups of *wer ma*, one comprising hundred-eighty, and the other three hundred sixty members. The *wer ma* are also named in an invocation concerning the supernatural beings inhabiting the *la rtse*,[33] the cairns which Tibetans erect on passes. Two very similar versions of this invocation are contained in the works listed under nos. 77 and 100, but unfortunately both are scarcely understandable on account of numerous orthographic errors. The texts mention first a white lark (*lco ga dkar mo*) dwelling at the eastern gate (*shar sgo*) of the *la rtse*, and a white *khyung* of conch-shell (*dung khyung dkar po*) who resides in the centre of the cairn. Then four "gate-guards" (*sgo srung*) of the *la rtse* are named, a lion in the East, a turquoise-dragon in the South, a tiger in the West, and a yak-bull in the North. Then follows a passage mentioning the tasks of the *wer ma:* "The *wer ma*, the almighty and fearless ones, are the "road-gods" (*lam lha*) of many warriors; the *wer ma*, the courageous, all-penetrating ones, are the "road-gods" of the army repelling an attack, the golden owl, the sharp-eyed one, is the "road-god" of the army-scouts".[34]

When speaking about the thirteen *dgra lha* we mentioned already one particular *Lam lha*, who rides on a tiger. Apart from the *wer ma*, the Bon adherents worship another group of *lam lha* called the *Cang seng spun dgu*. Four of these nine *lam lha* – the eldest, the middle one, the youngest, and also their sister – are described on fol. 2a of the Bon Text no. 39. The eldest *lam lha* is the *Cang seng dkar po*, a man white like a conch-shell, riding on a white horse with a turquoise mane and brandishing a lance with a white pendant. The second *lam lha* bears the name *Cang seng 'bring thod*. He is a golden-coloured man, brandishing a sword of gold and riding on a golden bull. The youngest member of the broth-hood is called the *Cang seng klu mgon*, a blue figure riding on a water-buffalo. He holds a string in his right hand and a *chu rkyal* together with a conch-shell in the left hand. Their sister is known by her full name as

[31] They are apparently identical to the ²*Yu* ¹*ma* of the Na-khi; see Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 136; II, plates XLI–XLIV, LIV.
[32] 77, fol. 34b.
[33] For further details and literature on the *la rtse* ("labtse") see A. W. Macdonald, 'Note sur les mégalithes tibétains,' *JA*, Paris 1953 (pp.63–76), p. 63; further Hermanns, *Nomaden*, p. 121.
[34] 77, fol. 34b.

the *Sring mo na chung gzi byin ma.* She rides on a bee with a sharp stinger. Her right hand holds a hoe and a *g.yag pa*, the left one lifts a key of copper. The *lam lha* are supposed to protect travellers, especially when these proceed on difficult and dangerous roads. They help them to cross passes and guard them against enemies, brigands, and thieves. When travellers ford rivers, or when they cross a stream in boats, the *Cang seng klu mgon* protects them by subduing the malevolent *chu bdud* and *chu 'dre.* The offerings which the devotees should present to the *lam lha* in order to secure their help are the effigies of a yak, sheep, and goat made of rice-dough, further butter, food, and fruit.

There are a few additional remarks to be made regarding the way in which the *dgra lha* are represented in Tibetan art. According to Buddhist conceptions the *yi dam Phyag na rdo rje* is supposed to preside over those groups of *dgra lha* which have been accepted into the Buddhist pantheon, compelling their members, who were originally Bon deities, to keep their oath of protecting Buddhism. His figure is therefore mostly depicted standing above the various groups of *dgra lha.* Further, we mentioned above that the *dgra lha* are wealth-granting deities, and that their number includes the chief dispensers of fortune. Also the nine *dgra lha* brothers (*dGra lha mched dgu*) are believed to be deities who distribute wealth among the inhabitants of the Land of Snow, though in a very unequal way. An oral tradition claims that in order to express symbolically the real conditions of life in Tibet with their pronounced difference between rich and poor, the nine *dgra lha* should be painted in such a way that eight of them face the observer, while the ninth is shown from the back. Only in case that all Tibetans would become equally rich and fortunate, the artists would be allowed to depict all the nine *dgra lha* turned towards the observer.

After this discussion of the *lHa bsangs* ceremony and of the deities invoked in its course, we have to give some details about the *dGra lha dpangs bstod*, "the high praise of the *dgra lha*", which is held immediately afterwards. At the beginning of the latter ceremony the following arrangements have to be made: if available, a *thang ka* showing the nine *dgra lha* is hung up on a wall, and then a white *dgra lha* mask is fastened to the main central pillar of the edifice. In many Tibetan houses a *dgra lha* mask is always kept attached to this pillar, to ensure good luck and prosperity for the family. Should, however, no such mask be available in the house in which the "high praise of the *dgra lha*" is going to take place, then it is borrowed from a neighbour, or the priests who come to

officiate the ceremony bring the mask with them. Next, with the help of sticks and some cloth, a figure of an average man's height is made, which is dressed in a new, festive garment, to be provided by the man who ordered the ceremony to be held. The figure is fastened to the central pillar, below the *dgra lha* mask, so that the latter appears now to be the figure's face. This effigy, which represents a *dgra lha*, is then armed with various weapons, such as are supposed to be carried by deities of this type. – In some of the wealthier households, where the *dGra lha dpangs bstod* is performed more frequently, a set of garments and weapons is always kept in readiness for use in this ceremony.

In front of the figure are set on a small altar cups filled with *chang*, tea, and milk, further dishes with various kinds of food, fruit, flowers, and branches of different trees. Then the appropriate book has to be read by the priests. The *dGra lha dpangs bstod* text, mentioned in the Tibetan sources under no. 77 (fol. 366), begins by telling the story about the origin and the importance of the nine *dgra lha*. The gist of this account given below shows that it is a mixture of Indian and Tibetan traditions.

All was voidness in the beginning, but later on a wind sprung up, blowing from the four cardinal points and the regions lying in between and from the moving air, a cross-like thunderbolt (*rdo rje rgya gram*) originated. Then water gushed forth, out of which the "outer ocean" (*phyi yi rgya mtsho*) came into existence. Out of this sea foam came forth, which turned to gold, and on top of this layer of precious metal a salt-lake originated. In its centre the world-mountain *Sumeru* came into existence, surrounded by seven ranges of golden mountains and by seven enchanted seas. In the latter, four continents together with their sub-continents originated; all these oceans, continents, etc. were surrounded by a mountain-wall of iron. The mountain *Sumeru* was composed of four substances: its eastern side consisted of crystal, the southern of lapis-lazuli, the western of copper, and the northern one of gold. At the foot of the mountain lay the land of the *asuras*, while on its peak was situated the palace of *Indra*, the abode of the gods. A miraculous tree was growing on Mt. *Sumeru*, its fruit fulfilling all desires. The roots of this tree were within the domain of the *asuras*, but its crown reached up to the abode of the gods, who thus came into possession of all the fruit which this tree produced. Full of envy, the *asuras* endeavoured to obtain the fruit, and they even tried to cut the tree's stem, but all their efforts failed. As both gods and *asuras* foresaw that a war over the possession of the miraculous fruit was imminent, they began to prepare themselves for the impending combat. The great heavenly blacksmith cast a furnace out of

molten jewels. He fed the fire of this furnace with sandal-wood and, using a golden hammer, he began to manufacture arms for the *devas*. Also the blacksmith of the *asuras* started to produce armour and weapons. Then, after both armies had been fully equipped, they clashed in a fierce combat. In the first encounter, which took place in the morning, the gods were defeated, and in despair they turned to *Indra* for help and advice. *Indra* explained to them that they had been overcome by the *asuras*, because no *dgra lha* protected the army of the *devas*. Accordingly, he advised them to worship the nine *dgra lha*, the owners of miraculous armour and weapons, who will help them to achieve a victory on the evening of the same day.

Here follows then an enumeration of the nine kinds of armour, which are worn by the *dgra lha* and which should also, in the course of the *dGra lha dpangs bstod* ceremony, be symbolically presented to them:

a helmet with the horns of a *khyung* on it,
a harness bright like the rising sun, covering the breast and the back,
an armour made of thunderbolts, protecting the throat,
the hand-protecting covers, which repel all weapons,
the heart-protecting piece of armour, which masters all arrows and arms,
a thigh-knife of radiating white crystal,
the knee-covering armour, which preserves from all harm,
the foot-protecting armour, which proves stronger than all weapons,
the shield of red cane with six buckles.

All these pieces of armour as well as the nine kinds of weapons mentioned below are of supernatural origin: they were not manufactured by any blacksmith, but are supposed to be self-created (*rang byung*). The *dgra lha* are further supposed to carry:

a wheel which ensures complete victory over the enemies,
a battle-axe, with which one is able to split an enemy in two,
a knife with a blade in the form of a wave which cuts those, who break their religious vows,
a strong sword which cuts completely through,
a bow with which one can destroy the brain of an enemy,
the arrows which hit like thunderbolts,
a snare, which can be thrust precisely at an enemy,
a lance, with which one can pierce the heart of an adversary,
a thunderbolt-hurling sling which – when whirled – produces a thunder-like noise.

Later, the text mentions the weapons of the *dgra lha* once more, but in a

somewhat different way; according to this passage, the arms of the *dgra lha* are:

a wheel with thousand spikes,
a battle-axe radiating fire-light,
a knife with a curved blade, possessing the lustre of the sky,
a bow radiating with the brilliance of jewels,
the swift, hard-hitting arrows, which have vulture-plumes as steering-feathers,
a snare radiating golden light,
a lance with silk-pendants,
a sling for hurling thunderbolts, its broader central piece bearing an ornament known as the "nine springs", *chu mig dgu.*

The latter design is said to be similar to the "eyes" (*mig*) of the *gzi*-beads, and the number nine mentioned in this context indicates that this sling is apparently an ancient magic weapon very similar to the *rdo zor*, the sling and missiles used in some of the magic ceremonies to be described later.

After this description of the various weapons follows an enumeration of the nine *dgra lha* and their parents, which has already been given above. As soon as the reading of the *dgra lha dpangs bstod* has been finished, several ceremonial scarfs are laid over the shoulders of the *dgra lha* figure as a sign of respect and gratitude. With this act the ceremony ends. A little later the figure is undressed, and the garments and weapons are stored away.

In this chapter and in the foregoing ones we encountered numerous deities forming groups, which are mostly known as brotherhoods or sisterhoods. These groups usually consist of three, five, six, seven, eight, nine, eleven, twelve, thirteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty-one, and three hundred sixty members; especially those gods and goddesses who originally belonged to the pantheon of pre-Buddhist Tibet appear frequently in groups composed of seven, nine, thirteen, eighteen, or three hundred sixty members. Apart from the various groups which we enumerated and described already above, a few others should be named here, about whom in most cases only very little has been learned so far.

Three

rGyal po gnod sbyin mched gsum[35]
rGyal po 'od can mched gsum[36]
sPyang zhon lha mo mched gsum, three goddesses riding on wolves.

[35] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 350.
[36] Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 349.

Five

'Brog gnas mched lnga

Eight

rTa rgod mched brgyad

Nine

Srid pa'i lha dgu, a group composed of the following members:

gNyan chen thang lha
gNyan lha
mGur lha
Gangs lha
gNam thel dkar po
mTsho sman rgyal mo
Srid pa'i rgyal mo
g.Ya' sman rgyal mo
mChed lha

The above group is perhaps identical with that of the *Srid pa'i lha rabs mched dgu.*

Srid pa'i 'dre dgu; six of its members are known by name, but it is doubtful whether the spelling of these appellations is correct: *bTsa' byed mig dmar*, *Thang byed kha skya*, *Se byed lag zlum*, *lCag phel sngon po*, *A gho chad kun*, and *Bhe nya zho kun.*

Chu 'dre spun dgu,[37] a group of nine demons who live in water

dMa' them pa dgu or *rMa them dgu*

Mi la spun dgu

lDan pa spun dgu

rMugs pa spun dgu

God 'dre spun dgu

sKyobs pa'i spun dgu

bsTan skyong sde dgu

Twelve

'Chi bdag bcu gnyis

Eighteen

'Dod rigs sman ba bco brgyad

Thirty-two

Blon po so gnyis[38]

Forty-five

Sring lcam bzhi bcu zhe lnga

Two hundred fifty

'Bar ba nyis brgya lnga bcu; this group as well as those named below belong to the Bon pantheon.

[37] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 721.

[38] Also the thirteen *mGur lha* have thirty-two ministers; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 741, note 49.

Three hundred sixty[39]

mDud lha sum brgya drug bcu, "the three hundred sixty *lha* of the knots"

Khas drag sum brgya drug bcu

sPar sme tshes lha sum brgya drug bcu, a group of deities standing in relation to the *spar kha*, *sme ba* and the days of the month

sPyan rnon sum brgya drug bcu, "the three hundred sixty sharp-eyed"

rDzi'u sum brgya drug bcu, "the three hundred sixty herdsmen"

Thugs dkar sum brgya drug bcu[40]

Gi khod sum brgya drug bcu[41].

[39] The probability of a connection between the "brotherhoods" of 360 deities and the 360 days of the lunar year has been pointed out by Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 724.

[40] The *thugs dkar* are perhaps identical with the ²*Dter-¹gko* of the Na khi; Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, pp. 136–139.

[41] On this group of deities see Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 269.

PART II

THE CULT OF THE PROTECTIVE DEITIES

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1, 5.

CHAPTER XVIII

SACRIFICIAL OBJECTS AND OFFERINGS

A great variety of substances and instruments are required in order to carry out the manifold ceremonies whose purpose it is either to please or to pacify the deities and their acolytes, or to engage their help for achieving a good or sometimes an evil purpose. Some of these objects, especially various offerings presented to the *dharmapālas*, have already been described in the foregoing chapters.

From the description of gifts, presented e.g. to *rDo rje shugs ldan*, to the *bsTan ma* goddesses, or to the brotherhood of the *dgra lha*, we learned already, that the form of offerings depends on the nature of the *dharmapāla* who receives them: a wrathful deity is given a *gtor ma* consisting of meat and bone, a libation of blood and bile, skull-drums and thigh-bone trumpets are played for its entertainment, etc., while a peaceful protector of religion is presented with such gifts as medicines, sweet and good-tasting food, fragrant incense, and pieces of silk. Members of both groups are further symbolically presented with the attributes (arms) they carry, they are "given" dresses (armour), animals to ride, etc.

A substance used as an offering for the wrathful *dharmapālas*, but also applied frequently in the course of magic ceremonies, is blood. In some cases, when the text prescribes a blood-libation to be made, only a symbolic offering of blood is carried out, the cups being filled in reality with some other liquid, e.g. with beer or red-coloured water. For the performance of the magic rites, however, actual blood has to be used, and the Tibetan works give detailed information about the kinds of blood one should apply. As regards human blood, the blood taken from a corpse or the blood of people suffering from a dangerous, contagious disease, especially of leprosy, further the menstruation-blood of a widow or that of a prostitute are said to be especially efficacious. To write magic formulas, one has to use in certain cases the blood which had been wiped from a sword or the blood of a young, healthy man who had been killed in a fight. Other kinds of human blood mentioned in Tibetan magic prescriptions are the blood extracted from the brain of a man who died of

insanity, the blood of an eight year old child, and the blood of a child which is the fruit of an incestuous union.

Also the blood of animals is used both as an offering as well as in the rites of the Tibetan magicians. The texts mention e.g. the blood of black horses or of horses which had been killed in an accident, of grayish dogs, mad dogs, black bear, raven, the blood of cows which died of a cattle-disease, of hens, sheep, yak, wolves, goats, and pigs. Bon works claim that for the performance of certain magic rites "the blood of a *mi rgod*[1] who had been killed by a sharp weapon" (*mi rgod mtshon gyis bsad pa'i khrag*) or "the blood of a *mi rgod* who had been killed by an arrow" (*mi rgod mda' yis bsad pa'i khrag*) has to be used. In many cases the blood before being applied has to be mixed with poison or white mustard.

Other liquids than blood used in Tibetan rites are ordinary water, sometimes coloured by adding e.g. the powdered herb called *kha che sha skam*[2] or – in the case of magic ceremonies – water obtained from a subterranean river or from hundred eight different springs, water from a glacier (*gangs chu*) or from a slate-mountain (*g.ya' chu*), milk (*'o ma*), Chinese tea (*rGya ja*), Tibetan beer (*chang*), wine (*rgun chang*), an alcoholic drink prepared from rice (*'bras chang*), and an unstrained rice-brew (*'bras chen*). A few of the *gzhi bdag* or *yul lha* of Northeastern Tibet receive a libation of kumiss (*rta chang*). Also the "drink of immortality" (*bdud rtsi*, Skt. *amṛta*) is often symbolically offered to the deities; some texts even speak of five kinds of *amṛta* (*bdud rtsi lnga*).

Human flesh, called in tantric terminology the "great meat" (*sha chen*, Skt. *mahāmāṃsa*), is another offering presented to the wrathful *dharmapālas*, though – like in the case of blood – this offering is made only symbolically. Ritual books mention "the flesh of a child which had been born

[1] Verbatim "wild man". This is the so-called "snowman" of the Himalayan expeditions, known to the Tibetans also as *Gangs mi* ("glacier man"), *Mi shom po* ("strong man"), and *Mi chen po* ("great man"), the Yeti of the Sherpas, and the *Chu mung* ("snow goblin") or *Hlo mung* ("mountain goblin") of the Lepchas. The Lepchas worship this being as the god of hunt and owner of all mountain-game. Tibetans and Lepchas describe the "snowman" as a huge dark-brown monkey with an egg-shaped head scantily covered with reddish hair. He is supposed to be about 7 ft. high when standing erect. The "snowman" is said to be living in the highest tracts of the mountain-forests, which he leaves occasionally to search a salty kind of moss growing on rocks on the morain fields. When searching this moss he crosses sometimes – walking erect – snowfields, on which he leaves his characteristic foot-prints; similar traces are supposed to be made by a bear, known to the Tibetans as *Mi dred*. (This is the expression "Mete" found in the reports of Himalayan expeditions and wrongly translated as "abominable".) Native hunters claim that the "snowman" is a shy, harmless animal which has nearly become extinct.

[2] Probably *Kha che skyes*, saffron.

out of an incestuous union" and "the flesh of an eight year old child", which should be used in magic rites. In certain cases human intestines, especially the liver, bowels, and also the heart are required; further, for the performance of the rites of destructive magic, the earlobes, the tip of the nose, eyebrows, and the heart and lips of a man who had been killed in a fight are needed, as well as "the vagina of a prostitute of an extremely notorious reputation". Also various kinds of human bone, mainly skulls and thighbones, are used for magic purposes. From the former skull cups (*thod phor*, *mi mgo'i phor pa*) and drums (*thod rnga*) are prepared, from the latter the so-called *rkang gling* trumpets are manufactured. The bone-aprons, bracelets, etc., worn by the Tibetan tantrics when performing their rites, are made, too, of human bone, the bones of a Brahmin being prefered for their manufacture. In some cases also ground human bones, human nails, teeth which had been extracted from a corpse, the bone and hair of a woman who had died in childbirth, the hair of a widow or prostitute, hair taken from a corpse and human skins have to be applied.

Tibetan works enumerate a great number of animals whose skulls, bones – whole or ground –, teeth, skins, meat (boiled or raw), intestines, claws or hoofs, blood, bile, fat (the Tibetan works differentiate the "inner" and the "outer" fat, *nang gsil*, *phyi gsil*), marrow, excrements, etc., should be used in magic rites: black mules, donkeys, horses, black or white sheep, black snakes, black or white yak, wild dogs, jackals, wolves, dogs – especially black bitches and puppies –, foxes, weasels, marmots, badgers, rats, monkeys, otters, fishes, goats, pigs, vultures, eagles, parrots, and many others. In some cases Tibetan works mention the application of poisonous meat (*dug sha*) and of a kind of intestinal concretion called *ghi wang*.[3] For certain special rites, e.g. for the preparation of the so-called *ngan gtad* (see p. 483 sq.) the right horn of an uncastrated black yak or that of a cross-breed yak should be used, while in other cases the use of hoofs taken from a black, uncastrated horse is required. Two substances which are highly valued by Tibetan magicians are the meat and the excrements of a rhino. Also feathers are frequently needed, especially the fluffy feathers of a white-tailed eagle, the tail and wing-feathers of a vulture, owl, falcon, raven, crow, jack-daw, peacock, and others.[4]

Among the various substances of vegetable origin used by the Tibetan priesthood in their ceremonies we may mention in the first place the *ngar gsum*, "the three sweet (substances)", viz. sugar (*ka ra*), honey (*sbrang*

[3] Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 68: "Bezoar vom Rind, Gallensteine".
[4] Such feathers are also used in Tibetan medicine; see Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 202.

rtsi), and treacle (*bu ram*); in this context also the *dkar gsum* should be enumerated, which are mostly named together with the *ngar gsum:* milk (*'o ma*), butter (*mar*), and curd (*zho*). The *ngar gsum* and *dkar gsum* are offerings given mainly to the peaceful *dharmapālas*, while typical gifts presented to the wrathful deities are black radishes, peas, onions, garlic, tea-leaves of an inferior quality, yeast for making beer, etc. These latter offerings are jointly called the *mi dga' rdzas*, the "unpleasantly (tasting) eatables". Some texts mention the "nine eatables" (*zhal zas dgu*). To manufacture the various sacrificial cakes known as *gtor ma*, and also the small likenesses of men, animals, representations of weapons, etc. – which are made with the help of wooden molds (*zan par*) – most frequently parched barley flour (*rtsam pa*) is mixed with water or milk to form a dough, to which, in some special cases, some medicine or blood and alcohol etc. have to be added. In several cases the prescriptions for making the sacrificial cakes mention that the dough should be made out of five kinds of flour.

The vegetables, plants, or kinds of wood used as offerings or needed for the performance of magic rites are e.g. white and red sandalwood, white and black mustard, turmeric, saffron, the bark of a birch, madder, the thorny weed called *mtshe*, the medicinal plants known in Tibetan as *phu shel rtse*,[5] *thang khrom*,[6] *zhu mkhan*, *no ge sar*,[7] *kha che sha skam*, and further the seeds of the *bo de* and *rag sha* trees, which are also used by the Tibetans as beads for rosaries.[8] When worshiping the mild-natured *dharmapālas*, sweet-smelling incense ought to be burned, while the wrathful deities are believed to be pleased by the smoke of burning poisonous datura leaves and by the smell of the black *gu gul*[9] incense. For the manufacture of some magic instruments, e.g. the *phur bu* or miniature wooden swords, in some cases poisonous wood should be taken, especially the wood of a thorny shrub called *kyer shing*, but also juniper-wood, sandal-wood, and aloe. An extract of the latter kind of wood is used to prepare an ink for writing magic formulas on various skins – e.g. on the drawn skin of a man, horse, or owl – or, as some prescriptions require it, on poisonous brown-coloured paper, or on paper of Chinese manufacture.

The performance of several magic rites, which we shall discuss later on, requires further the use of the following substances: iron powder,

5 Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 81: Pardantus dichotomus sinensis.

6 Apparently *thang phrom*, datura; A. Desgodins, *Dictionnaire thibétain-latin-français*, Hongkong 1899, p. 445.

7 Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 71, *naga ge ser:* Quisqualis sinensis sive indica.

8 See L. A. Waddell, 'Lamaic rosaries, their kinds and uses,' *JASB*, Calcutta 1893.

9 Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 76: Vatica lanceaefolia Bl. or Styrax Benzoin.

filings of iron or copper which had been obtained from a blacksmith, black stones – mostly they have to be fetched from a haunted mountain, a cemetery, or from a crossroad, the latter place being believed, too, to be one of the localities where evil spirits usually stay –, the kinds of stone known as *bla•rdo*,[10] pieces of gold and silver, the stuffing of a butcher's shoe, ashes taken from a funeral pyre, the ashes obtained by burning monthly towels soaked with menstruation-blood, that part of the bloomers of a prostitute or a widow which covers the private parts, earth from a cemetery, from a haunted mountain, or from the place where a battle had been fought, a piece of cloth which had been wrapped around the hilt of a sword, the rope (or weapon) which had been used by a person to commit suicide, the egg of a hen which has a red beak, the dust from a crossroad, etc. Some of the substances and objects used according to Bon works in the worship of the *bon skyong* are e.g. the "five kinds of medicines, five kinds of incense and five kinds of essences" – unfortunately, just as in the case of the examples which follow no further details about the nature of these substances is given –, further "nine kinds of food", "nine kinds of resin", "three kinds of poison" (i.e. *sa dug*, *btsan dug* and *khrag dug*),[11] the "five kinds of poison", eighty-one kinds of trees, and the red *gtso* metal.

An important object used in most ceremonies of the Tibetan clergy are sacrificial cakes, known as *gtor ma*.[12] The *gtor ma* differ in shape, colour, and size according to the rite in which they are used and to which particular deity they are offered. The variety of *gtor ma* is therefore considerable, and a great number of learned Tibetan works has been devoted to this subject. Several of these texts give details about the manufacture of not less than one hundred eight different *gtor ma*. Some *gtor ma* are only a few inches high, while e.g. the height of the so-called *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor ma* amounts to 10 ft. The sacrificial cakes are made of a dough prepared mostly – as had been mentioned already above – by kneeding either *rtsam pa* or five kinds of flour with water and mostly, too, with the *mngar gsum* and the *dkar gsum*. Also colouring substances and in certain cases wine, beer, medicines, blood, pieces of meat, resin, poisons, etc., are added.

The *gtor ma* are divided into two main groups: the so-called *drag po'i gtor ma* which are destined for the wrathful deities, and the *zhi ba'i gtor*

10 See p. 481 sq.

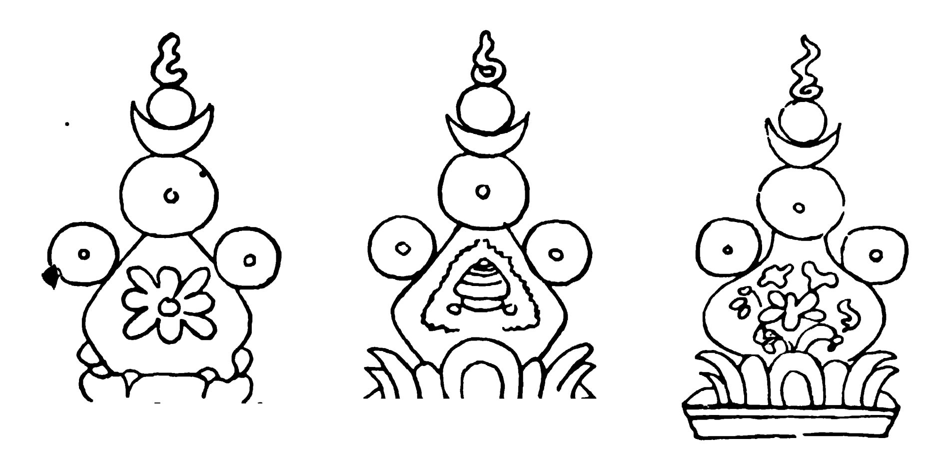
11 "Earth poison", aconite and "blood poison".

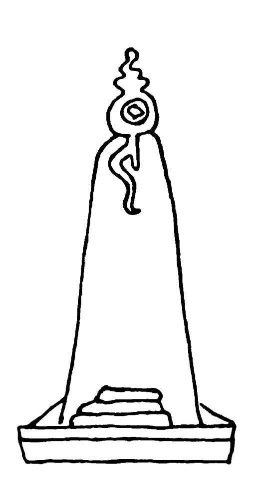
12 Regarding the *gtor ma* see also W. Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba Ling*, Leipzig 1933, p. 148 sq.

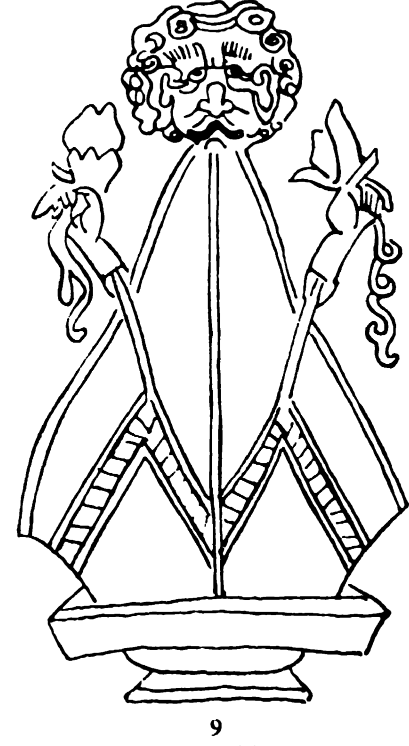


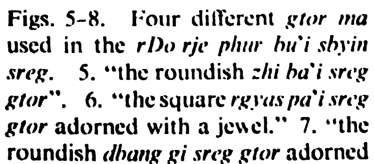
Fig. 4. Great *gtor ma* offered to *rDo rje phur bu.*

ma presented to those gods and goddesses who appear in a peaceful aspect. In general, the *gtor ma* of the first type have straight, sharp outlines, and their sides are mostly covered with decorations representing clouds of smoke and flames, while many of the *zhi ba'i gtor ma* are of a roundish shape. The colour of the *gtor ma* is frequently identical with the characteristic hue of the deity or the group of supernatural beings to









Figs. 5–8. Four different *gtor ma* used in the *rDo rje phur bu'i sbyin sreg*. 5. "the roundish *zhi ba'i sreg gtor*". 6. "the square *rgyas pa'i sreg gtor* adorned with a jewel." 7. "the roundish *dbang gi sreg gtor* adorned vith a lotus." 8 "the triangular *drag po'i sreg gtor* adorned with a sword". Fig. 9. *Zhi ba'i zhal zas*, a kind of *gtor ma* offered to *rDo rje phur bu*.

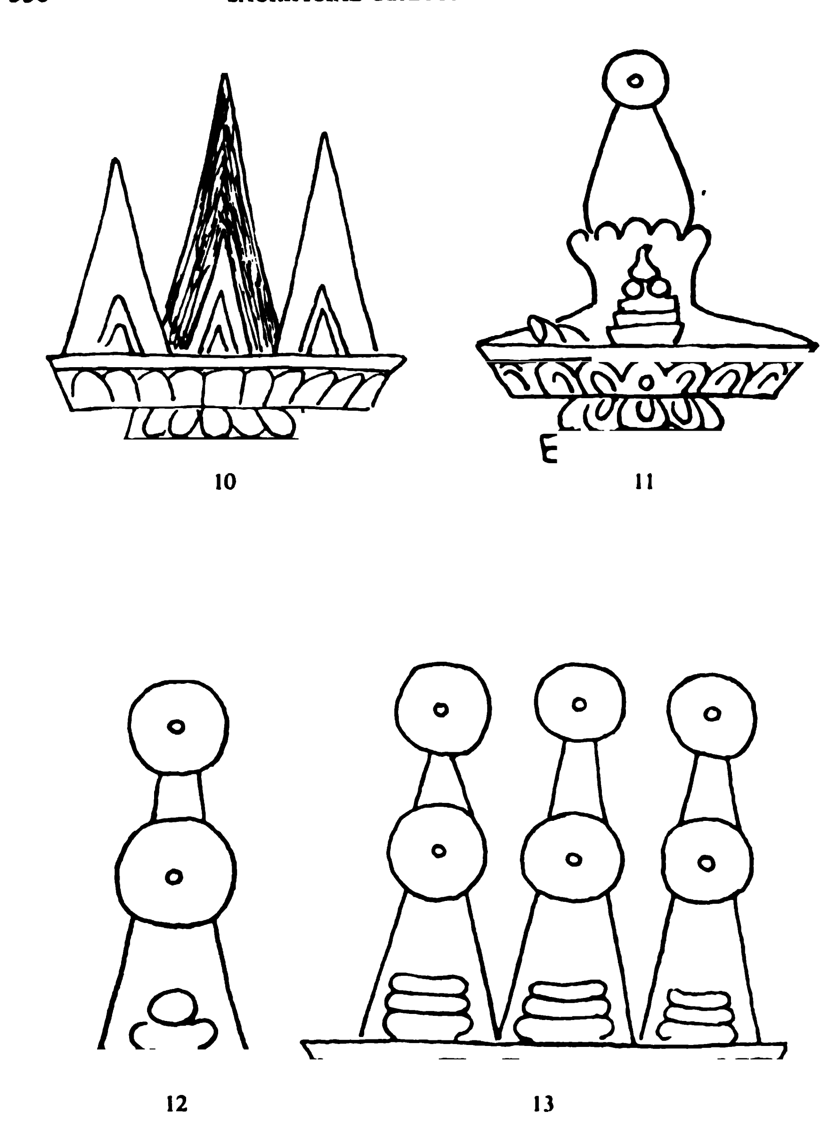


Fig. 10. The black, white, and red *gtor ma* destined for the *bsTan ma* goddesses. — Fig. 11. The white-red *gtor ma* destined for the *bgegs*. — Fig. 12. The roundish white *gtor ma* offered to the *gzhi bdag*. In front lies a *mtheb kyu* with a dough ball on top. — Fig. 13. Three *gtor ma* offered to the *bsTan ma* goddesses: the *gtor ma* on the left is roundish, the central one is triangular, and the *gtor ma* on the right has a square base. In front of each *gtor ma* lie three *mtheb kyu* on top of each other.

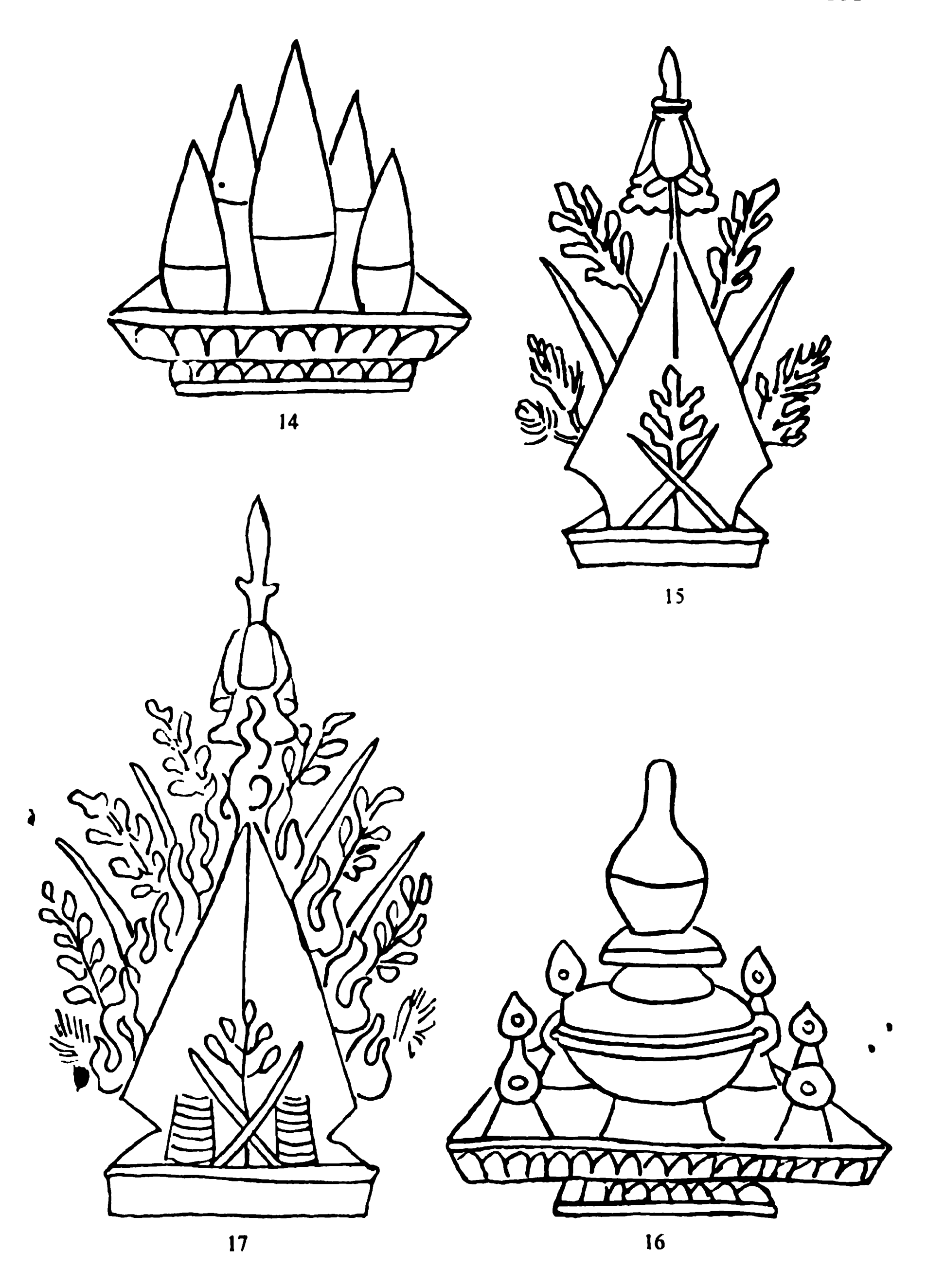
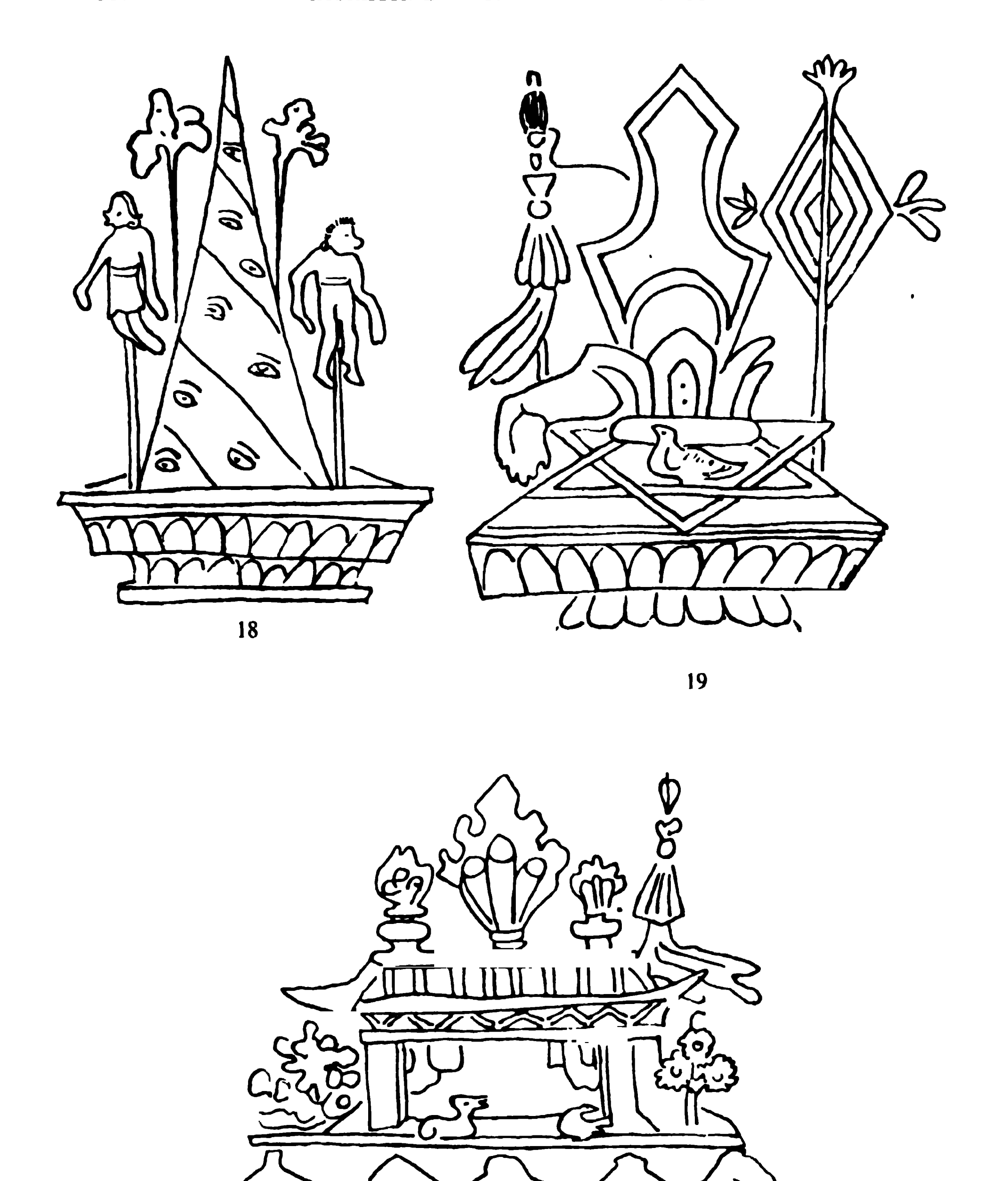


Fig. 14. The red-white *gtor ma* destined for the goddess *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma.* — Fig. 15. The *gtor zor* destined for the "gate guards" (*sgo srung*) and the *dam can.* — Fig. 16. The red-white *mchod gtor* offered to the *Tshe ring mched lnga.* — Fig. 17. The so-called *Sras mchog gi gtor zor*, used in the ceremonies performed under the auspices of *rDo rje phur bu.*



20

Fig. 18. The red *gtor ma* destined for the *Drang srong rāhu*. — Figs. 19-20. Two kinds of *gtor ma* offered to the *Tshe ring mched lnga*. — Figs. 4-20 according to drawings contained in blockprint no. 108.

whom it is being offered. Thus e.g. the *gtor ma* destined for the *btsan* are mostly red, those presented to the *bdud* are black, etc. Some of the *gtor ma* are simple cones bearing only a few ornaments, while others are complicated structures in the form of a palace, adorned with jewels, banners, flowers, etc., and representing the heavenly abode of the deity to which this particular *gtor ma* is dedicated, since in many ceremonies it is being assumed that the deity follows the call of the officiating priest and takes for some time residence in the *gtor ma*.

The *drag po'i gtor ma* bear frequently miniature human or demoniacal heads and skulls on top of their points, and they are decorated with miniature lances, "banners of victory", or with the so-called "divination-arrow" (*mda' dar*); thorns and thorny weeds are often stuck into the sides of the cake, and sometimes, e.g. in the case of the red-coloured *gtor ma* dedicated to *Rāhu* and bearing the name *Drang srong gi gtor ma*, stakes are arranged around the base of the *gtor ma* on which dough-effigies of men and animals have been empaled as offerings. *gTor ma* of the "peaceful" type are often decorated with the symbols of the sun and the moon, with gems, flowers, etc. These decorations are mostly made of butter. If they are white, they are called *dkar rgyan*, "white ornament", while the flames made of red-coloured butter, which adorn the sides of most of the *drag po'i gtor ma*, bear the name *dmar rgyan*, "red ornament", or *me ri*, "fire-mountain". In the case of a high *gtor ma* the dough is moulded around a vertical wooden stick called *srog shing* or "life tree".

We mentioned already two special kinds of *gtor ma*, the so-called *mchod gtor* or "sacrificial *gtor ma*" and the *dug gtor* or "poisonous *gtor ma*", thus called because poison is added when preparing the dough out of which this *gtor ma* is made. The *dug gtor* – and also the various *gtor ma* containing blood, meat, and alcoholic beverages – belong to the type of the *drag po'i gtor ma*. Some Tibetan works speak of two kinds of sacrificial cakes, the "outer" and the "inner" *gtor ma* (*spyi gtor, nang gtor*). The *gtor ma* used for the so-called *sByin sreg* ceremony are named *sreg gtor*. According to which type of *sByin sreg* these *gtor ma* are destined – viz. the *Drag po'i sbyin sreg*, *Zhi ba'i sbyin sreg*, *dBang gi sbyin sreg*, or *rGyas pa'i sbyin sreg* – the various *sreg gtor* are known as the *drag po'i sreg gtor*, *zhi ba'i sreg gtor*, *dbang gi sreg gtor*, and *rgyas pa'i sreg gtor*. In some cases a *mar gtor* has to be prepared, a *gtor ma* made only of butter.

The *gtor ma* are also extensively used in the cult of the Bon, and the works of this creed mention e.g. the following kinds of sacrificial cakes: a *gtor ma* made of resin (*shing rtsi'i gtor ma*), a *gtor ma* made of meat

(*sha'i gtor ma*), a *gtor ma* containing blood (*khrag gi gtor ma*), a *gtor ma* made of millet and rice (*khre dang 'bras kyi gtor ma*), a *gtor ma* made of wheat, barley, and peas (*gro dang so ba dang sran ma'i gtor ma*), the eighty-one kinds of *gtor ma* offered to the water-spirits (*Klu gtor*), a *gtor ma* made of flowers (*me tog gi gtor ma*, or perhaps only a *gtor ma* decorated with flowers), a "*gtor ma* of cool medicine" (*bsil sman gyi gtor ma*), and a "*gtor ma* of warm medicine" (*drod sman gyi gtor ma*), a *gtor ma* made of camphor (*ga pur gyi gtor ma*), further the so-called *bral brul gyi gtor ma* and the *'byor tshogs kyi gtor ma*.

Very similar to the *gtor ma* are also the small dough-cakes known as *bshos* or *bshos bu*. They are presented as offerings and, just as in the case of the *gtor ma*, also the form and colour of the *bshos* depend on the disposition of the particular deity or group of gods and goddesses for whom the *bshos* is destined and whose name it consequently bears. Tibetan texts mention e.g. the white roundish *lHa bshos* with a parasol stuck into its top, the red *bTsan bshos* – it has either the form of a pyramid or it is three-pointed –, and the black four-sided *bDud bshos* which has either a yak-head on top or a bent point. The *gShin rje bshos* is a cone with a triangular base and it is supposed to be similar to a castle, the *bshos* destined for the *gnod sbyin* should have the shape of a gem, and the roundish *Klu bshos* is white-coloured and decorated with the figure of a snake.

Also some of the magic weapons called *zor* are similar to the *gtor ma*, especially those known as *gtor zor*, *Ma mo'i khrag zor*, *me zor*, *thod zor*, *yungs zor*, and *mtshe zor*. The latter kinds of *zor* consist mainly of dough, and most of them have the shape of a small pyramid. Especially when describing various magic ceremonies, Tibetan ritual books instruct the officiating priest to place these and other kinds of *zor* around the *gtor ma*. The *zor* are later "loaded" with magic powers, and by throwing the *zor* away, the destructive forces are then released and directed against an enemy. The *zor* are therefore nothing other than the magic weapons of the deity, who had been "imprisoned" by the magician in a *gtor ma* or thread-cross, and after the deity had promised to carry out all the tasks as demanded, it is released by throwing the *gtor ma* away or setting it out at an isolated spot, and simultaneously also all its magic forces are set free by casting the *zor* away as well.

There are supposed to be eighty-four kinds of *zor*; it is interesting to note that this number corresponds to the alleged number of "evil omens" (*ltas ngan*). The use of most *zor* is said to have been introduced already in pre-Buddhist times by Bon magicians, who were especially experienced

in the manufacture and application of the *zor dgu*, the nine *zor*. The *zor dgu* bear the following names: *yungs zor*, *thod zor*, *mda' zor*, *rdo zor*, *mę zor*, *chu zor*, *gtor zor*, *khrag zor*, and *rkong zor*. We may give here some details about the form and application of these nine kinds of *zor*.

yungs zor — "mustard *zor*", sometimes called *nyung zor*. This is a small dough pyramid bearing on top a seed of mustard supposed to possess magic qualities.

thod zor — "skull *zor*", also called the *'Byung po'i thod zor*, "the skull-*zor* of the *'byung po* demons". A dough pyramid bearing on top a miniature human skull.

mda' zor — "arrow *zor*", also known as the *skyes pa mda' zor;* the latter term is supposed to refer to the *ma mo* demonesses. This *zor* is an arrow whose point had been dipped into "five kinds of poison" or into a mixture of poison, blood, the *gu gul* incense, and fat. According to a note contained in the ritual book of *rDo rje phur pa*,[13] the shaft of this arrow has to be made of poisonous wood, and the point should have the shape of a *phur bu*. The stearing-feathers of this arrow are the feathers of an owl, falcon, and a "*rākṣasa* bird". The arrow is placed, together with a bow, in front of the *gtor ma*, and later the power inherent to the *mda' zor* is released by shooting off the arrow, under the reciting of *mantras*, at a time and in a direction which had been determined with the help of astrologic books.

me zor — "fire *zor*"; mostly a wooden torch which is laid for the duration of the ceremony in front of a *gtor ma*, and when the time comes to release the power of this *zor* the torch is lit and then flung away. In some cases the *me zor* is a small dough pyramid with a burning piece of wood stuck into its top.

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chu zor — "water zor"; apparently a vessel filled with water possessing magic qualities.

gtor zor — also called the *Bon po gtor zor*. This is supposed to be a small *gtor ma* without any ornaments. Unfortunately it was not possible to ascertain in which respect the *gtor zor* is different from an ordinary *gtor ma*.

khrag zor — said to be identical with the so-called *Ma mo('i) khrag zor*, "the *ma mo* blood-*zor*". In order to make this magic weapon, first the menstruation-blood of a prostitute has to be obtained, which is used as a substitute for the "menstruation-blood of the *ma mo* demonesses". The blood is then either filled into a skull-cup, or a piece of wood is moistened with the blood and then stuck into the top of a small dough-pyramid. - Another kind of *khrag zor* is the *nad khrag khrag zor*. In this case a vessel is filled with the blood of a sick man or animal.

rkong zor — also *kong zor*, "cup *zor*"; this kind of *zor* is brought into connection with the group of the *ma mo;* details about the form and preparation of this magic object were unfortunately not obtainable.

Other forms of *zor* are:

Bandha'i sngags zor "the *mantra-zor* of the Buddhist priests." The term refers to the *mantras* pronounced by Buddhist priests at the time of "casting out" the *gtor ma* and the various *zor*.

sNgags pa sgong zor — "the egg *zor* of the *sngags pa* magicians." To make this *zor*, an egg is "loaded" with destructive powers by pronouncing a *mantra* over it.

bud med dmod zor "the cursing-*zor* of women". This term refers to curses pronounced by women, who are simultaneously shaking out their apron, the brim of their dress, or their hair, actions

which are supposed to make the curse more effective.

Zhang zhung gtso dmar zor — "the red *gtso*-metal *zor* of the *Zhang zhung* country". *gTso* is said to be a metal used by the Bonpos in their magic practices. The name of this metal is being brought into connection with *Zhang zhung*,[14] according to tradition one of the lands where the Bon creed took its origin.

Bon po'i zo zor — also called the *Zhang zhung zo zor; zo* is here a short term for *zor*, meaning "sickle" in this case. It is a magic sickle which is flung against an enemy.

'phang zor — "spindle *zor*"; this is a simple spindle as used by Tibetan women, the usual symbol of the female element frequently required in ceremonies of pre-Buddhist origin. The spindle is hurled away after harmful *mantras* had been pronounced over it.

phur zor — "demon-dagger *zor*". A *phur bu*, either a real or a miniature one made of dough, is cast in the direction in which the enemy lives.

tho zor — "hammer *zor*". A hammer (*tho ba*), real or made of dough, is "loaded" with harmful magic powers, which are then released by casting the weapon away.

lcags kyu zor — "hook *zor*"; that which has been said about the *tho zor* applies also to this magic weapon.

thun zor — this term refers to the ritual casting away of iron filings (*lcags phye*), stone powder (*rdo phye*), or seeds of white mustard (*yungs dkar skye tshe*). Also during this action magic formulas have to be recited.

mtshe zor — the likeness of a thorny weed (*mtshe*) is made of barley-dough and thorns are inserted into the tips of the leaves. Finally, after the

See F. W. Thomas, 'The žang-žung language,' *JRAS*, London 1933, pp. 405-410

		appropriate formulas had been recited, the *mtshe zor* is cast away.
byol zor	—	"the *zor* of harmful animals". *Mantras* are pronounced over dough-effigies representing harmful animals, and the latter are then "dispatched" against the enemy.
Sum pa glang zor	—	"the bull *zor* of the *Sum pa* country"; a small dough effigy of a bull is made, and the bull is then "dispatched" against the adversary. A popular tradition claims that yak and bulls were first introduced into Tibet from *Sum pa*,[15] and the name of this country is therefore brought into connection with this kind of *zor*.
ra zor	—	"goat *zor*", the dough-figure of a goat which had been "saturated" with magic powers.

No details are unfortunately available about the nature of the following kinds of *zor: btsun pa'i 'phreng zor* – perhaps a rosary (*'phreng ba*) possessing magic qualities –, *byis pa'i rtseg zor*, *Bon po brda* (or *brnga*) *zor*, *Bon po rta zor*, *pho nya'i zor*, *do nub zor*, and *dug zor*.

A magic weapon carried by numerous Tibetan deities – e.g. the *gshin rje*, members of the *srin po*, *ma mo* and *btsan* classes, etc. – but used also in various rites of the Tibetan clergy is the so-called *khram shing*,[16] a kind of stick or wooden board in the form of a hexagon, covered with notches (*khram kha*). Two important kinds of *khram shing* are the *bDud kyi khram shing* and the *Srin po'i khram shing*. The colour of the former is black, the *Srin po'i khram shing* is yellow. The notches of these two *khram shing* are red-coloured. Some *khram shing* bear seven, nine, or thirteen notches, having the form of a leaning cross. In cases in which a *khram shing* is used as a magic weapon serving to destroy the life of an enemy, the number of notches should correspond to the number of years of the potential victim. We may mention in this connection that, according to Tibetan tradition, notched sticks[17] were used in the Land of Snows

[15] On *Sum pa* see F. W. Thomas, *Nam: ancient language of the Sino-Tibetan borderland, Publ. of the Philological Society*, Vol. XIV, London 1948.

[16] The Na-khi call them ³*k'o*-¹*byu*· a great number of such ³*k'o*-¹*byu* have been published by Rock, *Nāga Cult*, pp. 109, 590–592, and plate I sq.

[17] *Shing khram*, according to T. de Lacouperie, 'Beginnings of writing in and around Tibet,' *JRAS*, London 1885.

before the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet,[18] as a help to memorize details of agreements, sales, etc.

Three objects which are similar to the *khram shing* and which serve as attributes of numerous deities of pre-Buddhist origin are the *dam shing*, the *khram bam*, and the *srid pa'i khram byang*. It is, however, uncertain, which form each of these three implements exactly has; the *dam shing*, which has apparently the shape of an ordinary stick, is supposed to possess magic qualities. The *khram bam* is perhaps a club made of a mummified corpse (*bam*), and the *srid pa'i khram byang* is most probably a special kind of *byang bu* or "label", a kind of flat stick used especially in the scape-goat ceremonies. Very similar to the *byang bu* are the *rgyang bu*, wooden tablets covered with pictures of deities, their emblems, etc. In some of the Bon ceremonies up to eighty-one *rgyang bu* are used. The *byang bu* are applied also in the *'Chi bslu* ceremonies; Lessing[19] mentions that if a *'Chi bslu* is performed for a man, the *byang bu* have to be made of birch-wood, while if the ceremony is held for a woman it is necessary to use *byang bu* made from the wood of a thorny tree or shrub.

Some *rgyang bu* bear the picture of a man, others that of a woman. The man, who is dressed in the customary Tibetan dress, carries an arrow (*mda'*), while the woman, who, too, wears Tibetan clothes, holds a spindle (*'phang*); the arrow and the spindle are the symbols of the male and the female elements. The drawing of the man is called the *pho gdong* (sometimes, most probably erroneously, this term is written *pho tong*), "male face", the picture of the woman bears the name *mo gdong* (or *mo tong*), "female face". The *pho gdong* and the *mo gdong* are a kind of "scape goat" (*glud*), offered as a substitute for all male and female members of a household to the malevolent deities who threaten their lives. Just like most of the *glud*, also some of the *pho gdong* and *mo gdong* are prepared of dough with the help of a wooden mold (*zan par*). Between the two *rgyang bu* bearing the pictures of the *pho gdong* and the *mo gdong* is often placed a third wooden tablet, on which the picture of a house had been drawn. This *rgyang bu* is known as the *khang bzang* or "good house", and it is regarded as a substitute-offering for the house, its

[18] On the Tibetan script see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Schriftwesen, Papierherstellung und Buchdruck bei den Tibetern*, Wien 1949 (doctoral thesis University of Vienna; not published), and J. Schubert, 'Typographia Tibetana,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1950, pp. 280-298; further F. W. Thomas, 'The Tibetan Alphabet', *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestehens der Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Gottingen*, Berlin-Göttingen-Heidelberg 1951, II, pp. 146-165.

[19] 'Calling the Soul,' p. 267.

inhabitants, and all the objects it contains. Also the representation of the *khang bzang* is occasionally made of dough.

In the ceremonies of destructive magic the likeness of an enemy is being "harmed" or even "killed" in the presumption, that the effects of this action will actually cause damage to the health or destroy the life of the person whom the magician has in mind. The representation of the potential victim bears the name *lingam*, also *linga*, *lingga*, and *lingka*. This term is applied both to the drawings made on poisonous paper and representing the foe as well as to the likenesses made of dough. The latter effigies should be dressed in a piece of cloth which has been worn by the potential victim, and some of his hair and nail-clippings have to be imbedded in the dough. A similar effigy, called *lingam* too, is used in some of the sacred mask-dances performed by the Tibetan clergy; thus e.g. a *lingam* is destroyed by skeleton-dancers in the course of the great dance held annually at Himis Gompa in Ladakh.[20] In some cases, however, the *lingam* has the conical shape of a simple *gtor ma*. Bon works giving instructions for the performance of magic ceremonies mention several different kinds of *lingam* – this expression is abbreviated in the case of composite words to *ling* –, but unfortunately no detailed information about their appearance and use has yet become available: the *spyi ling*, which is brought into connection with the crown of the head (*spyi bo*), further the *pho ling*, *mo ling*, and *chung ling*, apparently likenesses of a man, a woman, and a child, the *dgra ling* or representation of an enemy, and the *tri ling*.

In Tibetan books on black magic one often finds drawings of certain special *lingam*, required for performing various ceremonies destined to destroy the life of an enemy; thus a *lingam* showing two entwined and fettered human bodies is called the *wa thod lingam*, the drawing of a tied up, naked man who has an enormous tongue hanging out of his mouth bears the name *ar gtad kyi lingam*, a shackled human figure is the *bkrad pa'i lingam*, and a drawing showing a human figure being boiled in a cauldron resting upon a hearth is the *'Gong po me brdung ba'i lingam*.

Also in many of the so-called "scape-goat" ceremonies the likeness of a man has to be prepared. This figure is called a *glud gtor* or simply *glud*,[21] further *glud tshab*, *gtsang glud*, and *ngar glud*. A similar term is *ngar mi*, which is chiefly applied to a small kind of *glud* consisting of a simple dough-cone. On the *glud* all the evil and illnesses are transfered which threaten the person, family, or whole community for whose benefit this

20 Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 528.

21 Regarding the *glud* see also Lessing, 'Calling the Soul,' p. 282, note 17.

particular rite is being performed. To divert the harmful forces from the man or persons they threaten, the *glud* should be dressed in a cloth which has been worn for some time by the man on whom the ceremony centres and which has consequently accepted "the smell of his body", as the Tibetans express it. Again, some nail-clippings and some hair of this person have to be inserted into the *glud*, and the dough out of which the *glud* is made should be mixed with water which has been used to wash the person in question. These arrangements will mostly suffice for the preparation of a simple *glud*, as needed e.g. when performing a rite to cure a person from an illness caused by malignant spirits. In some particular cases, however, a special *glud* has to be used. The figure itself is again made of dough, but small quantities of different substances symbolizing the bones, organs, etc., are then inserted into the dough. Thus e.g. a piece of conch-shell represents the bones, a small bit of rhino meat is the "flesh" of the *glud*, the fluffy feathers of a white-tailed eagle are used to represent the fibres of the muscles, the fibres of the officinal plant called *pu shel rtse* symbolize the veins, the tongue of the *glud* should be made from a piece of saffron-coloured silk, the nose should be of copper or load-stone, and the ears are cut out from the bark of a birch, a heart-shaped piece of meat or the medicinal fruit called *zho sha*[22] inserted into the dough form the "heart" of the *glud*, drops of vermilion are its blood, a pearl is inserted as the "brain", a piece of the officinal root called *dbang lag*[23] is inserted into the hands, etc. These various substances which are imbedded into the figure are called in the religious language the "substitute offering" (also expressed by the word *glud*) for the corresponding organs, limbs, etc. Thus e.g. the pieces of a conch-shell are the *rus pa'i glud*, the vermilion is the *khrag glud*, and the piece of rhino meat is the *sha yi glud*.

Special kinds of *glud* are the *pho glud*, *mo glud*, and *chung glud*, the "substitute-offerings" for a man, a woman, and a child (compare these expressions with the terms *pho ling*, *mo ling*, and *chung ling* which we mentioned above): an effigy on which the evil effects of pollution (*grib*) are transfered is the *grib glud*. The *lo glud* is an effigy used in diverting the harmful influence of inauspicious years, and the *shi 'dre glud* is apparently a *glud* destined to absorb the evil forces which caused a man to die and which might also harm others. Two kinds of *glud*, prepared for the protection of animals, are the *rta glud*, the "substitute-offering" for horses, and the *phyugs glud*, effigies made to divert the evil spirits which

[22] Desgodins, *Dictionnaire*, p. 853.

[23] See Jäschke, *Dictionary*, p. 387.

might cause harm to cattle. Under these two terms, however, one may also understand a horse or a piece of cattle offered as a substitute for a man. Sometimes it does not suffice to make a *glud* of dough or to offer an animal, but in certain cases a man has to act as the "scape goat". Thus e.g. in the course of the great *Glud 'gong* ceremony, which takes place annually in Lhasa, two men specially selected for this purpose function as "scape goats", and all the sins and misfortune of the people inhabiting the Tibetan capital are symbolically loaded upon them and on the effigies which they carry. The *Glud 'gong* ceremony and similar practices will be described in detail later on.

Miniature *glud*, small *gtor ma*, and the various symbolical dough-offerings used e.g. in the "scape-goat" ceremonies are mostly prepared with the help of wooden moulds called *zan par* in Tibetan. We mentioned already above two kinds of *zan par*, the *brgya brngan lha bsangs gi zan par*, applied in the *lHa bsangs* ceremonies of the *rNying ma pa* sect, and the *stong rgyas lha bsangs gi zan par* of the Bon. Some *zan par* are flat wooden boards, bearing rows of representations on one or on both sides, while others are long sticks with a quadratic cross-section and covered on all four sides with carvings.

A set of *zan par* mostly consists of the following pieces: a *zan par* with four demoniacal figures which are simply called the *bDud bzhi*, the "four *bdud*". Usually each of these *bdud* carries a snare in the right hand, while the emblems held in the left hand differ: one *bdud* rings the *gshang*, the typical musical instrument of the Bon, the second figure holds a knife, the third a lance with a triangular standard, and the fourth figure wields a magic notched stick. On a second *zan par* are mostly carved the representations of a *pho gdong* and a *mo gdong*. On this or on a separate *zan par* are again represented four demoniacal figures carrying various magic emblems. On another *zan par* one finds the pictures of animals carrying the gifts offered to the deities and ferocious dogs which are supposed to accompany the wrathful *dharmapālas*.

One of the *zan par* which I acquired during my stay in the Tibetan borderland carries representations of the following animals: a yak, a sheep, and a goat – called in Tibetan jointly the *g.yag lug ra gsum*, "yak, sheep, goat – these three" –, a dog, a jackal, and a wolf, a group known as the *khyi spyang phar gsum*, further a horse, a mule, a stag, and a bird. On another side of the same *zan par* are represented various members of the *sa bdag* class: the four *sa bdag* who are supposed to rule the four cardinal points and several other *sa bdag* with the heads of a sheep, goat, stag, pig, ox, rat, and tiger. The latter deities are simply

called, according to their characteristic head, the *Lug gi mgo can*, *Ra yi mgo can*, *Sha ba'i mgo can*, *Phag gi mgo can*, etc.[21]

Other representations which we find on the *zan par* are the various kinds of *gtor ma* belonging to the "fierce" or to the "peaceful" type, further the twelve animals of the animal-cycle, the symbols of the planets ruling the seven days of the week, the magic square known as the *sme ba*, the equipment of the *dharmapālas*, as a helmet, a cuirass, a pair of high boots, swords, knives, various banners, and lances, and further rows of human figures, representing the companions of the *dharmapālas* or men whose bodies are supposed to be sacrificed to the flesh-eating demoniacal deities.

Special kinds of *zan par* are used to make of clay, dough, or butter the so-called *'jim bzo'i bcha' lag*. These are small representations of Buddhas and the "lucky signs", which are sometimes worn by an officiating priest glued to both temples in order to influence a ceremony in an auspicious way. One of the moulds for making the *'jim bzo'i bcha' lag* which I saw consisted of sealing-wax and had the shape of a half-ball.

To a set of *zan par* belong also a small file (*zong*) and a piece of metal called *rin chen bdar*, consisting of an alloy of the "five metals" (*rin chen lnga*), viz. gold, silver, copper, brass, and iron. When symbolical offerings are made to a deity, a little powder is filed off from the *rin chen bdar*, to represent the treasures which are presented as a gift to the gods and goddesses in whose honour the ceremony is performed.

The "blood lake" or *khrag mtsho* is an object used in the ceremonies held in honour of the wrathful deities. The *khrag mtsho* is a round, flat cake made of red-coloured *rtsam pa*. It represents the "blood lake" which is symbolically offered to the fierce gods and goddesses as a libation.

Small quantities of offerings are often kept for the time of the ceremony in so-called *ting lo*, miniature cups made of dough. Also the small butter-lamps (*mar me*), symbolizing the "offering of light", are made of the same material.

The so-called *phye mar*, verbatim "flour-butter", is frequently required for the performance of especially those ceremonies which are held with the intention to secure good luck and prosperity. Thus at the time of performing the customary New Year (*lo gsar*) ceremonies, a *phye mar* is used which has the following shape: a small, oblong wooden box with sloping sides and similar to a trough is divided by a board into two equal sections. One half of the box is filled with *rtsam pa*, the other one with grain. Heaped measures should be taken so that eventually two cones

[21] Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 134 459 a–e.

stand above the brim of the box, which is then decorated with small lumps of butter distributed at regular intervals. Finally, a few ears of grain are stuck into both cones. Another kind of *phye mar*, used in religious ceremonies, is prepared by heaping up a cone of *rtsam pa* in a round vessel standing on a high foot. The cone is then decorated with lumps of butter, which run in four rows from the top of the cone to its base.

Chang bu, also *'phyang bu*, is the name of a kind of thick noodle made of dough. The *chang bu* are prepared by rolling a piece of dough between the palms and then squeezing it between the fingers or pressing the knuckles into the dough so that the noodle assumes a wavy shape. In some of the "scape goat" ceremonies, as many such *chang bu* have to be laid near the *glud* as the person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed counts years. In other cases the *chang bu*, which often have to be coloured, are used as simple offerings. The *chang bu* are also applied by Tibetan medical practitioners to cure a patient. They are drawn along the patient's body and "having absorbed some of the evil powers which caused the outbreak of the illness", they are thrown away. According to a Tibetan Buddhist tradition the *chang bu* are supposed to be also objects reminding the fully ordained priests, that in accordance with their religious vows they should abstain from taking food during the time from noon to midnight. The origin of the *chang bu* is being explained by the following legend:

At the time of *Buddha Śākyamuni* a ferocious *rākṣasī* lived in India, who had become the terror of the villages lying close to her dwelling as she used to kidnap and eat children. The villagers came to lay their grievance before *Śākyamuni*, who promised to help them. The sage went into meditation, and with his spiritual eye he saw the cave of the *rākṣasī*. Noticing that she had a child of her own, he waited for her to leave her abode, and when an auspicious moment came he entered her dwelling, took the child away, and hid it in his begging-bowl. The *rākṣasī*, not finding her child upon her return, began to wail and cry and started to search the countryside trying to find the child again. After seven days of futile search she came to *Śākyamuni's* residence, to request his help. *Śākyamuni* asked her whether she felt pain in her heart on account of this loss, to which question the *rākṣasī* agreed, saying that she suffered indeed under extreme sorrows and distress. The sage told her now that the same pain was suffered also by all those villagers whose children she had eaten. The *rākṣasī*, deeply ashamed, promised to give up her evil pursuits, if only her child would be returned to her. After binding her with a

solemn oath to keep her promise, *Śākyamuni* produced to her greatest happiness the child from his begging-bowl. The *rākṣasī* then asked, on what she should live from now on since the eating of human beings was prohibited to her, and *Śākyamuni* therefore ordered that each Buddhist monk should save, when taking his meal, a handful of dough for the *rākṣasī*.

Another object made of dough and frequently used in ceremonies of the *glud*-type is a small tetrahedron called *mtheb kyu* or *theb kyu*.

An important object used in a great number of Tibetan ceremonies is the arrow, the symbol of the male element. A special kind of arrow is the *mda' dar*[25] or "divination-arrow", required especially for the performance of divination-rites. We mentioned already the divination-arrow as an attribute carried by many Tibetan deities of pre-Buddhist origin. The application of the *mda' dar* in the rites of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy has been accepted from the usage of the Bonpos. The *mda' dar* is used especially in the rites of the *rNying ma pa*, who distinguish the following types of divination-arrow:

Tshe sgrub mda' dar; the point (*mda' rtse* or *mde'u*) of this arrow is made of iron and its shaft is painted red. Mostly the shaft issues into five ends, each bearing three steering-feathers: the wing-feathers of a vulture are used for this purpose. Each of the ends is painted in one of the following five colours: white, yellow, blue, red, and green. A silken streamer is attached to each of the shaft's ends, a white streamer being fastened to the white end, a yellow streamer to the yellow one, etc. It has formerly been customary to tie sinews of vultures around the endings, but today it is mostly found easier to use coloured strings instead. A small silver mirror is suspended from the end of the shaft by means of a short string, and the divination-arrow is then stuck with its point downward into a vessel filled with a small quantity of grain. – This type of *mda' dar* is used e.g. in ceremonies performed in honour of *Tshe dpag med* (Skt. *Amitāyus*) and the goddess *lHa mo gos dkar ma*, or of *Padmasambhava*. It is also required for the *Tshe ring mched lnga* divination (*Tshe ring mched lnga('i) pra mo*) and for the *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma* divination (*rDo rje g.yu sgron ma('i) pra mo*); in the latter case, however, the *mda' dar* does not carry the peculiar five endings.

g.Yang sgrub mda' dar. A simple arrow with an iron point and a single ending, bearing three steering feathers; a conch-shell is suspended from

[25] An interesting explanation of the symbolism of the *mda' dar* is contained in Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, p. 143.

its shaft, together with three or five silken streamers. Also this arrow is stuck with its point downward into a vessel, filled in this case with a considerably greater quantity of grain than in the previous case. – The *g.yang sgrub mda' dar*, shortly *g.yang mda'*, is used in ceremonies destined to ensure luck and prosperity. The main deities invoked in these ceremonies are the *g.yang lha*, ancient benevolent divinities granting fortune to their devotees, further *rNam thos sras*, *Jambhala*, and various *gnod sbyin*. The predominant colour of this *mda' dar* depends on the characteristic hue of the particular deity in whose rite it has to be applied; if e.g. the deity is yellow in colour, then the shaft of the arrow and the streamers will be yellow as well. The *g.yang mda'* is also used as an auspicious instrument in the Tibetan marriage-ceremony. It is hooked by a priest into the colar of the bride.[26]

Nor sgrub mda' dar; in this case the arrow-head is made of copper, the shaft is painted red, and from its undivided end, which bears three steering-feathers, are suspended five streamers of silk — a yellow, white, red, blue, and a green one — and three dice. The material used for the manufacture of the latter are conch-shells, while ordinary dice as used in games are made of bone or ivory. Moreover, a square piece of red silk is attached with one end at the middle of the shaft. This kind of *mda' dar* is used in ceremonies performed for the goddesses *Nor rgyun ma* and *Rig byed ma* (*Kurukulle*), and it has to be stuck with its point into a vessel filled with a heaped measure of grain. — Sometimes, to simplify matters, the same kind of *mda' dar* is used for all the above ceremonies, only the mirror, conch-shell, or dice being attached to the shaft when necessary.

Me lha 'bod pa'i mda' dar. A divination-arrow dedicated to the fire-god (*Me lha*), used on the occasion of the *sByin sreg* ceremony. It has an iron point, a red shaft with a red silken streamer attached to it, and bears three steering-feathers. The *me lha 'bod pa'i mda' dar* is stuck into the earth at a point lying to the southeast of the place where the *sByin sreg* is being held, since the southeast is believed to be the direction in which the abode of the fire-god is situated.

Rlung lha'i mda' dar. A *mda' dar* set in honour of the wind-god (*Rlung lha*). It is an arrow with a green shaft, bearing an iron head and three

[26] Regarding the Tibetan marriage ceremony see S. Ch. Das, 'The marriage customs of Tibet,' *JASB*, Calcutta 1893; A. H. Francke, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, Hagen i.W. 1932; Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, p. 77, plate facing p. 106.

steering-feathers. A square green-coloured flag, on which the "seed-syllable" *yam* is written, is fastened to the shaft. This divination-arrow is stuck into the earth at a place lying to the northeast, the direction in which the wind-god is supposed to reside. – The two last-named types of divination-arrows are sometimes used without any steering-feathers.

Special kinds of *mda' dar* are those which find use in various thread-cross ceremonies. Some texts speak of a "varicoloured arrow" *(mda' bkra)*, while others name the arrows after the particular class of deities for which they are destined: thus the white arrow used in connection with the *lHa mdos* is called *lHa mda'*, the black arrow laid at the foot of the *bDud mdos* is known as the *bDud mda'*, etc. Eight different kinds of such arrows are mentioned below.

Name	*Colour of shaft*	*Steering-feathers*	*Silk pendants*
lHa mda'	white	vulture	white
bDud mda'	black	jack-daw	black
dMu mda'	blue	?	blue
bTsan mda'	red	owl	(red?)
rGyal mda'	white	?	white
The'u rang mda'	white	*stag ras*?	(white?)
Ma mda'	black	?	black
gZa' mda'	spotted	?	five colours

In some of the thread-cross ceremonies thirteen black arrows with red notches have to be laid at the foot of the central *mdos*. Also a *mda' dar* which had been stuck with its point into a vessel full of grain is regarded – similar to the so-called *phye mar* – as a device insuring prosperity; in the Himalayan area (especially among the Sherpas) a bamboo tube is often used as a container for the grain.

Tibetan medical practitioners and also some of the lower-ranking oracle-priests use the *mda' dar* to cure illnesses and to free a patient from pain. This procedure, known as *'jib rgyab pa* and alleged to be of Bon origin, is also frequently carried out in case that a person had been bitten by a mad dog.[27] The cure begins by the physician or the oracle-priest moving a mirror along the patients body, "to find the spot where the illness has its seat". Having discovered this place he will set the *mda' dar*

[27] For further details on the Tibetan ways of curing rabies see W. A. Unkrig, 'Die Tollwut in der Heilkunde des Lamaismus ' *Reports from the scientific expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin*, Stockholm 1942.

with its point touching the skin of the patient at the "seat of the illness", and he begins then to suck at the other end of the shaft. He soon commences to spit blood or even puss into a bowl, which is held ready nearby. In case that the patient had been bitten by a mad dog, the physician will finally – as claimed by eye-witnesses – spit out a small piece of flesh having the exact form of a dog. At last, "when all pain, blood, and puss had been sucked away", the physician will take the bowl and swallow all its repulsive contents. – Though the *'jib rgyab* is regarded as a rather primitive method of cure, there are nevertheless many Tibetans who firmly believe that this is the best way to save a man from falling victim to rabies.

The spindle, as we mentioned above, is used in Tibetan ceremonies as the symbol of the female element. The texts giving instructions about the distribution and application of sacrificial objects mostly call it the *'phang bkra* or "varicoloured spindle".

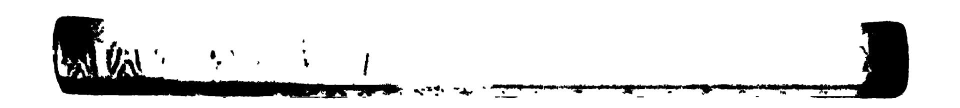




Two *zan par*.
Upper *zan par*: the *bDud bzhi*, lower *zan par*: the *pho gdong* (left) and the *bDud bzhin*
(Tibetan Collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden)



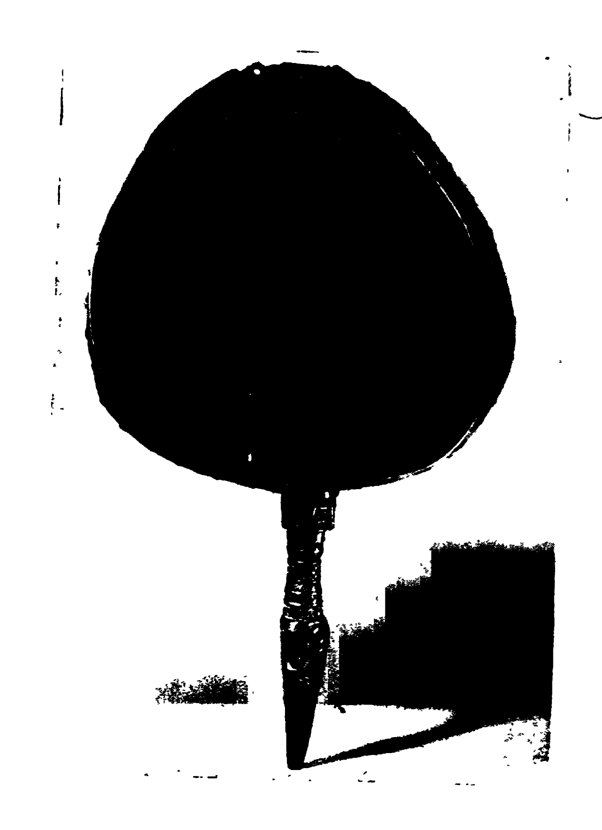




Three *zan par*.
1. The *bDud bzhi* and three animals carrying loads.
2. Various demonical figures and animals.
3. Various demons, *gtor ma*, the *sme ba*, animals, etc.
(Tibetan Collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden)



Two *dGe lugs pa* priests constructing a huge *Ma mo'i mdos*.



A Tibetan drum with a *phur bu*-like handle.
(Tibetan collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden)

CHAPTER XIX

THREAD-CROSSES AND THREAD-CROSS CEREMONIES

A peculiar object used in numerous magic rites is the so-called *mdos* or "thread-cross".[1] The basic form of a *mdos* is made by two sticks which are bound together to form a cross; the ends of the sticks are then connected with coloured thread so that the object assumes finally a shape similar to a cob-web. Other *mdos* are complicated structures up to eleven feet high, consisting of a number of geometrical objects made of sticks and thread in weeks of patient work. An alternative term for *mdos* is *nam mkha'*. It seems, however, that this expression is preferably used for the small thread-crosses surrounding the main, central structure.

Before giving further details about the types and use of the *mdos*, we have to mention that so-called "thread-crosses" are used in various parts of the world, and a number of treatises have already been published on this subject. Thread-crosses are e.g. to be found in South Africa and in Peru just as well as in Australia and Sweden. They occur also in some of the areas bordering on Tibet; occasionally they are found in Mongolia, more frequently with the Na-khi, the Kachin, and several of the Naga tribes.

[1] On thread-crosses in general see W. Foy, 'Fadensterne und Fadenkreuze I,' *Ethnologica*, II, Leipzig 1913; H. E. Kaufmann, 'Das Fadenkreuz in Hinterindien,' *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XV, 15, Berlin 1938, pp. 1–3; G. Lindblom, 'Thread-crosses (Fadenkreuze), particularly in South America and Africa,' *Ethnos*, V, 3–4, Stockholm 1940; H. E. Kaufman, 'The thread-square symbol of the Nagas of Assam,' *Royal Anthropological Institute*, London (offprint, not dated), pp. 101–106; D. S. Davidson, 'The thread-cross in Australia,' *Mankind*, 4, Sydney 1951. – Dr. K. G. Izikowitz, Director of the Ethnographical Museum in Goteborg, kindly informed me that thread-crosses are also used by the Gadaba tribe in Orissa (India). In the course of a ceremony performed in order to cure a patient, a small thread-cross was made out of split bamboo and blue, white, and red thread, which was stuck into a flat clay cake. Around it were placed other cakes of clay, but without thread-crosses. After the rite it was placed on a road leading to the village. Dr. Izikowitz also saw a number of thread-crosses in a shrine dedicated to the ancestral spirits, which had been erected by a Thai tribe in the Upper Tonkin region (Indochina).

On thread-crosses in Tibet and some of the neighbouring regions see Sarat Chandra Das, 'The Bon Religion,' *JASB*, Calcutta 1881, p. 196; Schlagintweit, *Bouddhisme*,

The use of thread-crosses in Tibet dates already from pre-Buddhist times, and a section of the Bon called *'phrul gshen* was mainly concerned with the *mdos*.[2] On the other hand *Padmasambhava* is supposed to have introduced the practice of offering the so-called *pho mdos* and *mo mdos*.[3] In certain cases, e.g. in the rites of the weather-makers, they serve as a magic contraption for catching demons; the evil spirits are supposed to get entangled in the antennae of the *mdos* just like a fly in a cob-web. Small *mdos* are placed as a protection against demons above the entrance of a house or on the top of a roof. In Ladakh it is customary to protect a monastery and the surrounding area by huge thread-crosses.[4] After such a *mdos* has been used for some time, the structure is pulled down, broken up, and then mostly burned, in order to destroy all evil spirits which had been caught in it. Strangely enough, pieces of such destroyed thread-crosses are on the other hand often preserved by laymen as a protection against all sorts of evil.[5]

In other cases the *mdos* fulfills the same purpose as a *gtor ma:* it provides a temporary abode for a deity. The *mdos* then mostly symbolizes the legendary heaven in which the particular god or goddess is supposed to reside. The patches of wool which are often attached to the sticks forming the *mdos* are in this case supposed to represent the clouds floating around the heavenly abode. The treasures, alleged to be stored in the residence of this god or goddess, are represented by small pieces of cloth,

plate XXXVII; L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, London 1890, photograph on p. 387; Waddell in the *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, pp. 365, 368, 371–373; Graham Sandberg, *Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan*, Calcutta 1894, p. 196; Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 484–488; Das, *Dictionary*, p. 676; A. H Francke, 'Kleine archäologische Ertrage einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar in Westtibet,' *ZDMG*, Leipzig 1906, p. 646; Ahmad Shah, *Pictures of Tibetan Life*, Benares 1906, plates 29 and 40; Grünwedel, 'Der Weg nach Śambhala,' p. 94; Grünwedel, 'Sternschnuppen,' note 5; Francke, *Hochzeitslieder*, III, appendix; F. Spencer Chapman, *Lhasa the Holy City*, London 1938, photograph facing p. 8; Stein, 'Divination tibétaines,' pp. 318–321; Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, photograph facing p. 161; Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, p. 148 sq.; S. Hummel, 'Geheimnisse tibetischer Malereien,' *Forschungen zur Völkerdynamik Zentral- und Ostasiens*, Heft 2, Leipzig 1949, appendix; Jäschke, *Dictionary*, p. 274; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, pp. 715, 740 (note 33); Rock, *^{2}Dto-^{1}mba ^{2}Shi-^{2}lo*, plate XXVI, fig. 1; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 176, 181 sq.; Nebesky-Woikowitz and Gorer, 'The use of thread-crosses in Lepcha lamaist ceremonies,' pp. 66–87; Rock, *Nāga Cult*, pp. 52, 134, plate LII; M. Lalou, 'Rituel Bon-po des funérailles royales,' *JA*, Paris 1953 (pp. 1–24), p. 13.

2 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 182 sq.: Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 715 sq. Thread-crosses were also used in Bon funerary ceremonies: see Lalou, 'Rituel Bon-po,' p. 13 sq.

3 Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, p. 360.

4 Francke, *Hochzeitslieder*, III, appendix; Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, photograph facing p. 161.

5 Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, p. 134 sq.; Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, p. 148

semi-precious stones, and small weapons and harnesses, the latter objects being made of dough with the help of a *zan par*. All these things, which are jointly called the *yas*, are arranged around the base of the *mdos*. But just like a *gtor ma*, also a thread-cross can be used in magic rites as a kind of cage into which a priest attracts a demoniacal deity. After the captured demon has been instructed which kind of work he should carry out, he is released by casting the thread-cross away. The *mdos* of this kind are called *gtang mdos*. They stand in contradistinction to the *brten mdos*, the thread-crosses which are supposed to be "loaded" with protective magic powers and which are therefore preserved for some time. Especially those *brten mdos* which have been made by an incarnate lama or by some learned priest are highly valued. Thus e.g. in the royal residence of the Bhutanese capital, the *sPung thang bde chen rdzong*, several *brten mdos* are being preserved to this day, which are said to have been made by the first *dharmarāja* of Bhutan, the *'Brug pa rin po che Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal 'jigs med*.

Some of the bigger thread-crosses show a striking resemblance to the well-known *mchod rten* (Skt. *stūpa*): apart from a general similarity of the shape, the *mdos* – just like the *mchod rten* – mostly rests on a base of usually four steps (*bang rim bzhi*),[6] and in both cases the vertical axes of the structure is called *srog shing*.[7]

In some cases a *mdos* is changed into the simple representation of a human face, by inserting pieces of paper or leaves between the thread of the *mdos* to represent the eyes, nose, and the mouth; such a thread-cross shows a certain similarity to a Nepalese *stūpa*.

Many of the *mdos* are named after the particular god, goddess or class of deities to which they are dedicated. Thus the thread-cross offered to the *klu* is simply called the *Klu mdos*, that used in the worship of the *dmu* bears the name *dMu mdos*, etc. The following list names the more important kinds of thread-crosses mentioned in Tibetan works.

lHa mdos
bDud mdos
bDud kyi khram mdos
dMu mdos
bTsan mdos
rGyal mdos
rGyal po drug mdos

[6] In the Himalayan region and also with the Na-khi (Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 55) ofte baskets bearing layers of turf are used instead.

[7] Sometimes the central vertical axis is also called the *mdos shing*.

Srog bdag rgyal po'i dkar po drug mdos, shortly known as *dKar po drug mdos*
dKor mdos
sPrul pa'i chos rgyal chen po'i mdos
Pe har gsang mdos
The'u rang mdos
Klu mdos
gNyan mdos
Ma mo mdos
Shin tu drag po ma mo'i khrag mdos or *Ma mo'i khrag mdos*
Ma mo'i glud mdos
Sa bdag mdos
Hal khyi bskang mdos
gZhi bdag mdos
bSen mo dgu mdos
mTsho sman dgu mdos
mTsho sman bsngo mdos or *sNgo mo chu mdos*
Sha ba'i ru mdos
gZa' mdos
sKar mdos
Khyab 'jug rten mdos
rDo rie 'bar ba rtsal gyi rten mdos bkang mdos zlog mdos
gNod sbyin ya ba skya bdun gyi mdos
Lan chags mdos
bsTan ma'i (gsang) mdos or *(Bod skyong) bsTan ma bcu gnyis kyi mdos*
dPal ldan yang gha bza'i mdos
sGrol ma'i (g.)yul mdos
mKha' 'gro grib mdos
dPal ldan lha mo'i mdos chen
dPal ldan lha mo bu rdzi ma'i brten mdos or simply *lHa mo'i brten mdos*
lHa mo'i bskang mdos
gShin rje'i mdos, probably identical with the *gShin rje'i khram mdos*
gShin rje gshed mdos
dBang phyug zor mdos
Rākṣa dgra mdos, also called *Heruka'i thugs mdos*
Rākṣa mdos bcu
Dur mdos
A ya'i mdos
sKyel ba'i mdos
Gur mdos
gDon gsum mdos

sDe brgyad khengs mdos
sDe brgyad spyi mdos
Gling bzhi srid pa'i spyi mdos, shortly called the *Gling bzhi spyi mdos*
Srid pa khod snyoms ma'i mdos
Srid pa'i mdos or *Srid pa'i mdos chen*
sNang srid spyi skong gi mdos
Rlung rta bskyed pa'i mdos
Se rag skar mdos

Some texts speak also of an "outer thread-cross" (*spyi mdos*) – the real, material thread-cross - in contradistinction to the "inner thread-cross" (*nang mdos*), a *mdos* which the priest has to imagine in his mind. Other sources differentiate the thread-crosses into "male *mdos*" (*pho mdos*), "female *mdos*" (*mo mdos*), and the "neutral *mdos*" (*ma ning mdos*), further the "*mdos* of expiation" (*bskang ba'i mdos*) and the "*mdos* of atonement" (*bshags pa'i mdos*), the *mdos* which serves as a magic weapon (*zor mdos*) - apparently also called *dgra mdos* when directed against an enemy -, the *mdos* pacifying illnesses and harm (*nad dang gnod pa zhi ba'i mdos*), the thread-cross prolonging life and increasing felicity (*tshe dang bsod nams rgyas pa'i mdos*), the *mdos* which brings into one's power matter and spirit (*snod bcud dbang du bsdud pa'i mdos*), the *mdos* guarding against the obstacles arising from the outside or from the inside (*phyi nang bar chad srung ba'i mdos*), the *mdos* which kills the inimical obstacle-creating demons (*dgra bgegs bsod pa'i mdos*), the general and the particular thread-cross (*phyi yi mdos dang sgos kyi mdos*), and the *mdos* which averts evil (*zlog mdos*). Several other types of *mdos* will be mentioned later on, when describing more in detail the various ceremonies of making and offering thread-crosses.

Apart from pieces of wool, also feathers are used to decorate the *mdos*. The list given below, besides enumerating the characteristic colour of a number of important *mdos*, mentions which kinds of feathers should be used to adorn these thread-crosses:

lHa mdos — a thread-cross with a white centre and a rainbow-coloured brim. The feathers used for adorning it are those of a "goose, the bird of the *lha*" (*lha bya ngang pa*).

bDud mdos — a thread-cross with a black centre and a rainbow-coloured border. It can be adorned with feathers of the black jack-daw.

dMu mdos — a thread-cross with a blue centre and a rainbow-

coloured border. The feathers used for its decoration are those of a peacock.

bTsan mdos — a thread-cross with a vermilion-coloured centre, decorated with the feathers of the "owl, the bird of the *btsan*" (*btsan bya 'ug pa*).

rGyal mdos — a thread-cross with a white centre and a rainbow-coloured brim bearing the feathers of a white hen.

The'u rang mdos — a thread-cross with a green centre and a rainbow-coloured border; the feathers used for its decoration should be those of a *bya khra 'or pa*.

Ma mdos — short for *Ma mo'i mdos*, a thread-cross with a light-blue (?) centre and a border in the colours of a rainbow, decorated with the feathers of the *lha bya dgongs mo*.

Klu mdos — a thread-cross with a blue-green centre and a rainbow-coloured brim; the kind of feathers used to decorate this *mdos* are not specified.

gNyan mdos — a thread-cross with a yellow centre and a rainbow-coloured brim, decorated with the feathers of the yellow *tus pa*.

Sa bdag mdos — a thread-cross with a golden-coloured centre and a brim in the colours of a rainbow; the kind of feathers used to decorate this *mdos* are not specified.

gZa' mdos — a thread-cross with a black centre and a rainbow-coloured brim, decorated with the feathers of a raven.

Dur mdos — a thread-cross of an undefined colour, bearing the feathers of a vulture.[8]

The Tibetan texts often allege that the thread-crosses were not made of ordinary thread and sticks, but that they consist of various other kinds of material. Thus e.g. some sources mention the "thread-cross made of five kinds of precious substances, the white thread-cross of conch-shells adorned with feathers of a white hen, the yellow *mdos* of gold adorned with feathers of an owl, the red thread-cross of coral..., the blue thread-cross of turquoise, adorned with peacock-feathers, the black thread-cross of iron, decorated with the feathers of a black bird".

The ceremony of setting up and offering a thread-cross begins with

104, fol. 28b.

constructing a base of mostly four, sometimes of two, three, or five steps (*bang rim*), representing the legendary world-mountain and called accordingly the *ri rab*.[9] The base is mostly made of clay or earth, sometimes of wood. Its space is often divided into four equal sections which are painted in the colours symbolic of the four main quarters of the world. In certain cases the base has to be hollow and it is later on filled up with various magic substances. Into the centre of the uppermost step of the base the main *mdos* is stuck, and around it are set up smaller thread-crosses. The central *mdos* serves as the residence of the chief deity in whose honour the ceremony is performed, while the small thread-crosses are supposed to provide a temporary residence for the gods and goddesses appearing in the train. Sometimes effigies of dough or clay have to be placed on the top of the base, and a great variety of offerings and magic objects is spread out on the steps.

After consecrating the thread-cross, the chief deity and its companions are invited to descend to the main and the minor *mdos*. Often they are believed to be more or less forced by means of magic formulas to descend to the thread-crosses. Next, the deities are presented with offerings, and then the officiating priest asks or even commands them to carry out the task which he has in mind. The step which follows is usually the symbolic loading of the thread-cross on mythic animals, which are supposed to carry the *mdos* away. These animals are e.g. a strong wild yak, a white horse of crystal, a horse of conch-shells, a horse of gold, and a red-coloured tame female yak.

In those cases in which the thread-cross rite had been performed in order to harm a person, the *mdos* is then carried by the officiating priest or a person especially appointed to this task to a spot, alleged to posses magic qualities, e.g. a crossroad or a haunted mountain. There the whole structure is turned in the direction in which the enemy lives and finally, by breaking up, throwing away, or by burning the structure the demons are released to attack the victim. In other cases the rite of "showing the way to the thread-cross" is performed, in the course of which the thread-crosses – or rather the deities who took temporary residence in them – are conducted to "the peaks of three mountains which are the dwelling of gods and spirits, to the point where three valleys meet – a spot where the *bdud* use to gather –, to rivers where small fishes with golden eyes move around, and to four mountains lying in the main quarters of the world: a white conch-shell mountain in the East, a yellow mountain of gold in the

[9] This and other points indicate a great similarity between the *mdos* and the *stūpa* On this question see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 740, note 33.

South, a red copper-mountain in the West, and a blue mountain of turquoise in the North."

The consecration of a thread-cross required for performing a ceremony of destructive magic is, however, usually by far more complicated than the similar actions which we have just outlined above. Thus one of the *mdos* ceremonies carried out for harming a foe is divided into the following fifteen actions:

Blessing the "outer" or visible thread-cross (*spyi mdos*) by means of six *mantras* and six *mudrās*; simultaneously the "inner" or imaginary *mdos* (*nang mdos*) has to be consecrated.
Playing music.
Beating the drum and chanting magic formulae.
Visualizing the residence of the deities which are being invoked.
Offering the "gold libation" (*gser skyems*) to the deities.
Asking them for assistance.
Gathering them into one's power.
Bringing them under command.
Explaining to them the task they have to carry out, under admonishment to remember the oath which had once been administered to them by *Padmasambhava.*
Charming the enemy.
Bringing the enemy under the influence of the destructive force.
Performing the *khru gsol* rite.
Burning incense.
Transforming the thread-crosses into palatial buildings.
Praising the virtue of the deities.[10]

The final action, here not expressly mentioned, is to set out or to destroy the thread-crosses at a place lying in the direction in which the potential victim lives.

We shall give now a few more details about some of the types of thread-crosses which we enumerated above. We learned already that the *lHa mdos*, the thread-crosses offered to the *lha*, are white in colour. Unfortunately, a text giving a detailed description of the way of making and offering this kind of *mdos* has not yet become available. Also information on the *bDud mdos*, the *bDud kyi khram mdos*, and the *dMu mdos* is still lacking.

A kind of *bTsan mdos* will be described when discussing the ceremony called *bTsan mdos gling bzhi*, a complicated magic action carried out on

[10] 31, fol. 7b.

rare occasions and only by order of the Tibetan Government. In the Bon work quoted under no. 131 a *bTsan mdos* is mentioned which is offered to the *bon skyong Brag btsan dmar po*. This *mdos* is called a *srid pa'i mdos* and the offerings which should be spread out on its base are red *rgyang bu*, a red arrow, and red-coloured effigies of sheep and goats.

Several prescriptions are available giving information which arrangements have to be made in order to offer a *rGyal mdos*, the thread-cross dedicated to members of the *rgyal po* class. According to one source,[11] first a "castle" should be constructed out of a dough which has been prepared by mixing flour of five kinds of grain with the powder of five different jewels. On top of this base a dough-figure is placed, apparently representing *Pe har*, the leader of the *rgyal po* demons, since it rides on a lion and carries two important attributes of this *dharmapāla*: it wears the broad *bse theb* hat and one of the hands brandishes a staff of crystal. Four animals made of dough are arranged around this effigy: a horse is placed in the eastern direction, a goat in the southern one, the likeness of a bird is set facing the West, and the figure of a dog is placed in the northern direction. To each of the latter figures, eight *bshos bu, ting lo, chang bu, theb kyu*, eight kinds of eatables, and eight *ngar mi* are laid. Then the likeness of a white soaring bird is to be "affixed above", which apparently means that the figure of a white bird should be fastened to the top of a thread-cross which is stuck into the centre of the base, next to the chief effigy. Further, a "thread-cross with a turquoise-eye" (*nam mkha' g.yu mig*) should be stuck into each of the main directions, and around each of these four thread-crosses eight white *rgyang bu* are set, while a black *rgyang bu* is to be placed in front of the main figure.

The way of sacrificing a *rGyal mdos* is also indicated on fol. 8a of Text no. 32. We learn that this ceremony has a threefold purpose: it should transfer bad luck and illnesses from the person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed on a "scape goat"; secondly, all harm sent by human and supernatural foes should be averted, and thirdly, the deities invoked in the course of this ceremony should be induced to harm all personal enemies. The ceremony is divided into sixteen actions:

"Dispatching the thread-cross" (*mdos btang ba*) by chanting.
Turning the *mdos* against the enemy.
Performing the consecration.
Erecting a "fortress" (*rdzong*).
Performing a rite, which secures luck to the officiating priest.

[11] 127.

Reading of an intermediary text.
Loading the scape goat (*glud*) and the thread-crosses upon imaginary animals.
Turning away the inimical *khram kha*.
Opening the door of the heavenly abodes.
Searching for a place outside the house to set up the thread-crosses.
Showing the way to the place which had been selected.
Showing the selected place.
Indicating the place where meditation has to be performed.
Digging up the ground for setting up the mast of the main thread-cross.
Dedicating the scape-goat.
"Dispatching" the thread-cross.

It is interesting to note, that in this case already the initial action of the ceremony is called the "dispatching" of the thread-cross. The text which should be recited during this part of the ceremony reads: "This thread-cross (*mdos*) of beautiful appearance and lustre, together with its treasures (*yas*), I offer to all the gods and spirits of the visible world. I offer the "substitute-offering of silk" (*dar glud*) as a substitute (*glud*) for the body, the gold-libation (*gser skyems*) I present as a substitute for the speech, the *nam mkha'* as a substitute for the spirit, the *rgyang bu* I offer as a substitute for the mind, I sacrifice animated beings as a substitute for life; animals whose body consists mainly of blood I sacrifice as a substitute for blood, animals whose body consists mainly of bones I offer as a substitute for bones. The beautiful arrow I offer as a substitute for the male, and the beautiful spindle as a substitute for the female. The *pho gdong* I present as a substitute for the male, and the *mo gdong* as a substitute for the female; I offer the sword-enclosure as a substitute for the male, and the enclosure of spears as a substitute for the female. A piece of finest silk I offer as a substitute for dresses, five colourful pieces of woollen cloth I offer as substitutes for ornaments, a piece of a tree I present as a substitute for the country, a miniature hut I present as the substitute for a castle, all kinds of effigies as a substitute for the form, and precious objects I present as a substitute for treasures."

Then follows the turning of the thread-cross in the direction in which the potential victim lives, and afterwards, for consecrating the *mdos*, the officiating priest has to chant the following passage: "The thread-cross, which averts the (disturbance of the) five *skandhas*, was consecrated by the religious teacher *Śākya thub pa* as the thread-cross of existence (*srid pa'i*

mdos). The thread-cross which penetrates everything without encountering obstacles was consecrated by the master of secrets, *Phyag na rdo rje*, as the thread-cross of existence. The thread-cross carrying the five kinds of precious things was consecrated by *'Jam dpal gzhon nu* as the thread-cross of existence. The thread-cross which averts the power of the *dregs pa* was consecrated by *gShin rje gshed* as the thread-cross of existence. The thread-cross fulfilling the pleasures of the visible world was consecrated by the powerful *rTa mgrin* as the thread-cross of existence. This "sacrificial thread-cross" (*mchod mdos*) of the five wishes was sacrificed by the five *devīs* (i.e. the *Tshe ring mched lnga*) as the thread-cross of existence."

The action which follows next is the "erecting of the fortress": a small enclosure is made with the help of some stones, and within its walls a few thread-crosses are set up. They are supposed to diminish the "life-power" of the enemy, and thus to make him more susceptible to magic attacks.[12]

At the beginning of the action of "loading" the main and the small thread-crosses together with their treasures on beasts of burden, the *mdos* are first symbolically placed upon a powerful ox. Various *mdos* are distributed on this animal in the following way: on the right side of the beast's neck a "male thread-cross" (*pho mdos*) is set, while on the left side of the neck one has to place a "female thread-cross" (*mo mdos*). On the crown of the head a "child-*mdos*" (*chung mdos*) is to be erected, and on the back of the ox one has to set a "thread-cross of the *lha*" (*lHa mdos*). Then a young, wild yak is to be loaded, a *pho mdos* being set on his right horn, a *mo mdos* on the left horn, a *chung mdos* on top of his head, and a "notched thread-cross of the *bdud*" (*bDud kyi khram mdos*) is erected on his back. Next, the thread-crosses are loaded on a male hybrid yak; on his right shoulder-blade comes the *pho mdos*, on the left one the *mo mdos*, and on his back the *gling bzhi spyid mdos*. On the point of the right horn of a blue water-buffalo one places the *pho mdos*, on the point of the left horn the *mo mdos*, and in the middle between the shoulder-blades the *chung mdos*. A male horse of an excellent breed is then loaded with thread-crosses in the following way: on the right shoulder is set a *pho mdos* and a *mo mdos* comes on the left shoulder, while a *chung mdos* is placed between the shoulder-blades. Lastly, on the right shoulder of a strong male yak a *pho mdos* is set, on the left shoulder a *mo mdos*, and

[11] The term *rdzong* means, however, also "dowry". By this word are often meant the various offerings spread out around the base of the thread-cross and usually called *yas*.

a "great thread-cross of existence" (*srid pa'i mdos chen*) is placed on the beast's back.

When performing the rite of averting the evil influence of the *khram kha*, the officiating priest requests that he as well as the person on whose behalf he performs the ceremony should be spared from the harm, annoyance, evil thoughts, and misdeeds resulting from the "*khram kha* of a king-year" (*rgyal po lo yi khram kha*). The evil influence of the "knot (and) notch of the minister-month" (*blon po zla ba'i mdud khram*), the "war-hordes of the day of the *bdud*-class" (*bdud sde zhag gi dmag tshogs*), and the "cursing-poison of the weapons of minutes" (*dus tshod mtshon gyi dmod dug*) should be averted as well. Further the demons should be repelled who cause a disturbance of the five *skandhas*, and the harmful influence of the nine *sme ba* and that of the eight *spar kha* should also be counteracted. Other dangers for whose repelling the priest prays are: the misfortune resulting from the reoccurrence of inauspicious years, the falling of the "*khram kha* of the *lha*", the poison of the *klu*, the madness send by the *rgyal po* demons, the brandishing of the snares of the *bdud*, the shooting-off of the arrows of the *btsan* demons, the "*ki kang* illness of the *gza'* " – from which those are supposed to suffer, on whom the shadow of *Rāhu*'s poisonous raven-head had fallen –, the opening of the "sack of diseases" belonging to the *gnod sbyin*, the sending of the "notched disease (stick)" (*khram ṇad*) of the *ma mo*, the mirrages caused by the *'byung po* demons, the *khram kha* of the *gshin rje* demons, the stealing of life by the *the'u rang*, the sending of diseases and epidemics by the *dri za*, the action of the *grul bum* who hide in order to catch one's life, the calamities caused by the *dmu*. . ., the stealing of a child which has not yet been born, and the harm caused to children by the *bdud*. – The text then adds that "there is nothing which cannot be averted by a *gto*[13] rite".

When performing the action called "opening the doors", the officiating priest requests the "gods and spirits of the visible world" to open the doors of their abodes, in order that the thread-crosses together with their treasures may be sent to them. Eight doors with their keepers are

[13] On the *gto* rite see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 740, note 37; according to my informants a *gto*-rite is the "changing of inauspicious happenings into auspicious ones" or "to make an unauspicious time auspicious". My informants gave the following examples. it may e.g. be discovered that a household remains in poverty because close to the eastern side of the house stands a *stūpa* which blocks the way on which prosperity would come to this particular family. As a remedy a *gto* rite is performed, its main feature being in this case the painting of a lion on one of the walls of the house. When performing the *gto* in order to change an unauspicious time into an auspicious one, either an eight years old boy should be present, or at least his cloth should be kept at the place where the ceremony is held.

mentioned in this connection: the eastern door is guarded by an antelope whose ten horns are turned upward, and the southern one by a blue, gibbering monkey. Red lightning is visible above the western gate whose guard is a blue turquoise-dragon, and the northern gate is guarded by a chattering bird. The guards of the gates lying in the intermediary quarters are: in the southeast a yellow snake of gold which emits poisonous air, in the southwest a blue twittering cuckoo, in the northwest a striped tiger whose stripes are glistening, and in the northeast a young leopardess whose black spots are shining.

After this enumeration the priest has to call out: "Open the white gate of the East which consists of conch-shells, open the yellow gate of the South which is made of gold, open the red gate of the West which is made of copper, open the blue gate of the North consisting of turquoise, open the black gate of the northeast made of iron . . ., it is time to open the gate of the *gto* rite (*gto sgo*) and the gate of the thread-cross (*mdos sgo*). The gate of the *yas* (*yas sgo*) and the gate of the *bdud* (*bDud sgo*) – pray be opened by the gate-guards. The guides who lead over narrow mountain passes, they may lead the way; to the right side of all the door-guards male horses of conch-shells are neighing, and to the left side young women (?) of conch-shells are singing."

When the thread-crosses and all their treasures together with the substitute-offerings were removed from the house and placed at the spot previously selected, the priest exclaims that now, since the time has come to "send off the thread-crosses", the man for whom the ceremony had been performed and the thread-crosses as well as the substitute-offerings, on which his illness, misfortune, etc. had been transfered, should be separated. The chant then continues with an enumeration of the main and intermediary quarters – to which the thread-crosses are symbolically sent – and of their guardians, who are supposed to prevent the return of those contraptions. And thus, as the priest exclaims at the end of the litany, "no more difficulties and harm should return to this place".

The next action is the dedication of the substitute-offerings (*glud*); the text enumerates the *glud* in the following way: the substitute-offering of the spirit (*sems kyi glud*) is eaten by the gods and spirits residing in the sky, the substitute-offering of the breath (*dbugs kyi glud*) is eaten by the gods and spirits who dwell in the wind, the substitute-offering of blood (*khrag gi glud*) is consumed by the gods and spirits whose abode is the water, the substitute-offering of flesh (*sha yi glud*) is taken by the gods and spirits residing in the earth, the substitute-offering of animal heat (*drod*

kyi glud) is consumed by the gods and spirits whose residence is the fire, the gods and spirits who live in stones devour the substitute-offering of bone (*rus pa'i glud*), the substitute-offering of the *skandhas* (*phung po'i glud*) is taken by the gods and spirits living on the mountains, the substitute-offering of skin (*lpags kyi glud*) is eaten by the gods and spirits who dwell on plains, and the gods and spirits whose abode are the forests consume the substitute-offering of the hair (*skra yi glud*).

To perform the rite of offering the *Srog bdag rgyal po'i dkar po drug mdos*,[14] first a *ri rab* should be build. On top of it a "castle of the *rgyal po* demons" (*rGyal po'i mkhar*) is to be constructed, with four pinnacles decorated with pieces of silk, with gems, and with banners of victory bearing as points the heads of tigers, vultures, wolves, monkeys, and peacocks. Around this "castle" are to be arranged five *nam mkha'* and the same number of *rgyang bu*, arrows, spindles, *ba dan*, *pho gdong* and *mo gdong*. In the eastern portion of the castle should be placed six white dogs with red snouts, in the southern portion six white horses with red manes, in the western one the same number of white goats with red necks, and in the northern direction six white sheep with red eyes. Numerous other effigies should be grouped around the "castle": six white human figures wearing red turbans, nine youths hurling stones, nine women carrying children, nine Buddhist priests dressed in yellow robes, nine beggars lifting their sticks, nine hybrid yak, and nine mules.

The offerings presented to *Pe har* and his companions – who are invited to occupy this abode – include five *bshos bu* shaped like a castle, five triangular *bTsan bshos*, five *bshos bu* containing blood, five *bshos bu* issuing into three points and bearing on top the figure of a sheep made of rice-dough, further a sacrifice of eatables, five ladles used for the preparation of *chang*, a cup full of flour, a ritually clean skull-cup, an arrow whose steering-feathers had been made from the feathers of a vulture and with ribbons of white silk tied to the shaft, and a *gtor ma* prepared from the three sweet substances.

Details about offering the *dKor mdos* are not yet available. This is apparently a *mdos* destined for *Pe har* in his old position of a *dKor bdag rgyal po*. The *sPrul pa'i chos rgyal chen po'i mdos* is brought into connection with the installation of *Pe har* at *gNas chung*. A text on this *mdos* is to be found among the "secret works" of the fifth Dalai Lama.[15] This thread-cross is perhaps identical with the *Pe har gsang mdos*.

A few details about the *The'u rang mdos*, *Klu mdos*, and *gNyan mdos*

[14] 177.
[15] Tohoku Catalogue, no. 5816.

have already been given above. The ceremony of erecting and offering the *Ma mdos*,[16] the thread-cross destined for the goddesses of the *ma mo* class, is said to be dominated by the three-headed and six-handed *Vajra Heruka*, who is therefore invoked and described in the first place. Then four *ma mo* are invoked, who are said to reside in the four main quarters of the world and who are able to defeat all enemies and obstacle-creating demons. The *ma mo*, which resides in the East, rides an elephant, and her weapon is a thunderbolt made of conch-shells, while the *ma mo*, whose dwelling lies in the South, rides on a horse which is being led by a black Monpa. The weapons of her companion, who lives in the western quarter, are a golden bow and arrow; a camel serves her as a mount. The northern quarter is occupied by a *ma mo* who brandishes various weapons (?) and who rides a tiger.[17] -- The procedure followed in the course of this ceremony is the same as that observed in most *mdos* rites: after invoking the deities, blessing the offerings and effigies, and performing a sacrifice to the goddesses previously enumerated, they are asked to inflict harm to an enemy, but to avert at the same time all dangers which might threaten the officiating priest and his employer.

The ceremony of offering the *Shin tu drag po ma mo'i khrag mdos*[18] is divided into three main sections: firstly the heaping up of offerings, secondly the sacrifice to the deities, and lastly the cursing of the enemies. The arrangement of objects for executing this ceremony is as follows: offerings of food and drink are set ready and a *maṇḍala* is drawn, which is supposed to provide a seat for the various *ma mo* subsequently invoked. Within the boundary of the *maṇḍala*, the officiating priest places four arrows, four spindles, and he sets up four thread-crosses together with the accompanying ritual gifts. He sets then into the four cardinal points four effigies of the *ma mo*, riding on horseback, as well as figures of birds,

[16] In 1952 I acquired for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna a *Ma mo mdos* (Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz no. 134 460/1–29) which had been made by a monk from the *rMe ru* monastery in Lhasa. This *mdos* is about 10 ft. high. Its main parts are two basket-like structures and a cubicle made of green, yellow, red, blue, white, and black thread, which are stuck upon the central beam (*srog shing*, *mdos shing*) of the *mdos*. The top of the *srog shing* bears a *nam mkha'* (its colours are, from the outside to the inside, green, yellow, green, red, blue, and black) and two stars of thread, one yellow with a red centre, and the other with a green centre. The whole structure stands upon a wooden base with three steps. On the lowest step stand three wooden lables, bearing the pictures of the *pho gdong*, *mo gdong*, and *khang bzang*, and seven *nam mkha'*. On the second step stand five wooden labels, each bearing the pictures of the attributes of one of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* and four *nam mkha'*. The topmost step bears four wooden labels; on each of them are painted the two attributes of one of the *Dus bzhi lha mo*.

[17] 174.

dogs, camels, black sheep, black yak, also effigies of serfs carrying sacks full of diseases, and women lifting butter-lamps – always four of each kind. Further are required peacock-feathers, the heart of a child which had been born out of an incestuous union, a butter-lamp fed with the fat of a man, a *gtor ma* consisting of various kinds of blood, *amṛta* and blood and clouds of incense, and the smoke rising from burning human fat should spread over the place at which the ceremony is held.

After invoking his own tutelary deity, the officiating priest calls the *ma mo* from their residence, which lies in the northern quarter of the world. In this direction are situated red mountains, red rocks, a red sea, and a red plain, in the centre of which stands a castle of leather with sharp corners, in which the *ma mo* dwell. Their thrones are human corpses and carcasses of horses. They dispatch one hundred thousand *rākṣasīs* as their messengers, who possess red locks of blood and cause a hailstorm of meteorites. The *ma mo* have black bodies, and each of them has two hands. Blood and fat are dripping from their mouths, they brandish lances with the head of a *rākṣasī* as a point, and they are adorned with garlands of freshly-severed heads and torn-out hearts, as well as with black poisonous snakes. A human skin, still wet, serves them as a loin-cloth, and each of them stands with the right foot on a heap of skulls and with the left one on skeletons. The *ma mo* are then invited to partake of the various offerings and to carry out afterwards the various tasks desired of them: to protect the devotee and his property, but to harm his enemies in various ways, as e.g. to eat their hearts and drink their blood, to tear out their hearts with the help of an iron hook, to strangulate them with a snare, and to tie them up with the help of a chain. Then, after expressing these requests, the *ma mo* with all their ferocious, malignant companions are released by setting out the thread-cross and offerings in the direction in which the dwelling of the enemy lies.

A simpler method of offering a *Ma mo'i khrag mdos* is described in connection with the ceremony called *Rākṣa mdos bcu*.[19] In this case the *dhāraṇī* of the *ma mo* is written on a piece of paper, which is then laid on top of the *ri rab*, and on it one has to place the figure of a black woman, brandishing a *khram shing* and riding on a mule. In the four corners are set four black-coloured effigies which have "locks of blood" (*khrag ri ral pa can*), and four figures carrying *mtshe nyum* in their hands. On the steps of the *ri rab* are set hundred eight *glud*, nine black *nam mkha'*, and the same number of *ljong bu*, arrows, and spindles, further twenty-one

18 168.
19 164.

(r)kong zor filled with blood. Lastly, a parasol is stuck into the top of the structure.

In the case of the so-called *Ma mo'i glud mdos*[20] the strength of the magic forces gathered on the *ri rab* is amplified by a *mantra* written on a piece of paper. This paper is then laid on the top of the structure, and on it is set the likeness of a black woman riding on a mule. Her right hand brandishes a sword, the left one holds a sack full of diseases. Around her are grouped smaller effigies representing the twelve *bsTan ma* goddesses and the four chief *lokapālas*. On the steps of the *ri rab* are distributed thirteen black *nam mkha'*, with a border in the colours of a rainbow, *ljong bu*, arrows, spindles – thirteen of each kind – and hundred-eight *glud*. In the course of the prayer which has to be read in order to consecrate the *Ma mo'i glud mdos* the following five forms of *dPal ldan lha mo* are invoked:

Nag po chen mo ral pa can or *bDud mo nag mo*, who is asked to defeat the *ya bdud* and *ma bdud;* this is a purple-brown figure clad in the skins of men and tigers and riding a *bdud rta*. Her right hand holds a black sabre, the left one a *nad rkyal*.

mNgon spyod las mdzad rdo rje rematī, dark blue, dressed in a human skin and riding on a three-legged mule. She is armed with a razor.

rGyas pa'i las mdzad rdo rje rematī, dark-yellow, wears a cloak of peacock feathers and rides on a pink ass; she wields a *khram shing* and a battle-lance.

dBang gi las mdzad rdo rje rematī, dark-red, wears a dress made of the kind of rough cloth called *re lde*. Her mount is a black water-ox, and she carries a *khram shing* and a hook.

Zhi ba'i las mdzad rdo rje remadzu, white and black, wears a cloak of fine silk; she rides on a camel which has a white spot on the forehead, and her attribute is a big *khram bam*.

A ceremony of offering a *Sa bdag mdos* has already been described by Waddell.[21] Detailed information about the *Hal khyi bskang mdos*, *gZhi bdag mdos*, and the *bSen mo dgu mdos* is still lacking. The *Hal khyi bskang mdos* is a thread-cross dedicated to the *sa bdag Hal khyi nag po*, the *gZhi bdag mdos* is destined for the class of the *gzhi bdag*, and the *bSen mo dgu mdos* is offered to the sisterhood of nine *bsen mo* goddesses (*bSen mo mched dgu*). Also the *mTsho sman dgu mdos* is destined for a sisterhood of goddesses, the nine *sman* who dwell in lakes. The *mTsho sman bsngo mdos* or *sNgo mo chu mdos*, too, is offered to the *mtsho sman*. The latter ceremony should take place on swampy ground, where a *ri rab*

20 164.

of four steps has to be constructed. It carries on the top a blue effigy, which has snakes instead of hair, and the lower part of its body has the shape of a snake's tail. Around the pyramid seven concentric circles of hillocks are made out of mud, representing the seven ranges of legendary golden mountains (*gser gyi ri bdun*). Between these are supposed to lie seven oceans. Further to the outside one has to indicate the position of the chief and minor continents. Then thread-crosses are stuck around the effigy which rests on the *ri rab*: a white *nam mkha'* in the eastern direction, a blue *nam mkha'* in the southern direction, a red in the western one, and a yellow thread-cross in the northern one. To each *nam mkha'* some *rgyang bu* are set. Next, a mirror, an arrow and a spindle, butter-lamps, effigies of animals -- especially of frogs, snakes and various fishes , eatables, various medicines and grains, pieces of cloth, jewels, etc. are distributed on the steps of the *ri rab*.

The divinity invoked first during the ceremony of dedicating the *mTsho sman bsngo mdos* is not a *sman* goddess as one would expect, but a *klud bdud*, a mixture between a water-spirit and a *bdud*, whose name is *Khyung lding nag po*, "black soaring *khyung*". He is supposed to have the shape of a black man with snakes as his hair (*mi nag sbrul gyi ral pa can*), who is ready to shoot off with the help of an iron bow an arrow made of the same material. His mount is a horse. Next a *sman* goddess is invoked, who seems to be regarded as a sister of the *klu bdud Khyung lding nag po*. Her name is *mTsho sman ru phyug rgyal mo*. She wears a cloak of peacock feathers, holds a snare consisting of black snakes, and rides on an iron mule.

These two chief deities are accompanied by four chief *sman mo*, who come forth from the four main continents. In the eastern direction originates out of a conch-shell lake (*dung mtsho*) lying on the continent, which has the shape of a crescent moon, the *mTsho sman nyi ma byan gcig ma*; she is surrounded by four *sman* goddesses addressed as the *'Od ldan mtsho sman*. From a turquoise-lake (*g.yu mtsho*) situated on the southern continent, which has the form of a triangle, is supposed to emerge the *mTsho sman mthing gi lha mo*. The four *sman* goddesses who accompany her are addressed as the *Dregs pa'i mtsho sman*. From a copper-lake (*zangs mtsho*) lying amidst the round western continent originates the *mTsho sman g.yu thang cho longs* (*ma*?); her companions are the four *Pho nya'i mtsho sman*. The last one to be invoked is the *mTsho sman gzi ldan ral gcig ma*, whose abode is a golden lake lying in the quadratic

[81] *Buddhism*, p. 484 sq. This ceremony seems to correspond to that of the Na khi, described by Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, on p. 26 sq.

continent in the northern direction; her companions are the four *Las byed mtsho sman*.[22]

The *Sha ba'i ru mdos*, the "stag-antler thread-cross", stands in connection with a Bon ceremony called *Sha ba rva* (or *ru*) *rgyas*, "the stag with the broad antlers". Some interesting details about this ceremony have been given by Hoffmann.[23]

The *gZa' mdos*, mentioned in the list after the *Sha ba'i ru mdos*, is destined for the planetary deities (*gza'*). The *sKar mdos*, mentioned by Hoffmann,[24] averts the evil influence of the stars (*skar ma*), and it is therefore related to the *gZa' mdos*. The *Khyab 'jug rten mdos*[25] is a thread-cross dedicated to the chief of all *gza'*, the *Khyab 'jug sgra can 'dzin* (*Rāhu*). Then three thread-crosses are mentioned destined for the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*, who is here quoted under his "secret name" *rDo rje 'bar ba rtsal*.[26] The thread-cross named next in the list is offered to a brotherhood of seven *yakṣas*.[27] Several texts on the latter thread-crosses are to be found among the "secret works" of the fifth Dalai Lama.

The *Lan chags mdos* is offered to the little-known group of gods called *lan chags*, who are depicted as warriors. When offering the *bsTan ma bcu gnyis kyi mdos*,[28] one should first spread out a big piece of white silk, and then erect in its centre a mound consisting of flour made from five kinds of grain, to which powdered gems and medicines have been added. Around it are arranged twelve smaller mounds made of the same material, each of them being destined for one of the *bsTan ma*. Then thread-crosses are stuck into each small mound: black ones into those destined for the *bdud mo*, red *mdos* for the four *yakṣīs*, and white ones for the four *sman mo*. A huge blue thread-cross is set into the central mound, and next to it are placed gems, twelve *rgyang bu*, a *pho gdong* and a *mo gdong*, an arrow, a spindle, and the *spyan gzigs* offerings, viz. figures of a stag, fox, camel, ass, goat, mule, sheep, horse, yak, etc.

The *dPal ldan yang gha bza'i mdos* is destined for the *Jo mo yang gha bza'*, which is an alternative name of the goddess *rDo rje grags mo rgyal*,

[22] 150.

[23] *Quellen*, p. 183; see also Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, p. 225. *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Tokyo 1955, Vol. 19, no. 1, p. 23: picture of the skull of a stag, bearing a *mdos* and a *khram shing*. (From Northern Nepal).

[24] *Quellen*, p. 183.

[25] See Tohoku Catalogue, no. 5801.

[26] See Tohoku Catalogue, nos. 5696 and 5697.

[27] See Tohoku Catalogue, no. 5818.

[28] 183; see also Tohoku Catalogue, no. 5821.

whom some regard as the head of the *bsTan ma* group. A text regarding this thread-cross has been composed by the fifth Dalai Lama.[29]

The *sGrol ma'i g.yul mdos* is a thread-cross dedicated to the merciful goddess *sGrol ma* (Skt. *Tārā*), whose help is engaged in order to avert various kinds of evil. A detailed description how to carry out this complicated ceremony, which requires the use of numerous sacrificial objects, is to be found in the work *sGrol ma g.yul bzlog ji ltar bya ba'i cho ga dgra las rnam rgyal zhes bya ba (bzhugs so)*.[30]

The erecting and subsequent casting out of the so-called "pollution-thread-cross of the *ḍākinīs*" (*mKha' 'gro grib mdos*) is a ceremony performed in order to purify a place or a person from the pollution which had been caused by illness, death, etc. In the course of this rite five thread-crosses are set up, which correspond in colour to the hue of the deities to whom they are offered. The pollution is then transfered upon these thread-crosses as well as upon the so-called "pollution scapegoats" (*grib glud*). The presiding deities of the *mKha' 'gro grib mdos* ceremony are the five chief *ḍākinīs*, while the goddesses which are supposed to be actually present at this rite – each of them being attracted to its respective thread-cross – are the "five black mistresses of pollution" (*Grib bdag nag mo lnga*), who are subordinates of the chief *ḍākinīs*. Another group of five goddesses, invoked at the beginning of this ceremony, are the divinitiés of the sky, earth, water, fire, and wind. Their distribution, "seed-syllables", name and colour are as follows:

Direction	*Sylla*	*Name*	*Colour*
Centre	*mam*	*Nam mkha'i lha mo Kun tu bzang mo*	dark-blue
East	*mam*	*Sa'i lha mo Sangs rgyas spyan ma*	yellow
South	*mam*	*Chu'i lha mo Mamaki*	white
West	*sam*	*Me'i lha mo Gos dkar mo*	red
North	*tam*	*Rlung gi lha mo Dam tshig sgrol ma*	green

These five goddesses appear in a peaceful, but proud mood; they are dressed in silks adorned with jewels and diadems, and countless rays emanate out of their bodies. The "mistresses of pollution" are similarly distributed, and their names and appearance are as follows:

In the centre is the black *Grib bdag chen mo*, "the great pollution-mistress". She wears a dress of black silk, brandishes a black banner, and rides a black horse, which is here called the "pollution horse" (*grib rta*).

[29] See Tohoku Catalogue, no. 5819.

[30] Fols. 8: from the work *bKra shis lhun po'i rgyud pa grva tshang gi rigs sngags 'chang ba rnams kyi 'don cha'i rim pa bzhugs so.*

– The dress, attribute and mount are the same in the case of the following four goddesses.
The East is the residence of the white and black *Grib bdag chen mo*. She is a subordinate of the *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma* (Skt. *Vajra-ḍākinī*).
In the southern quarter dwells the dark-yellow *Grib bdag chen mo*, who is a servant of the *Rin chen mkha' 'gro ma* (Skt. *Ratna-ḍākinī*).
In the western quarter resides the dark-red *Grib bdag chen mo*. Her mistress is the *Padma mkha' 'gro ma* (Skt. *Padma-ḍākinī*).
The northern direction is occupied by the dark-green *Grib bdag chen mo*, who stands under the command of the *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma* (Skt. *Karma-ḍākinī*).

The various kinds of evil and pollution are supposed to be averted by the following *ḍākinīs*: the *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma* should repell the pollution caused by the *dri za*, whose residence is the East. The pollution sent by the *gshin rje* of the southern quarter should be averted by the *Padma mkha' 'gro ma*; the pollution which comes from the West and which is caused by the *klu* should be counteracted by the *Las kyi rigs mkha' 'gro ma*, and the pollution of the *gnod sbyin* who reside in the North should be repelled by the *'Jig rten las kyi mkha' 'gro ma*. Moreover, the *ḍākinīs* here enumerated should also avert epidemics, illnesses, and the casting of the various kinds of *zor* magic.[31]

The arrangements which have to be made when offering the *dPal ldan lha mo'i mdos chen* are extremely complicated. First a high, azure-blue thread-cross is erected on the top of a *ri rab* with four steps, and next to it a black *rgyang bu* is set. Then, on the second step from above, a white, yellow, red, and green *nam mkha'* are placed in those directions to which they correspond in colour. To the side of each of them one places two azure-blue *nam mkha'*; thus there are twelve *nam mkha'* on the second step (and thirteen thread-crosses altogether, if including the one on top). Into each *nam mkha'* one has to stick a peacock feather. On the second step are laid twelve *rgyang bu*, four of them five-coloured and eight being dark-blue; into each of them the feather of a raven is stuck. On the third step are placed one hundred thirty-eight different objects, mostly made in miniature out of dough, as: effigies of black horses, mules, yak, sheep, birds, dogs, tigers, lions, brown and black bear, wild dogs, symbols of the sun and the moon, a club, a skull-cup full of blood, a sack of diseases, dice, a piece of meat, a magic coil of thread, a notched stick, a piece of yak-hair cloth, the skins of men, bulls, and tigers, a freshly severed head, bones, snakes serving as ornaments, ointments, a saddle and the trim-

31 20, fols. 1b–11a.

mings of a horse, a harness and weapons, arrows, a snare consisting of snakes, a parasol of peacock feathers, the seven emblems of a world-emperor, offerings to the five senses, the eight lucky signs, etc.

On the fourth step one has to place the following objects: in each of the four main directions are set arrows, spindles, wooden seats, effigies of men with spots like those which a tiger-skin has, others with spots in the form of a *lingam*, and still others with dots in the form of a jewel; likenesses of women, some with streaks similar to silk-pendants, with stripes such as bullocks have and spots in the form of a staff (?); there are thirteen of each kind. In addition to it one has to set on the same step a red *gtor ma* of flesh and blood, gall, water which had been pressed out of meat, "a black hen with golden eyes", incense, flowers, madder, the medicinal plant called *zhu mkhan*, barley, rice, wheat, and lastly thirteen *ngar mi* and thirteen small cups full of blood.

The *ngar glud*, set in front of the *ri rab*, has to be made out of flour which has been "gained from corn not damaged by worms". Exact prescriptions are given about the height and appearance of the *ngar glud*. The effigy should be one *khru* – that is eighteen inches – high. Various ingredients are inserted into the different parts of the *ngar glud*: a piece of meat is placed into the figure as its heart, pieces of a conch-shell are its bones, and a pearl is inserted as its brain. The plume of feathers serves as hair, the mouth is marked with butter, the eyes are made of *lung thang*,[32] the teeth of the medicinal herb called *mgron bu*, a piece of iron is placed inside the right foot and some copper into the left one, gold is inserted into the right hand and silver into the left hand.[33]

When offering the *dPal ldan lha mo bu rdzi ma'i brten mdos* – shortly called the *lHa mo'i brten mdos* – a *ri rab* is constructed bearing on its top a white figure of *dPal ldan lha mo* dressed in white silk and holding a *bum pa*. Around this effigy are erected five *nam mkha'*, and on the steps below are placed arrows, spindles, mirrors, eatables, medicines, etc., five of each kind. Lastly, also the effigies of five black birds and five black sheep are placed on the *ri rab*.[34] – The *lHa mo'i bskang mdos* is an "expiation thread-cross" dedicated to the goddess *dPal ldan lha mo*. Details about this kind of *mdos* ceremony are, however, still lacking.

The *gShin rje'i mdos* is a thread-cross used to appease the malevolent members of the *gshin rje* class, the *gShin rje gshed mdos* is dedicated to *Yamāntaka*, and the *dBang phyug zor mdos*[35] seems to be a kind of *mdos*

32 Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 143: Ulmus macrocarpa.
33 112.
34 110.
35 182.

applied by Tibetan magicians in order to harm enemies and their property.

The *Rākṣa dgra mdos* is also called the *Heruka'i thugs mdos*. There are said to be three kinds of *Rākṣa dgra mdos*: a *pho mdos*, a *mo mdos*, and a *pho mo gnyis kyi mdos*. Especially the latter should be erected "to avert all harm caused by gods and spirits", the misfortune which may be sent by Buddhist priests and by Bon magicians, and it is also used to counteract diseases. The objects which have to be prepared for this ceremony are as follows: the figure of a red lion one cubit high should be made first and then placed on a pedestal of white earth. Then the figure of a man clad in a harness is set on this lion. The man carries a bow and an arrow, a lotus, a sword, a *zhol ba*, and a shield. Around him are placed the figures of a white vulture, a varicoloured tiger, a red camel, a spotted mouse, and a blue horse, further multicoloured *ngar glud*, small likenesses of mice, thread-crosses, *rgyang bu*, figures of women, offerings of eatables (*'brang rgyas*) – five of each kind. In front of the main figure one has to place thirteen white *ngar glud*, an arrow, a spindle, a butter-lamp, and seven effigies representing armed men (*mi gzhub can bdun*). The chief god invoked in this ceremony, who is asked to avert the various kinds of harm, diseases etc., and to bring on the other hand misfortune and destruction to all personal enemies, is the *bCom ldan dpal chen heruka*, represented in Bon fashion as a nine-headed and eighteen-armed god.[36]

Under the term *Rākṣa mdos bcu*[37] ten different ceremonies are understood bearing the following names:

Rākṣa dgra mdos
dGra zlog
bDud kyi zhal bsgyur ba
'Dre khram bsgyur ba
Ma mo'i glud mdos
Ma mo'i khrag mdos
Phung sri ltas ngan zlog
gTad zlog
Phur kha zlog pa'i mdos
Ri rab dang lus skong ba

Two of these ceremonies – those of offering the *Ma mo'i glud mdos* and the *Ma mo'i khrag mdos* – were described already above. As regards the remaining eight ceremonies, we learn about them from the corresponding text the following details:

36 163.
37 164.

Rākṣa dgra mdos: in this case the description differs from the one we gave before. First a *ri rab* with three terraces is built, and on its top is placed the black figure of a *rākṣasa* riding on a lion. The right hand of this *rākṣasa* holds a bow and an arrow, the left hand brandishes a lance. Around this figure and on the steps below are distributed twenty-one *nam mkha'* of a prevalently black colour, and the same number of *rgyang bu*, arrows, spindles, miniature swords made of wood, *zor*, and cups with offerings; further the effigies of twenty-one armed men and twenty-one *glud.* Lastly, effigies of the four great *lokapālas* are set up in the four cardinal points.

dGra zlog: to avert the attack of an enemy. Again a *ri rab* is built, and on top of it one places a four-headed figure wearing a harness, helmets, and riding on a black hybrid yak. The lower three heads of this effigy are red, the one on top is black, the rider's right hand brandishes a sword, the left one holds a lance. He carries also a bow-case, a quiver, and a shield made of rhino-leather. On his right side should stand four men wearing armour and ready to shoot off arrows, on the left side are to be set four figures wielding swords, and in front come four effigies with folded hands. On the lower steps are to be placed black *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, an arrow and a spindle, wooden swords and various kinds of weapons, hundred-eight *glud*, and feathers of a jack-daw. Finally, a parasol is stuck into the top of the *ri rab.*

bDud kyi zhal bsgyur ba: "to turn away the mouth of the *bdud*"; a rite destined to avert the harm caused by the *bdud.* In this case the figure of a black Monpa riding on the "stag of the *bdud*" (*bdud kyi sha ba*) is placed on top of the *ri rab.* In his right hand he holds a battle-lance, the left hand clutches a snake-snare. To his right and left stand black Monpas, thirteen on each side, and in front are to be set the effigies of thirteen black "stags of the *bdud*". Next to the central figure a black parasol with a white fringe is stuck, and around the base of the *ri rab* one has to set the figures of thirteen black riders and thirteen feathers of jack-daws; this bird is called here "the jack-daw, the bird of the *bdud*" (*bdud bya lcung ka*). On the steps of the *ri rab* should be placed black *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, arrows, spindles, etc., thirteen of each kind.

'Dre khram bsgyur ba: "to turn away the notched stick of the *'dre*". The effigy of a man with three heads, wearing a harness, helmets, and riding on a white lion, is set on the top of the *ri rab.* The right head of the figure should be white, the left one red, and the central one blue. To the right side of this rider are to be placed thirteen blue figures of men, armed with arrows, knives and spears, on the left side should stand thirteen blue

effigies carrying lances, and in front are four elephants with riders on their backs, who are armed with swords. On the steps of the *ri rab* one has to distribute thirteen *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, arrows, spindles, hundred eight *glud*, and finally a parasol is stuck next to the central figure on the top.

Phung sri ltas ngan zlog: the averting of the evil omens caused by the *phung sri*. When carrying out this ceremony, the likeness of a black Bonpa riding on a camel has to be placed on the top of the *ri rab*. In his right hand he should hold a bell, in the left one a *zor kong*, and to his hat should be attached the feather of a bird of evil omen. Around this figure are to be set seven likenesses of owls. Then *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, arrows, and spindles are distributed over the terraces of the *ri rab*, nine of each kind on the top one, seven on the middle terrace, and five of each sort on the lowest one.

gTad zlog: in order to avert the destructive magic called *gtad*, first a *lingam* is drawn within the outline of a tortoise, and this drawing is then placed on the top of the *ri rab*. On it has to be set the figure of a *khyung*, and next to it a parasol has to be stuck into the structure. Then five-coloured *nam mkha'* and *ljong bu*, altogether twenty-one in number, are set up on the terraces of the *ri rab*, and also arrows, spindles, black snakes, and *sman leb*, again numbering twenty-one together, are placed there as well.

Phur kha zlog pa'i mdos: when erecting the thread-cross averting the *phur kha*, a *ri rab* of a red colour bearing (four?) white pinnacles has to be constructed. On the topmost terrace are placed the effigies of twenty-one birds, and on each pinnacle one should set the likeness of a lion. A parasol coloured like a rainbow is stuck into the centre of the top, and over the terraces one has to distribute twenty-one *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, arrows, and spindles, while around the base various kinds of *zor* and food should be arranged.

Ri rab dang lus skong ba: in this case a *ri rab* with four steps should be constructed, its four sides bearing the colours of the corresponding quarters of the world. On top of it a tent-like structure has to be erected, and next to it are placed the effigies of a peacock, a black sheep with a silk ribbon around its neck, twelve brown-coloured women, and four riders. Further thirteen *nam mkha'*, *ljong bu*, arrows, and spindles, and also various *spyan gzigs* are arranged on the steps of the *ri rab*.

The few notes which we gathered so far on the *Dur mdos* were already given above. In the course of the *A ya mdos* ceremony the *lha*, *bdud*, *dmu*, *btsan*, *rgyal*, *the'u rang*, *ma mo*, *klu*, *gnyan*, *sa bdag*, *gza'*, and *gzhi bdag*

are invoked in the above order of enumeration, and each of these classes of deities is asked to descend to a separate thread-cross. Details about the *sKyel ba'i mdos* are not yet available. Little is also known about the *Gur mdos*[38] or "tent thread-cross", probably a *mdos* dedicated to the *Gur gyi mgon po.*

When offering the so-called *gDon gsum mdos* – the thread-cross mentioned next in our list – a quadratic structure with two steps is prepared, and on top of it three small effigies are set. In the centre comes the likeness of a *nāga,* with a snake-head and a snake-tail, holding a basin. On the right side is placed the figure of a Buddhist priest, wearing a *bse thebs* hat and holding a sword and a *spar bu.* On the left side one has to place the effigy of a black woman brandishing a sickle and a *nad rkyal.* In front of these three figures are arranged butter-lamps, a *glud gtor, chang bu,* small cups with offerings, *nam mkha',* an arrow, a spindle, a *pho gdong,* and a *mo gdong.*[39]

The *sDe brgyad khengs mdos* – apparently a thread-cross dedicated to the *dregs pa sde brgyad* and used to avert evil and illnesses – should be erected at a clean spot lying in front of a forest or some flat bolders. There a *ri rab* of four steps should be erected; on top of this structure, in its centre, one should place a big *gtor ma,* and around it the following objects: on the side lying towards the East the priest should set up a roundish *lHa bshos,* in the South a three-sided cone adorned with a cross-like sign destined for the *gshin rje* demons, in the West the "medicine of the *ma mo*" (*Ma mo'i sman*), in the North the three-cornered black *bDud bshos* with a bent point. In the southeast should be placed a three-cornered red *bTsan bshos* possessing three points, in the southwest should be set a four-sided *rGyal bshos* which is shaped like a castle, in the northwest comes a *gNod sbyin bshos* shaped like a royal gem, and, lastly, in the northeast is to be placed a white, roundish *Klu bshos,* with a snake wound around it. Then various effigies made of dough are laid on the steps of the structure: effigies of birds on the first step, likenesses of beasts of prey on the second one, figures of animals living on mountains come on the third step, and on the fourth step are set effigies of tame animals. At the base of the *ri rab* one should place representations of such animals as live in the water or "such as are able to slip into the earth".

Having carried out these arrangements, the priest has to write down on a piece of paper the purpose for which the ceremony is performed, and he places then this note together with the thread-crosses, *rgyang bu,*

38 Hoffmann, *Quellen,* p. 184.
39 26.

arrows, spindles, and the *pho gdong* and *mo gdong* on the structure. Then he has to add to these things chips of wood taken from at least eight different trees, precious objects, and pieces of silk. Into the top of the *gtor ma* a parasol of silk should be stuck, and in front of the structure the "first offering" of fresh fruit is to be placed. Lastly the "pure substitute-offering" (*gtsang glud*) – the figures of a man, woman, and child – are set into a pot, and after slips of paper with the figures of animals printed on them have been added to these effigies, the pot is placed beneath the main thread-cross.

The invocation which the officiating priest has then to recite begins with a prayer to *Padmasambhava*, who is to be imagined in the following form: he has a human body which is covered by three garments; the "secret dress" (*gsang gos*), a blue cloak (*ber mthing*), and a religious dress (*chos gos*); on his head he wears the hat called *pad zhva*. The saint's right hand, which is set in the *tarjanī mudrā*, wields a thunderbolt with five points, and the left holds a *khaṭvāṅga*. After further prayers, the priest enumerates the qualities attributed to the thread-cross which has been erected. Thus he addresses the *mdos* as the thread-cross which pacifies illnesses and injury, which prolongs one's life and increases one's fortune, the thread-cross which dominates the world and humanity, the thread-cross which guards against "outer and inner impediments" (*phyi nang bar chad*), which averts the ten kinds of difficulties, and which kills the enemies and obstacle-creating demons. He further mentions the "thread-cross of expiation" (*bskang mdos*), the "thread-cross of atonement" (*bshags pa'i mdos*), the "general thread-cross" (*spyi yi mdos*), the "particular thread-cross" (*sgos kyi mdos*), and the "male, female, and neuter thread-crosses" (*pho mo dang ma ning mdos*).

Finally, the officiating priest invokes various deities, whom he requests to fulfil his wishes, and he attracts them by the power of his chant to the particular thread-crosses and cones which have been set up for them. From the East, out of a castle with nine turrets, the chief of the *lha* is supposed to approach. He is white, and his hands hold a sword and a lance with a silken flag attached to it. He rides the "white yak of the *lha*" and he is surrounded by the hundred-thousand battle orders of the *lha*. He dispatches the *rgyal 'gong* demons as his "emanations" or messengers. From the southern direction, from the red copper-plain of the land of the *gshin rje*, the priest calls the lord of this class of demons. He is black, a ferocious and raging figure, lifting a club and a magic notched stick. His mount is a water-buffalo with long horns. He is surrounded by the hundred thousand war-hordes of the *gshin rje* demons and dispatches

animals living on mountains as his messengers. The offering lying on the eastern side is destined for the mistress of the *ma mo*, who comes from a building shaped like a tent, around which illness-bringing vapours form colourful rainbows. Her body is of a brilliant brownish colour, and her hands hold a divination-arrow and a mirror. She rides on a blue turquoise-dragon, her escorts are the hundred thousand war hordes of the *ma mo*, and she dispatches a million *bsen mo* fiends as her messengers. The "great continent of obscurity" (*mun pa'i gling chen*) in the land of the *bdud* is the residence of the lord of the *bdud*, who is called to take his residence on the northern side. He is dark-blue, of a most terrifying appearance, and his attributes are a black banner and a magic notched stick. His mount is a black horse with white heels; he is surrounded by the hundred thousand war hordes of *bdud*, and a million obstacle-creating demons are his messengers.

The three-cornered red *bTsan bshos*, which had been placed in the southeastern direction, is an offering to the lord of the *btsan* demons, who approaches from the lustrous red castle of the *btsan*. His body is dark-red, like the colour of fire, and he is ready to shoot off an iron arrow by means of an iron bow. He rides a horse of the *btsan* possessing the wings of wind, his companions are the hundred thousand war hordes of the *btsan*, and a million *sa bdag* act as his messengers. From a tall castle consisting of conch-shells, which lies in the southwestern direction, the priest calls the lord of the *rgyal po* demons. He is white, his attributes are the *gseg shang* and the vessel called *par bu*, and his mount is a white lion. His companions are the hundred thousand war hordes of the *rgyal po* demons, and a million *ging 'gong* are his "emanations". On the northwestern part of the structure, where an offering shaped like a gem had been placed, the lord of the *yakṣas* is supposed to take his residence. He approaches from a castle built from five kinds of precious stone; he is riding a big tiger and carrying a sword and a jewel. He is accompanied by hundred thousand *yakṣas*, and the planets and stars are his messengers. The last remaining direction, the northeast, is reserved for the lord of the *klu*, who comes from the depths of an eddying ocean. His fright-inspiring body is smoke-coloured, his attributes are a snare of snakes and a sack of diseases. The lord of the *klu* rides on a *makara*, his companions are a hundred thousand *klu bdud*, and he dispatches a million *klu gnyan* as his "emanations".[40]

No further information is yet available about the five thread-crosses which follow; the so-called *Gling bzhi spyi mdos* stands perhaps in connec-

[40] 75, fols. 1b–17a.

tion with the *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* ceremony which we shall discuss later on. The name *Rlung rta bskyed pa'i mdos* is known to us only from an interesting Tibetan drawing which has been published recently by Hummel.[41] The *bSe rag skar* (or *skag*) *mdos* is dedicated to the brotherhood of nine *'gong po* demons, the *'Gong po bse rag spun dgu.*[42]

[41] S. Hummel, *Lamaistische Studien*, II, Leipzig 1950 (Bilderanhang, Abb. 1). A similar painting (originating from an unnamed Buddhist temple in Mongolia, lying thirty miles to the south of Urga, which had been burned down by the Chinese in 1921) is in possession of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. It shows a base with four steps: on the lowest step stand cups with offerings, on the second five birds and five sheep, on the third thirteen white cones, and on the fourth fifteen *gtor ma* of three different kinds. Into this structure is stuck a huge thread-cross; its colours (when proceeding from the outside to the inside) are red, ocre, yellow, green, gray, blue, and gray. In front of this thread-cross sits a three-eyed deity, white in colour and wearing the dress of a Bodhisattva. The left hand rests in the lap and holds a child, the right hand is held in front of the breast. On the right shoulder rests a lion, on the right upper arm some other animal, apparently an ichneumon. The deity wears a crown of five skulls, and out of its flaming hair protrudes a conch-shell with a half-moon above it. In front of this figure stand three *nam mkha'*, two mirrors and a divination-arrow. – I am grateful to Mr. R. Haarh, M. A., of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, for calling my attention to this interesting object.

[42] 186 and 187.

CHAPTER XX

WORSHIP OF THE DHARMAPĀLAS

Two types of music accompany the ceremonies held in honour of the *dharmapālas*: for deities of the *zhi ba* type a soft, harmonious music is played, while the loud music, produced mainly by instruments made of human skulls and bones, is said to be pleasing to the angry (*khro bo*) guardians of the faith. The most important musical instruments used by Tibetans in their religious ceremonies are flageolets (*gling bu, dge gling*), long telescoping trumpets of copper (*zangs dung, dung ring*), conch-shells (*dung dkar*), drums (*rnga*), gongs (*'khar rnga*), and two kinds of cymbals, one kind being used for the cult of the mild and the other for that of the angry deities; in accordance with the type of music they produce they are called *sil snyan*[1] and *rol mo* respectively. Typical instruments used in the ceremonies performed for the angry deities are thighbone trumpets, made either of human thighbones (*rkang gling*) or of the thighbones of tigers (*stag gling*). The *rkang gling* should be made of the bones of people who belonged either to a very high or to a very low social class, who died from a contagious disease, who were killed in an accident, or who were murdered. The best kinds of thighbone trumpets are supposed to be those which have been made of the thighbones of Brahmins, and a *rkang gling* made of the left thighbone of a sixteen-year-old Brahmin girl is valued highest. The bone is usually sewn into a piece of the bone-skin and then encased in an ornamental cover of copper or brass. Waddell's statement that a part of this skin has to be eaten by the man who makes the *rkang gling* does not seem to be correct.[2]

A great variety of drums are used in Tibetan ceremonies. There are huge flat drums (*chos rnga* or *rnga chen*, "religious drum" and "great drum") which are hung up in a square frame and are beaten with two sticks – they are mostly used at services held in the *mgon khang* –, further drums of the same shape, also called *chos rnga*, but somewhat smaller, carried on a long stick (*rnga yu bo*), and beaten by means of a stick curved far back

[1] Mahāvyutpatti (MASB), p. 182.
[2] *Buddhism*, p. 300.

(*rnga g.yab*). These two drums are used to produce music of both above-mentioned types. The sound of the sand-glass shaped *ḍamaru* or *rnga chung* ("small drum") often accompanies the reciting of magic spells. The rattling of this drum also indicates the intervals in a religious ceremony. The better kinds of *ḍamaru* are made of catechu wood and sandal-wood. The handle of this drum is a piece of leather or strong cloth firmly fastened to the ring joining the two cup-shaped halves of the drum. From this ring issue two strings, each with a leather knob or wooden bead at the end. When jerking the drum rhythmically to the left and right the strings fly up and the knobs or beads strike against the faces of the drum, thus producing a rattling sound. The so-called *thod rnga* or "skull drum" has the same shape as the *ḍamaru*, only that its two parts consist of two human craniums over which a piece of human skin has been stretched, which serves as the drum-skin. The skulls used for manufacturing the *thod rnga* should be again those of people who had been killed or who died in an accident. Especially a *thod rnga* which has been made out of the skulls of children who died when reaching the eighth year of age or who were born out of an incest are believed to possess strong magic qualities. A drum similar to the *rnga chung* and worked on the same principles, but bigger, consisting of wood and having a drum-skin which is mostly painted green, is the *mchod rnga*, an instrument frequently carried by itinerant priests. From the joint which holds the two parts of the drum together mostly hangs a long multicoloured ornamental pendant (*dar dpyangs*), consisting of overlaping pieces of brocade and embroidered silk.

Sorcerers of the "black Bon" (*Bon nag*) use in their ceremonies a tambourine, about twenty inches in diameter, held by means of a short wooden handle. Over the broad wooden frame is stretched the skin of the Saiga antelope (*rGya ra*), held in position by strings drawn cross-wise over the frame. Contrary to the drums described above the tambourine has only one drum-skin, and it is called therefore *phyed rnga*, "half drum", also *Bon gyi rnga*, "drum of the Bon". It is being beaten by means of a curved wooden stick in a peculiar way: the tambourine, held with the left hand, is brought close to the face of the sorcerer, with the skin facing downward. The right hand has then to lead the stick upward, in order to hit the drum-skin. The Tibetan Buddhists claim that this peculiar technique became customary among the Bonpos after *Na ro bon chung*, a famous representative of the "black Bon", had been defeated by the Buddhist sage *Mi la ras pa*.[3] The Bon sorcerers are ashamed of the defeat

[3] See p. 542, note 32.

which one of them had suffered, and they try therefore to hide their faces in the tambourine. Another peculiar Bon instrument is the *gshang*,[4] a flat bell made of bell metal (*li*) and rung with its opening turned upward. Often a white or a red-coloured yak-tail is tied to it as an ornament. The *gshang* is, however, used not only by priests and sorcerers of the Bon, but also by itinerant dancers and musicians from Kham.

Mostly the Buddhist priests officiating a ceremony wear the customary lama dress, but in certain cases they have to don special kinds of garments. Thus in the case of the *sByin sreg* ceremony the priests have to wear a colourful robe made of brocade and silks, very similar to that worn by Tibetan mediums at the time of entering a trance. Their heads are decorated with a five-lobed crown (*zhi ba'i rigs lnga*), and the eyes are protected by a magic screen of loosely hanging fringes made of bear hair. In some ceremonies of black magic the priest should wear a black garment with long sleeves and a broad-brimmed black hat, decorated with a skull and with peacock feathers. In addition to it he often wears atop his garment an apron and ornaments made of human bone (*dur khrod kyi chas*). When casting the *zor* magic the ritual books demand in some cases that the priest should wear a special dress called *sNgags pa zor chas*.

In the course of most of the ceremonies performed in connection with the cult of the *dharmapālas*, three kinds of offerings are presented: the *nang mchod* or "inner offering", the *phyi mchod* or "outer offering", and the *gsang mchod* or "secret offering". In the cult of the peaceful deities the *nang mchod* is a *gtor ma* prepared of white flour with an admixture of the *ngar gsum* and *dkar gsum*, and especially a sacrificial vessel containing a consecrated liquid supposed to be identical with *amṛta*. The *phyi mchod* is composed of offerings pleasing to the senses of the peaceful deities: perfumed water for washing the body (*dri chab*) and the feet (*zhabs bsil*), a drink for refreshment (*mchod yon*), flowers (*me tog*), pleasant-smelling incense (*bdug spos*), the light shed by a butter-lamp (*mar me*), a ceremonial scarf (*kha btags*) made of pure white silk of the best quality, and good-tasting food (*zhal zas*); the presenting of these offerings is accompanied by soft music. The *gsang mchod* is a purely symbolic offering: its purpose is to provide a male guardian of the faith with a *śakti* – or a goddess with a consort – in order that they may enter a mystic sexual union (*yab yum*).

In case that these three groups of offerings are destined for *dharmapālas* of the *khro bo* type, the *nang mchod* should rest on the skin of a raven,

4 This is apparently the ²*Ds*-¹*ler* of the Na khi, to which are tied the claws of eagles or blood-pheasants. Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 94, note 49.

the *phyi mchod* on the skin of a child which had been born out of an incestuous union, and the *gsang mchod* should be presented on the stuffed-out heart of a child of the same origin. All these three bases should lie on top of a spread-out human skin, which is said to have the quality of suppressing all obstacle-creating demons who might try to obstruct the ceremony. The *nang mchod* consists then of a *gtor ma* made of dark flour and mostly containing an admixture of blood (*khrag gtor*), of a symbolic offering of "five kinds of meat" (*sha lnga*) and a *bandha chen po bdud rtsi gang ba*, the "great skull-cup full of *amṛta*", supposed to be a skull-cup made of the cranium of a child which had been the fruit of an incest, filled with blood and seeds of white mustard. For the *phyi mchod* blood and urine are offered instead of the *dri chab* and *zhabs bsil*, a mixture of bile with brain and blood is in this case the *mchod yon*, the flowers should be formed out of human organs, the butter-lamp has a wick of human hair, its flame is being fed with human fat and marrow, and instead of the *bdug spos* human flesh and poisonous leaves should be burnt; the music played when offering the *phyi mchod* is dominated by the loud rattling of skull-drums and the wailing sound of thighbone trumpets.

Most of the ceremonies performed in honour of the *dharmapālas* include also the offering of a *gser skyems* or "gold beverage". The *gser skyems* consists of Tibetan beer (*chang*) mixed with grain. Some of the Tibetan texts, especially those of the Bon, speak about a "turquoise-blue *gser skyems*", *gser skyems g.yu sngon*. According to the name of the group of deities to whom the *gser skyems* is offered the ceremony is called a *Dregs pa'i gser skyems, sKu lnga'i gser skyems*, etc. An oral tradition claims that the term "gold beverage" has been derived from the habit of an ancient Tibetan king who, when drinking beer, always used to lay a few gold nuggets on the bottom of his cup. The ritual instructions for offering a *gser skyems* are as follows: "At a purified place offer the mountain of food for the gods, freshly-brewed bear (*chang phud*), the first-gathered fruit of the harvest (*lo phud*), various flowers, healing juices (*rtsi sman*), the three sweet things (*mngar gsum*), various kinds of meat, different medicines, various sorts of corn, silks, and different kinds of food." A special kind of *gser skyems* offered in ceremonies of black magic is the "blood *gser skyems*" (*khrag gi gser skyems*). It consists of a mixture of the blood of a hen, sheep, or yak with grain.

The worship of the *dharmapālas* takes place in the so-called *mgon khang*, mostly regarded as the holiest room of a temple. Its entrance is often guarded by stuffed wild yak, leopards, etc., the so-called

spyan gzigs, who act as the messengers and guards of the protective deities. The *mgon khang* is usually a dark room, lit only by a few butter-lamps burning in front of the images, which represent various chief *dharmapālas* and the particular guardian-deities of the monastery. Most of these images are scarcely visible under the numerous ceremonial scarfs which have been draped over them. On the walls hang painted-scrolls depicting the *dharmapālas* and their retinue. These *thang ka* are usually kept covered by a piece of cloth, which is only removed when a ceremony takes places in the *mgon khang*. In front of the images stand numerous offerings, as *gtor ma*, cups with food and drink, flowers, etc. The pilars of this chapel are decorated with masks, representing the angrily contorted faces of various *dharmapālas*. In the corners of the room lean bundles of ancient arms which were used for a long time in warfare and, having in this way acquired magic qualities, they were presented to the temple. They are supposed to be the most effective weapons of the guardian-deities.

The cult of the *dharmapālas* includes the performance of religious dances (*'cham*),[5] a subject which still requires comprehensive research. As an example of a dance carried out in honour of guardian deities we may describe here shortly the mask-dance (*'bag 'cham*), which takes place annually in Gangtok (*sGang tog*), the capital of Sikkim, in connection with the worship of the three principal guardian deities of this Himalayan state, viz. the mountain-god *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*, his companion *Yab bdud* – the guardian deity of Southern Sikkim – and the well-known Tibetan mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*; the latter is, however, not being represented in the dance.[6]

The annual worship of these three deities is said to have been introduced by *lHa btsun chen po*, the chief propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim, as a thanksgiving for his safe journey across the Himalaya. In the course of

[5] Tibetan works giving instructions on the performance of religious dances and their meaning (*'cham yig*, *'cham dpe*) are extremely rare. The printing-blocks are generally kept under seal, and copies of these texts may be printed only with the permission of the church authorities, which is difficult to obtain. During my research in the Himalayas I acquired a *'cham dpe* on the performance of the *Kun tu bzang po'i 'cham* as carried out by members of the *rNying ma pa* sect. The title of this blockprint, which counts 40 fols., is *dPal kun tu bzang po'i 'chams kyi brjed byang lha'i rol gar bzhugs so* (Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien). – Three works on religious dances, which had been composed by *Bu ston*, are mentioned under nos. 5092, 5111 and 5136 in the Tohoku Catalogue. – On Tibetan folk-dances see H. Siiger, 'Dancing pilgrims from Tibet,' *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, LI, Copenhagen 1951, pp. 1–26.

[6] On this dance see also W. J. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, Oxford 1935, pp. 294–297.

time this ceremony became more elaborate, until its present form, including the performance of the mask dance, was established by *Phyag rdor rnam rgyal*, the third ruler of Sikkim (1686–1717) in cooperation with the *sprul sku 'Jigs med dpa' bo*, the third rebirth of *lHa btsun chen po*.[7]

The dance in honour of this triad of divine protectors takes place in late summer, on the fifteenth day of the seventh Tibetan month. Several days before this date the priests of Pemiongchi, Sikkim's chief monastery, arrive in the capital in order to perform the necessary rites in the main temple (*lha khang*) of Gangtok, which lies opposite the residence of the royal family. A number of precious garments are used to make two life-size figures, representing *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* and *Yab bdud*.[8] Two huge masks of the *zhi ba* type represent the faces of the deities; on the other hand the masks worn by the dancers personifying the two mountain-gods are of the *khro bo* or "angry" type.[9] *gTor ma* and other offerings destined for the guardian-deities are placed on the altar, and the traditional invocations are chanted by the choir of priests to the accompaniment of the temple-music.

At about 10 a.m. of the day on which the dance is due to be held, the ruler of Sikkim and his family visit the temple to pay homage to the guardian-deities. The dance starts an hour later. It takes place in the open on the meadow lying in the front of main temple-entrance. Opposite the entrance is situated a long-stretched low hall, open towards the temple, which is reserved for the orchestra accompanying the dance by its music. The dancers come out of the main entrance of the temple and return there again after the end of the dance.

The *'cham* begins with the so-called "music-dance" (*rol 'cham*): the lama orchestra, wearing ordinary priestly dresses and blowing long trumpets, beating drums and clashing cymbals, walks with a slow solemn step around the open space in which the dance is going to be held and then takes seats in the low hall. After the *rol 'cham* a sword dance follows, performed by either thirteen, fifteen, or seventeen warriors, dressed in colourful garments, with broad bands of silk bound cross-wise over the breast and carrying shields and swords. These warriors represent the retinue of the mountain-god. Their dance, besides its religious meaning – the driving away of the evil forces which might linger around

7 According to the Chronicle of the Sikkim Royal Family.

8 Compare with the custom observed when carrying out the "high praise of the *dgra lha*"; see p. 335.

9 The masks worn by the dancers on the occasion of the *'cham* which takes place annually in the capital of Bhutan are said to have been made by a famous Bhutanese carver named *gSang sngags gling pa*.

the place where the dance is held – is also meant as a physical exercise. While the chief dancers representing *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* and *Yab bdud* are priests, the sword-dancers are laymen drawn from the noble families of Sikkim. During the time of training and rehearsing the dance they submit to certain restrictions; among other things they must observe sexual abstinence.

The first sword-dancer who steps into the open is the so-called *'cham dpon* or "dance leader". He shouts thrice "*kyi hu hu*" – the war-cry of the Tibetans – and performs then three kinds of dance movements which are known as the *gri 'khor*, representing the unsheathing of the sword, the *gri rdar*, "sharpening the sword", and the *gri 'phyar* or "lifting the sword". Then follow two more movements called *khrag mtsho rba rlabs*, "billowing waves of the blood-sea", and *khro mo'i lnga bskor*. After the *'cham dpon* has finished his dance, the other sword-dancers enter the scene one by one each of them shouting thrice the war-cry. The last of them is the *'cham 'jug*, the second head-dancer, who, too, performs the dance-movements called *gri 'khor*, *gri rdar*, and *gri 'phyar*. Then all the dancers, moving in a circle, perform the following kinds of dances: *lnga bskor*, *bdun bskor*, *gri thod kha sbyor*, and *rdo rje 'gro*. The latter movement is the "thunder-bolt-walk", a kind of magic step believed to crush all powers of evil; we may mention in this context that similar to the *rdo rje 'gro* is the so-called *zor 'cham*, one of the basic steps used in the religious dances of the Bhutanese clergy and said to have been introduced by the first *Dharmarāja* of Bhutan. After the *rdo rje 'gro* follows a dance-movement called *khro mo'i gdong bsig*. The sword-dance lasts until noon, and the warriors retire then into the *lha khang*.

After an interval begins the dance of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* and *Yab bdud*. The first to enter the scene, accompanied by the warriors, is the dancer representing the chief mountain-god of Sikkim. He carries the red mask representing the angrily-contorted face of this god, with an open mouth, out of which protrude four long teeth. A third eye flames in the middle of the forehead. The head of the dancer is covered by a helmet, with one miniature human skull in front, and decorated with a small circular banner issuing from the centre of the helmet and four big triangular flags at the side, perhaps the symbols of the chief peak and the four minor peaks of the sacred mountain. The dancer, who is dressed in colourful garments of brocade and silk, holds in his left hand the symbol of a jewel, as represented customarily in Tibetan art, and the right hand brandishes a short lance with a banner attached to it.

He turns one and half circles with a slow dance-step, thus ending his

dance in front of the open hall reserved for the lama-orchestra. While performing this dance three richly decorated horses are conducted by festively dressed attendants close to the circle in which the *'cham* takes place, and one of them, a light-bay horse, is led by its groom at the side of the chief dancer. These horses, which are kept in the royal stables without ever being ridden, are regarded as the mounts of the triad of mountain-gods: the light-bay horse is reserved for *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*,[10] a black horse with white heels – the well-known *bdud rta* – is the mount of *Yab bdud*, and the horse of *gNyan chen thang lha* is cream-coloured, with a white mane and tail. A popular tradition claims that, if the deities are satisfied with the offerings which they received on their day of honour, the horses will become unruly and excited as soon as the chief dancers approach.

Having finished his dance the priest representing *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* sits down at the entrance to the open hall, on a seat covered with a tiger-skin. Then the dancer representing *Yab bdud* steps out of the temple. He is dressed in garments of heavy, gorgeous brocade, and his face is covered by a black mask representing the angry countenance of this mountain-god. In his right hand he carries a spear with a flag, and the left hand holds the imitation of a human heart. After describing one and half circles – his horse being led during this time at his side – he, too, takes his seat at the entrance of the low hall, close to the dancer representing *Gangs chen mdzod lnga*. Then the sword-dancers pay homage to their divine leaders. At the end of this ritual the dancer representing Sikkim's chief mountain rises from his seat and performs amidst his armed followers two dances, known as the *'ja' klong ye shes* and the *ngang 'gros*. He is then solemnly led back into the *lha khang*. The next to retire is the dancer representing *Yab bdud*. While returning to the *lha khang* he carries out a dance called apparently *zur gsum*.

After the two chief dancers have entered the temple, the warriors perform two dances called *bya ba* (?) and *phyi bskor*. Accompanied by a band of the king's body-guard and by attendants carrying banners and leading the three horses dedicated to the mountain-gods, they march then thrice around the *lha khang* singing war-songs. Returning to the space in front of the shrine they stage once more a sword dance, whose initial part is known as the *dgu bskor*. The *'cham* ends at about four o'clock in the afternoon with the last phase of the sword dance, known as the *nor bu dga' 'khyil*.

[10] The same custom has been mentioned by Tucci in his description of a ceremony hich he observed at Samding monastery in Central Tibet; see Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 57.

Many of the *dharmapālas* who are believed to have their seat on a mountain or who are the personification of a mountain are also worshiped by the circumambulation of their abodes. Such sacred mountains are called *gnas ri*. Well-known places of pilgrimage are e.g. the *Te se gang* (Mt.Kailas) – a mount holy also to the Bonpos who circumambulate it anti-clockwise –, *rMa chen spom ra* in Amdo, *gNas kha ba dkar po* and the *Mi nyag gangs dkar* in Southeastern Tibet, and the *dPal rtsa ri* or *Tshva ri* in Dzayul.[11]

There are three ways of circumambulating the latter *gnas ri*: firstly a short, but arduous journey around the very peak, its way leading along the borders of the eternal snows; this pilgrimage is known as the *rtse bskor* or "peak circumambulation". The second way runs somewhat lower, closer to the forest-line, and it is known as the *bar bskor* or "medium circumambulation". While these two pilgrimages may be undertaken at any time, the *rong bskor* or "valley circumambulation", which leads through the hot valleys (*rong*) around the foot of the mountain, is undertaken only after an interval of twelve years, in a monkey-year. Great numbers of pilgrims from all over Tibet, estimated at some 10,000-15,000 heads, visit during this time the sacred mountain. According to the geographical work *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* it takes two weeks to complete the *rong bskor*. On their way to *rTsa ri* the pilgrims have to traverse first the Dvagpo country, and then to cross a pass called *Dvags po gong mo la*. They start the actual circumambulation at a plain called *rTsa ri dkyil 'khor thang*, which is inhabited by members of a tribe called in Tibetan *Kla klo mi skya sdeng*. From there they follow upstream the *rTsa ri dkyil 'khor thang chu*, and after crossing "nine mountains, nine ravines, nine rivers, and nine bridges" they have to pass through two dangerous mountain passages, called *Bya 'dril* and *Byi 'dril*. From there the journey continues to a sanctuary called *rTsa ri thugs ka*. The way leads then deep down into a valley and afterwards steep up again and further on along a river, to end at a place called *Chos zam gdung*.

This pilgrimage is regarded as a rather dangerous undertaking, mainly because the Tibetans, though usually travelling in big groups, are often attacked on their journey through the Himalayan valleys by bands of tribal people living in this area, who are called in Tibetan collectively *Klo pa* or *Kla klo*. According to the altitude at which the *Kla klo* live, the Tibetans distinguish between the *Kha klo*, the tribesmen inhabiting the higher regions – to these belong the above-mentioned *Kla klo mi skya sdeng* –, and the *gTing klo*, who mainly occupy the bottoms of the valleys

[11] Bailey, *Report*, p. 10 sq.

and who are apparently identical with the so-called *sMad rong klo pa*. The attacks on the Tibetans are mainly carried out by the *gTing klo*. In order to open the way for the pilgrims the Tibetan Government dispatches at the beginning of each year in which the *rong bskor* is due to take place a delegation of officials in order to negotiate with the *gTing klo*. These negotiations are carried out between the Lhasa representatives and two or three headmen of the *gTing klo*; a few of the generally more civilized *Kha klo* serve as their interpreters. The talks are held at a place called *Rong 'khor thang*, which lies already outside the holy sphere of the *gnas ri*. The *gTing klo* receive as presents Tibetan swords, beads, woollen cloth, salt, iron rings, prayer-bells (*dril bu*),[12] and bells of the kind carried by the mules of the Tibetan caravans. In return they have to swear an oath that they will leave the pilgrims undisturbed. When this part of the negotiations has been reached, a yak is killed with a sword, its heart is taken out, the skin drawn and spread out on the earth. Then each headman of the *gTing klo* has to step on the skin and, after saying an oath, to eat a piece of the heart. After the headmen all the *gTing klo* warriors – there are in most cases about a thousand men present – have to step on the skin one by one and repeat the oath.

Judging by the descriptions which I received from Tibetan officials who had taken part in these negotiations, the *gTing klo* seem to be identical with the Daflas, one of the main aboriginal populations of the Assam Himalayas. While the *Kha klo*, who are already more Tibetanized, wear coarse dresses similar in their appearance to the Tibetan *chu ba*, the *gTing klo* go nearly naked. The men wear only a G string, the women a skirt of leaves, and only some of the wealthier men possess a coarse blanket with which they cover the upper part of the body. They are of a medium stature, strongly built, with a yellowish skin, slit eyes, and broad flat feet. Most of the men have their long, black hair bound above the forehead into a tuft pierced by a piece of bamboo, the tooth of a wild boar, or a tightly rolled long leaf. Both men and women wear huge iron earrings and necklaces consisting of beads of Tibetan or Indian origin, with a bell hanging in its centre. They also wear bracelets, and most of the men have a band made of bamboo tied around the wrist as a protection against the sinew of the bow. They are armed with long bows, and they poison their arrows, dipping the point – before the missile

12 On the use of Tibetan prayer-bells among the Daflas see Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Culture Types in Assam Himalayas,' *The Indian Geographical Journal*, XXI, 2, 1946 (pp. 1–9), p. 4. See also Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Himalayan Barbary*, London 1955, pp. 198-200.

is shot off – into poison carried in a small horn at the hip. Some wear swords of Tibetan make, suspended from belts decorated with shells, and lances with broad, flat iron points.

The *gTing klo* are said to possess no knowledge of the value of gold, and when offered a piece of gold and a lump of iron for choice they will invariably take the latter. Their food consists mainly of rice, maize, and the meat of pigs which they raise in their villages. They also eat rats roasted on a bamboo spike over a fire and worms, which are shut up in a bamboo tube and then burried in hot ashes. The Tibetans further claim that the *gTing klo* are extremely fond of salt, and as soon as they are given some will start licking it from the flat hand. On the other hand they detest sugar. Some of them eat their food from cups of iron or brass, which in the opinion of the Tibetans are of ancient Tibetan make. They drink tea and an alcoholic beverage similar to the Tibetan *chang*, which they keep in bamboo containers.

The only musical instrument observed was the Jew's harp. In the evening the *gTing klo*, while camping at *Rong 'khor thang*, used to dance around the fire with slow, clumsy movements. They are said to be extremely lax in sexual matters, indulging in sexual intercourse without paying any attention to possible observers. The women carry their children either sitting sideways on the hip or in a basket on the back. To keep evidence of agreements and when sending messages, the *gTing klo* cut various signs, mostly consisting of rings and crosses, into long bamboo sticks.

CHAPTER XXI

TIBETAN ORACLES

THEIR POSITION, ATTIRE, FEASTS AND PROPHETIC TRANCES

One of the main differences between the *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* and the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* is said to be the circumstance, that many of the deities belonging to the latter class take at certain times possession of men or women who act then as their mouthpieces; through these persons the deities make their wishes known or give prophetic answers to questions which are submitted to them on such occasions. It sometimes happens, that a man or woman alleges to have become possessed by *lCam sring*, *dPal ldan lha mo*, or some other *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma*, but such people are regarded by the Buddhist clergy as impostors, since according to Tibetan religious teachings none of these high-ranking guardians of religion would condescend to interfere with more or less mundane affairs by speaking through the mouth of a medium. Another general rule is that a god will in most cases take possession of a man, while women will be visited by goddesses. The male mediums are by far in the majority. While those of the male mediums, who are supposed to become the mouthpieces of the chief gods of the *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* class, occupy important places within the system of Tibetan Buddhism, there are on the other hand only one or two female mediums of some importance.[1]

The name most frequently used for both male and female mediums is *sku rten pa*. Other appellations are *lus khog*, in honorific language *sku khog*, and *lha pa*. The latter term is especially applied to those mediums who become possessed by some of the low-ranking *'jig rten pa'i srung ma*. A very polite term used only when refering to oracle-priests of the highest rank is *chos rje*,[2] "master of religion". The priest who conducts the

[1] Bell (*The people of Tibet*, Oxford 1928, p. 169) mentions that female mediums become possessed by goddesses and *klu*, and that a daughter succeeds her mother in this profession. The same author also claims that cases occur in the Tsang province, in which female mediums become possessed by gods, and vice versa.

[2] According to Cybikov, *Palomnik*, p. 16, this title is supposed to have been conferred by the Chinese emperor on the seer of Nechung – together with the permission to

ceremony and whose main task it is to chant the necessary invocations is called the *sku 'bebs byed mkhan*; the other assistants bear the name *mgon po pa.*

The ceremonial garments worn by the oracle-priests when entering a prophetic trance belong certainly to the strangest and most colourful dresses used by the Tibetan clergy. They have to be worn over the usual ecclesiastical or layman-dress of the medium. The robes which the medium dons as well as the other paraphernalia it carries should make it appear similar to the traditional picture of the deity who is going to assume possession of its body. Form and colour of the garments and also the style of the corresponding headdress depend therefore on the nature of this deity or on characteristics of the particular class of supernatural beings to which it is supposed to belong. The following are the main types of attire used by Tibetan mediums:

a) *rGyal chas*, the outfit carried by oracle-priests who are being visited by members of the *rgyal po* class. These robes are worn by several of the chief oracle-priests of Tibet who are believed to be the mouthpieces of one or the other prominent representative of this particular class of deities: the *chos rje* of Nechung, who is the chief medium of *Pe har*, the oracle-priest of the *sKar ma shar* shrine in Lhasa, who becomes possessed by *Pe har*'s companion *sku yi rgyal po Mon bu pu tra*, and the medium of the Gadong Monastery, who acts as the mouthpiece of the *yon tan rgyal po Shing bya can*. To the *rgyal chas* belongs a voluminous long-sleeved garment reaching down to the ankles; this garment, which bears the name *sha gos*, is mostly yellow in colour, and it should be made of heavy brocade. The shoulders and part of the breast and back are covered by a kind of short cloak, made of many-coloured brocade. This cloak is known as the *stod g.yog* or *stod le*: it has in its centre a circular opening to put the head through, and its brim is symmetrically cut in thus giving to the spread-out *stod g.yog* the appearance of a blossom with four broad petals. To the *stod g.yog* are fastened a few white fluffy feathers of a vulture; sometimes pieces of white cotton are used instead. The *sha gos* is bound together above the hips by a sash of silk or a girdle, and over this is tied an apron (*pang khebs*) of brocade, mostly beautifully embroidered, bearing rainbow-coloured fringes of silk on its lower part. The breast and part of the lower portion of the body are covered in addition to it by a long piece of brocade of a conical shape, which is worn atop the

use a yellow ceremonial umbrella and a sedan chair – when this oracle-priest came to Peking in the retinue of the 3d Panchen Lama.

stod g.yog and the apron. This piece of the attire is called the *'ja' pang*, and it bears the colours of the rainbow. The *'ja' pang* is fastened with the help of two strings around the neck of the oracle priest, so that its shortest side rests a little below the chin. On the middle of the breast, on top of the *'ja' pang*, the medium wears a huge circular shield of metal, called the *thugs kyi me long*, the "mirror of mind", or simply *me long*, "mirror". Its black-coloured centre is usually concave, the broad and richly ornamented brim is made of silver which is often heavily gilt. The centre of the shield bears in golden Tibetan letters a magic syllable, mostly the spells *hūm*, *hrī*, or *kyai*. One or the other of these spells is supposed to be the "seed syllable" (*sa bon*), out of which the deity taking possession of the oracle-priest is believed to originate; this point is, however, not being strictly observed, and even if several deities which are supposed to take their origin from different "seed syllables" assume possession of the medium one after the other, the oracle-priest will continue to wear throughout the ceremony the same *thugs kyi me long*. This shield is mostly worn suspended from the neck, but sometimes it is connected with the *'ja 'pang*, which in this case, however, is considerably smaller than usual.

On his feet the oracle-priest wears a pair of high, heavy boots with thick broad soles which are turned upward in front. These shoes are usually made of tiger-skin, and they are called therefore the *gsang phu stag lham*. Some of the oracles wear white shoes decorated with golden ornaments such as belong to the attire of higher members of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy.

One of the most characteristic parts of the outfit is the peculiar heavy helmet (*dbu rmog*), especially that worn by the chief medium of *Pe har*. The helmet belonging to the *rgyal chas* is also called the *rgyal zhva*. Similar helmets are, however, also worn by oracle-priests who are being visited by other *dharmapālas* than those belonging to the *rgyal po* class. Thus the chief oracle of Samye, who is the mouthpiece of *Tsi'u dmar po*, wears, too, a heavy helmet, and so does the medium of *Tshangs pa dkar po* living at Lamo Monastery. The helmet worn by the state magician is said to weigh some sixty English pounds and is claimed to be of great value since it consists to its greater part of precious metals and gems. This helmet is placed by two assistants on the head of the medium only after the latter has fallen into the trance, as otherwise the oracle-priest, when in his normal state, would be unable to support the weight of this strange headgear. Afterwards, the helmet is firmly fastened to the head of the medium by a system of leather-belts. The *dbu rmog* bears in front a diadem

decorated with five miniature human skulls, the so-called *khro bo rigs lnga*. Above this diadem project ornaments of silver and gold which are richly studded with precious stones. The central one of these ornaments bears a huge piece of red glass, which is supposed to start gleaming as soon as *Pe har* has entered the body of the priest.[3] Behind these ornaments are fastened bunches of long tail-feathers of vultures, and the back-part of the helmet is decorated with four or five upright-standing triangular flags (*rgyab lag*) made of brocade. Their points bear thick bunches of white fluffy feathers. A few long, broad ribbons of silk are suspended in the back from the brim of the helmet. – Some mediums of *Pe har* are supposed to wear at certain times instead of this helmet the *tshags zhva*, a hat made of cane and bamboo, which is one of the characteristic headgears of this *dharmapāla*.

Just like all other oracle-priests, also those mediums who are being visited by members of the *rgyal po* class wear on the thumb of the right hand a thick, hollow ring of silver called *mtheb 'khor* – or, more colloquially, *bkras 'khor* – bearing inside a few grains of metal which produce a rattling sound if the medium moves its hand. This ring has nowadays a purely ornamental value, but formerly a ring with a hook was worn instead, which was used to span the sinew of a bow. Such a ring, which had been the property of an oracle-priest already for some time, is a coveted amulet supposed to bear strong magic powers. It is being carried mainly by priests, especially if they have to undertake some perilous journey.[4]

Many of the oracle-priests, who become possessed by members of the *rgyal po* class, wear on the wrist of the left hand a thick bracelet made of cloth and decorated with pictures of torn-out human eyes.

b) *Phying dkar ba'i chas*, the outfit worn by those oracle-priests who become possessed by the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*. The only characteristic difference between the *rGyal chas* and the *Phying dkar ba'i chas* seems to be the peculiar kind of hat, the *phying zhva* or "felt hat", which the mediums of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* have to wear during the trance. This is mostly a high hat of gray felt with a broad brim. The upper part of the *phying zhva* is often decorated with a yellow ribbon. Some of the mediums of *Phying dkar ba* use a stiff hat of a similar shape, but apparently made of some other material than felt and painted over with a silvery

[3] A similar account has been recorded by Lessing (*Mongolen. Hirten, Priester und Dämonen*, Berlin 1935, p. 148).

[4] According to Bell (*The people of Tibet*, p. 153) men of poorer classes often carry ivory-rings on the left hand as a protection against witches.

colour. From the brim, in front of the latter type of hat, hang black strings which partly cover the eyes and nose of the oracle-priest. – Similar to the *phying zhva* is the white *ar zhva*, worn by some of the mediums at the time of the trance.

c) *bTsan chas*, the attire which those oracle-priests have to wear who act as the mouthpieces of deities belonging to the *btsan* class. The various pieces of this dress are again the same as described before, only that in this case their predominant colour is a brilliant red, the characteristic colour of the *btsan*. To the *bTsan chas* belongs the *btsan zhva*, a hat of brocade in the shape of a prisma, with a diadem bearing five small human skulls in front. The part of the hat projecting above the diadem is decorated in front with the pictures of three human eyes which had been torn out of their sockets. Some of the mediums of the *btsan* are supposed to wear instead of the *btsan zhva* the *dar dmar gyi thod*, a turban of red silk.

d) *bDud chas*, the set of garments worn by those mediums who become possessed by gods belonging to the *bdud* class. In accordance with the characteristic colour of the *bdud*, the dresses doned by the mediums of the *bdud* are mostly black.

e) *bsTan ma'i chas*, the attire of the female mediums who become possessed by goddesses belonging to the group of the twelve *bsTan ma*. The various parts of the dress seem to be essentially the same as in the above cases, only the headgear is again different: the mediums of the *bsTan ma* wear the *zhi ba'i rigs lnga*, a kind of five-lobed crown bearing the pictures of the five *Dhyāni Buddhas*.[5]

f) *dPa' bo chas*; this seems to be a rare type of outfit, carried occasionally by some of the oracle-priests who are supposed to become possessed by gods of the heroic type (*dpa' bo*). In addition to the various pieces of dress which we already described, these mediums wear helmets and pieces of armour.

g) *Yul lha chas*, the dress and headgear of the lowest-ranking mediums, who are regarded to be the mouthpieces of deities belonging to the classes of the *gzhi bdag*, *klu*, and other protective deities of local importance. Many of these mediums cannot afford the expensive robes worn by the higher-ranking oracle-priests, and they perform therefore the ceremonies dressed in ordinary clothes, in which case they will carry on their breast the *thugs kyi me long* as the only sign of their office. The headdress which they don at the time of entering into a trance is either the *zhi ba'i rigs lnga*,

[5] See Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, plate XXXIII.

the five-lobed crown which we mentioned above, or a flat yellow cap called *dbu 'bog*, which is usually worn by officials of the lowest ranks. Some of these mediums carry a diadem with three or only one skull in front, the diadem bearing five skulls being reserved for the mediums of the higher *dharmapālas*. Occasionally they also wear earrings, which normally do not belong to the outfit of an oracle- priest.

h) *Bla ma'i chas*, the ordinary dress of a fully ordained Buddhist priest. So far I have heard only about one special occasion on which an oracle-priest would wear during the trance the usual ecclesiastical garments: once a year, at the time of the New Year celebrations, the *dharmapāla rDo rje shugs ldan* manifests himself in a peaceful manner. Early in the morning, still before dawn, the oracle has to don the *Bla ma'i chas*, and his assistants will then invoke the deity to descend into the body of the medium. As soon as the *dharmapāla* has taken possession of his body, the oracle-priest will start to recite passages from various religious works.

Apart from the types of hat or helmet which we just mentioned, some of the mediums carry occasionally, when entering the trance, the following two kinds of hat: the *gser theb*, a hat with a gilt knob on top, worn usually by monk-officials as a summer-hat; further the *thang zhva*, the summer-hat carried by the highest members of the Tibetan clergy.

Most of the oracle priests who occupy a higher rank possess at least three sets of ceremonial garments: a dress which is worn when delivering prophecies in matters of minor importance, further a garment carried on festive occasions, and finally a robe used only in case of some extraordinary event.

To the above kinds of attire belong also the various weapons with which the deities who take possession of the mediums are supposed to be armed. Apart from long swords, knives, arrows and bows, carried by most of those oracle-priests who act as the temporary embodiments of those deities who are supposed to be of a strongly belligerent nature, there are several other weapons of a more special kind to be mentioned. Those mediums who are being visited by the *btsan* wear at the time of the trance tied to the wrist of the left hand the rolled up *btsan zhags*, a characteristic red snare said to be used by the *btsan* to catch and bind the human and supernatural enemies of Buddhism.

For most mediums a kind of lance called *rten mdung* is held in readiness at the time of the trance. The *rten mdung* has a shaft some five feet long and a point of steel. Below the point is fastened a characteristic ring of cloth bearing the picture of one or three torn-out human eyes. The ring

is called the *mdung 'khor*, and it is very similar to the kind of bracelet of cloth worn by some of the mediums on the wrist of the left hand. To the shaft of the *rten mdung* is usually fastened a triangular flag bearing in its centre a magic syllable. This kind of weapon is mainly used by those mediums who are supposed to be the mouthpieces of the *btsan*, and in this case the lance is called a *btsan mdung*. The shaft and the flag of the *btsan mdung* are red in colour, while the magic syllable is written in white letters. Some mediums also use a trident (*rtse gsum*). Its top is decorated with the small likeness of a human skull, and below it are fastened three panoplies of a different colour, arranged in the manner of a "banner of victory" (*rgyal mtshan*).

The kind of seat which a medium should occupy at the time of the trance depends on his rank. The higher oracle-priests take their seat on a throne (*bzhugs khri* or *khri*), which is often sumptuously decorated with carvings and metal-work, while the mediums of minor importance have to sit on a simple, heavy wooden chair (*khri'u shing*). In case that the medium is connected with a particular monastery, this seat will be kept either in a special chapel or, more frequently, in the *mgon khang*. But also those oracle-priests who do not occupy an official position keep such a throne or chair in their own house. It usually stands close to an improvised altar bearing the effigies of various *dharmapālas*, especially those who are believed to take possession of this particular medium.

A set of ceremonial garments and the various weapons used at the time of the trance are always kept in readiness on or near the throne, while the other robes a medium might own are spread out on tables nearby, or they are stored away in chests. The objects kept on the throne have to be arranged in a ritually fixed order. The main long-sleeved dress (*sha gos*) is folded up and laid on top of the seat as the first. On top of it comes the *stod g.yog* folded into half, and over it the apron, its lower half being allowed to hang down to the floor so that it covers the upper part of the ceremonial shoes, which stand in front of the chair with their points turned slightly to the outside, in the same position in which the feet of the medium have to rest at the beginning of the trance. The *'ja' pang* is partly folded up and laid on top of the upper part of the apron. On top of the *'ja' pang* comes the helmet or hat. In front of the headdress is placed the *thugs kyi me long*. The ring used by the medium is laid to the right side of the helmet or hat, and to the left side is placed the bracelet of cloth. If the medium uses the "snare of the *btsan* demons", then the latter is laid to the left of the headgear. The lance and the trident are set into rings attached for this purpose to the back of the seat, while the swords, the bow and the

arrows etc., are generally placed on a table nearby or laid down at the foot of the seat.

If the oracle-priest does not deliver the prophecy in his own chapel or room, e.g. if being invited to hold the ceremony in the house of one of his clients, then his ceremonial garments and weapons, which had been brough by his assistants, have first to be arranged in the manner just described on and around an improvised seat specially prepared for this occasion. Only after this has been done, the medium will start dressing for the ceremony. Also at the end of the ceremony, after the oracle-priest had discarded his ceremonial attire, the dress and arms are always arranged again on the seat in the usual way. The garments and weapons, especially shortly after a trance, are supposed to carry a certain magic essence by having been brought into contact with the *dharmapāla* who had temporarily occupied the body of the medium. Women, and not even the wives of those oracles who may marry, are on no account allowed to touch the attire of an oracle-priest. On the other hand no such prohibition seems to exist against men belonging to another creed. I had been allowed to take into hand the various garments and weapons used by the mediums, in order to examine them closely, and on two occasions, when only one assistant was present, I was even asked to help dress an oracle-priest into his ceremonial robes, when he was about to enter a trance.

Judging by the various accounts I have heard, most of the Tibetan mediums seem to experience their first trance at the time of puberty. The first fits occur spontaneously and mostly to the great alarm of the person who experiences them, since only few Tibetans seem to feel inclined to become professional mediums, being afraid of the great strain and the pain which most mediums have to undergo during their prophetic sessions. These fits are, however, not ordinary cases of epilepsy as had been often assumed. The Tibetans are well able to differentiate between a person who suffers from epilepsy, and those cases in which a man or woman is supposed to have become "possessed". While in the former case medical help is sought, which goes in combination with the performance of appropriate ceremonies destined to appease or subdue those supernatural beings which are believed to send epilepsy, special measures have to be adopted in the case of "possessed" persons.

These measures will usually be instigated by the relatives of the patient. Either a layman experienced in such matters or one or several priests are called to help. They will first try to ascertain, whether the person has perhaps only become possessed by the spirit of a deceased who



An oracle-priest who became possessed by the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*. He carries the *phying zhva*, the characteristic hat supposed to be worn by this *dharmapāla*.

PLATE XI



A figure of the *dharmapāla rDo rje shugs ldan* which has been made by the oracle-priest *lHag pa don grub.*

roams through the sphere of men. Most such spirits are supposed to turn eventually into *btsan* demons, and accordingly a Tibetan saying claims that *mi shi btsan skyes*, "a man died – a *btsan* was born". Also the lowest-ranking mediums, who normally act as the mouthpieces of the *yul lha*, might occasionally be visited by the roaming spirit of a deceased. Unlike a *dharmapāla*, such a spirit will, however, be unable to give any prophetic answer. The danger that a man turns into a malignant spirit after his death is said to be especially great if this person had been murdered, killed in a fight, or if he died in an accident. Revenge is another motive which is supposed to cause many people to turn after death into harmful spirits. To prevent this, a dying man should be kept in equanimity, so that no evil or painful thoughts should occupy his mind at the moment of death. According to a far-spread belief the spirit of a high-ranking priest, who for one or another reason joined the host of spirits, will eventually become a member of the *rgyal po* class, while that of a novice might join the group of the so-called *dge bsnyen*.

In order to ascertain the nature of the deity or spirit who began to manifest himself in the new medium, one of the following methods should be applied: an assistant will tie together the thumb and fingers of both hands of the layman or priest who conducts the inquiry. An ordinary string is used for this purpose. Another string should be tied around the toes of both feet, and the hair on the crown of his head should be bound together into a tuft. Or, according to another source, it suffices for the man making such an inquiry to tie a string around the fourth fingers of both his hands. If the questioning is done by a woman, then in the latter case she will have to bind in addition to it her hair into one tuft. In both cases the spirit will be forced by this procedure to remain in the patient's body and to answer all questions concerning his own identity, the reason why he has assumed possession of this person, etc., until the strings have been undone again. These two methods will, however, prove successful only in the case that the patient had become possessed by the spirit of a deceased or by one of the lowest members of the *btsan* class. A *dharmapāla* will often reveal his identity on his own accord through the mouth of the new medium.

In case that the inquiry has shown that the patient has only become possessed by a roaming spirit or a low-ranking demon, a ceremony is performed to drive this troublesome supernatural being away and to prevent its return. Sometimes one will try to subdue the spirit, and after he has been bound by an oath to protect henceforth the Buddhist religion and its institutions, he is mostly placed into the retinue of one or the

other better-known *dharmapāla*. Should the spirit prove obstinate and refuse to take the oath, then a *sByin sreg* ceremony has to be held in order to destroy him.

If a *dharmapāla* has manifested himself in the new medium, then – especially if the seat of one of the mediums attached to a monastery is just vacant at that time – the person who had been chosen by the *dharmapāla* might be asked to fill this place. If there is no need for another medium, or if the person concerned refuses to accept such a position, then the priests will have to propitiate this particular *dharmapāla* and try to persuade him not to possess him anymore. The Tibetans claim that a protective deity will choose as his medium only a person who leads an absolutely blameless life.

Apart from the statements which the new medium makes in the course of its fits, there are various other signs by which one can recognize the nature of the *dharmapāla* who manifests himself in this person. According to whether the deity is of a placid or wrathful nature, the medium when possessed will either remain comparatively quiet or will fall into a heavy fit. Those mediums who become possessed by wrathful protective deities are said to be mostly short-lived, since they are unable to bear long the great physical strain to which they are submitted in the course of the trances. The expression which the medium's face assumes in the trance should correspond to the placidly smiling, haughty, or wrathful expression of the particular *dharmapāla*. Many mediums, mostly at the beginning of the trance, show also a behaviour characteristic of the deity who took possession of their body. Thus a medium of *rDo rje shugs ldan* produces the gurgling sound of a man in the agony of suffocation – said to be the voice of the abbot *bSod nams grags pa* who killed himself by stuffing a ceremonial scarf into his throat –; the oracle-priest of *sKar ma shar*, who sometimes becomes possessed by *Bya khri mig gcig po*, "the one-eyed with the bird-throne", will keep only one eye open for the duration of his trance; the spirit of *Slob dpon*, the crippled adversary of the former state magician *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, makes his mediums limp; the *Drung yig chen mo*, as soon as he had entered the body of an oracle-priest, will remind all those present of the events which led eventually to his incorporation among the *dharmapālas* by saying the sentence "I killed the ninety-nine horses of my master but left one for my lady-love"; the spirit of the *las dpon*, who once served the *bDe legs rabs ldan* family of Shigatse, always complains about the heavy grain-tax which had been collected at his time, etc. Further, some of the *dharmapālas* are said to cause that the medium, when it begins to lose consciousness in the first stage of the

trance – the moment in which the deity is supposed to assume control of its body –, has suddenly the feeling of strong heat or, in other cases, to experience a chill spreading through the whole body.

A man who accepts the call of the protective deity and who decides to become an oracle-priest will have to undergo first a period of training. Those mediums who are supposed to be visited by higher-ranking *dharmapālas* will have to spend several years in a monastery to receive some special instructions. Their teachers are said to be ordinary monks and not, as one would expect, other oracle-priests. During this time they receive yogi training and have to meditate frequently on *rTa mgrin*. This *yi dam*, who is believed to be a powerful subduer of all malignant forces and who can keep under control even the higher *dharmapālas*, is said to be able to protect the medium from the harm it might suffer when being possessed by a wrathful deity.

The mediums of the highest *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* have to pass a special test in order to receive official recognition. The candidate is summoned on an auspicious day to the temple of the Nechung oracle. The chief medium of *Pe har*, dressed in ceremonial robes, will be seated on his throne, while the candidate is asked to sit down on a lower chair which had been placed opposite the throne. First the *chos rje* and a little later the candidate will both enter a trance. After *Pe har* has assumed full control of his medium, the *chos rje* will take a few seeds which are being held in readiness by his assistants, pronounce a *mantra* over them, and after having blown on the seeds he will throw them in the direction of the candidate. Should the latter be really possessed by one of the chief *dharmapālas*, he will fall at this moment into an extremely heavy fit, and rising from his seat he will approach the state magician to offer him a ceremonial scarf as the sign of respect; but if he has become possessed only by some roaming spirit, the latter will flee, and the medium will soon recover his senses.[6] Then the *chos rje* of *Pe har*, or rather *Pe har* himself speaking through the mouth of the medium, will inquire from the *dharmapāla* who took possession of the new medium his name, rank, etc. Should all answers prove satisfactory, then the guardian-deity who dwells in the candidate is reminded at the end of the ceremony of the oath it once took to protect Buddhism.

In addition to this procedure the candidates are often tested also by the Tibetan Goverment. One of the stories told about the nature of such tests claims that an oracle-priest, who enjoyed already great fame among the population of Lhasa, received once a letter from the Tibetan Government

[6] Compare also Lessing, *Mongolen*, p. 148.

containing the following message: "Somebody, who had been born in a sheep-year, is very sick. What should be done with him ? Please give a clear answer." To this letter the oracle-priest gave in the course of his next trance the following enigmatic answer: "If possible, buy new ones. If not, then get them repaired and you will be able to use them still for some time." This answer proved to be correct, since the words of the letter "somebody, who was born in a sheep-year" referred to a pair of bellows made of sheep-skin which were kept in one of the government offices in Lhasa and which had become torn lately.

A candidate who is taken into consideration to fill the seat of the chief *chos rje* of *Pe har* is submitted to special tests which are said to have been designed and codified by the fifth Dalai Lama. Upon the death of the old *chos rje*, *Pe har* is supposed to taken possession after an undetermined period of time of a monk from one of the Central Tibetan monasteries, preferably from Nechung Gompa or from Drepung. The newly-chosen medium often is a man who had never before become "possessed". In other cases the man is predestined by *Pe har* to become in future his *chos rje*, and he will become possessed by this *dharmapāla* already while the other *chos rje* is still alive: or the *chos rje* holding the office might announce in the course of one of the prophetic sessions the name of his successor. Both these events occurred in the case of the former state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyiṅ*, whose activity will be discussed later on and who, according to a statement which he later made, had once been visited by *Pe har* in his dream, who had announced to him that he would become his medium.

Sometimes it seems to happen that there are several candidates for the office of the Nechung oracle-priest, all of them claiming in their trances to have become possessed by *Pe har*. The tests to which each candidate will be submitted are so rigorous that, as the Tibetans believe, only the true medium of *Pe har* will be able to pass them. The candidate has first to give proof of an unusual physical strength. At the hight of a trance he is handed a big sword with a blade of best steel which, as one of my Tibetan informants put it, "not even the joint forces of eighteen men would be able to bend". The candidate has to twist the blade with his bare hands into a spiral.[7] Various other signs, indicating that the candidate is the true medium of *Pe har* and which may be observed at the time of a trance are: if the saliva flowing out of the mouth of the medium at the beginning of a fit contains blood, if the medium keeps the tongue, when

[7] See the picture in J. F. Rock's article 'Sungma, the living oracles of the Tibetan Church,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (October) 1935.

not speaking, rolled backward and pressed with its tip against the upper palate, and if the outline of the thunderbolt with which *Padmasambhava* has subdued *Pe har* becomes visible on the scalp of his cleanly-shaven head. The last part of the test is to answer three different questions concerning the past, the present, and the future.

The successful candidate for the office of a prophetic advisor to the Government is later invested into his position in the course of a ceremony called *rTen 'brel*. On this occasion he is presented with gifts from the Tibetan Goverment, and one of the titles reserved for monk-officials is confered upon him. He is usually given first the title of a *mkhan chung* and later, after several years of successful activity, he may receive the title *ta la ma*. In everyday life the *chos rje* wears therefore the usual monastic garments and the kinds of hat reserved for the use of officials belonging to the two above-named ranks (*go gnas*). He is also allowed to use his own official seal bearing the design of two crossed thunderbolts. The Nechung oracle enjoys further the privilege of being allowed to use a sedan-chair.

The *chos rje* of Nechung Gompa, the medium of *rDo rje shugs ldan* who lives at the shrine called *sPro bde khang gsar* in Lhasa, and several other high-ranking oracle-priests have to take the vow of celibacy. The vast majority of Tibetan mediums, however, are allowed to marry. In some cases it might happen that a particular *dharmapāla* will demand of his medium to remain celibate. Rock mentions the story of an oracle-priest who married against the expressed wish of the deity who used to take possession of him. The *dharmapāla* punished his disobedient servant by causing him to disembowel himself in the course of a fit, and to decorate with the bowels the images in his private chapel.[8]

Many Tibetan mediums are believed to become possessed at regular intervals by several protective deities, who enter the body of the medium in turns in the sequence in which they are called. The fame of a medium depends mainly on the rank and number of divinities who use it as their mouthpiece. At least once a month each medium will be forced by its divine master to enter into a trance. With most mediums this event is said to occur either on the third or fifth day of the new moon. Apart from this date a medium might try at any time to induce one or several of the deities who usually visit him, to enter his body and render a prophetic answer, though this attempt does not necessarily lead always to a success.

Once a year, on the morning of the so-called *'Dzam gling spyid gsang* feast, which is being held on the fifteenth day of the fifth Tibetan month,

[8] 'Sungma,' p. 478.

all mediums of the Snowy Land have to enter into a trance.[9] A popular Tibetan belief alleges that on this day all the protective deities and their companions gather at Samye to hold a great banquet and to play dice for the souls of men. A secret oral tradition claims that the *'Dzam gling spyid gsang* feast originated at the time of *Glang dar ma*.[10] After this king had assumed power, the affairs of the Tibetan state are said to have begun to deteriorate rapidly. Disquietened by this development, *Glang dar ma* decided to request the gods to give him a sign which would indicate the way he should take in order that the country might regain its former prosperity. He therefore commanded all Buddhist priests and Bon magicians to invoke on the fifteenth day of the fifth month all protective deities of the Land of Snows whichever of these two creeds they were supposed to guard. It then happened that just on this day a thunderbolt struck Samye Monastery, and the king, thinking that this was the omen he had prayed for and assuming that the Buddhists were to be held responsible for the calamities which had befallen the land, began from then on their merciless persecution.

The custom of worshiping the protective deities on this particular day survived, however, till the present day. The *'Dzam gling spyid gsang* feast begins in the early morning with a worship of the *dharmapālas*, and upon the conclusion of this ceremony the participating mediums will become in turns possessed by the deities who normally visit them. Men and women dressed in their best flock then to the temples to present ceremonial scarfs to those mediums whom they usually consult.

Especially at Nechung Gompa the *'Dzam gling spyid gsang* feast is being celebrated with great pomp, and a dance of black-hat magicians (*zhva nag*) takes place in the courtyard of the monastery before the chief *chos rje* enters into a trance. While the *'Dzam gling spyid gsang* feast is celebrated by all the prophetic mediums of Tibet, there are a few other feasts which are being observed only by Tibet's chief seer or by the *chos rje* of *sKar ma shar*, the prophetic advisor of Sera Monastery. Thus at the time of the New Year celebrations a ceremony known as *Lo re'i gsol kha* (or shortly *Lo gsol*) is held at Nechung Gompa in the presence of high dignitaries of the Tibetan Government and of the *dGe lugs pa* sect. Sometimes this ceremony takes place in the cloistered courtyard of the monastery, in which case it is preceded by a religious mask-dance (*'bag 'cham*).[11] On this occasion *Pe har* himself – and not *rDo rje grags ldan* or some other

[9] See also Petech, *Missionari*, IV, p. 266, note 225.
[10] Died 842 or 846: Tucci, *Tombs*, p. 42.
[11] Spencer Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 316–319.

member of *Pe har*'s retinue who occasionally use this *chos rje* as their mouth-piece – assumes possession of the oracle-priest and delivers through him a prophecy concerning the year which has just begun.

On the next day the *chos rje* is taken in procession to Lhasa. A set of his ceremonial robes together with his helmet and boots are placed on a richly decorated horse. The boots are set into the stirrups and the garments with the helmet on top are arranged on the saddle in the same way in which they are usually kept on the throne at Nechung Gompa. The horse is led by attendants, and behind it follows on horseback the *chos rje* dressed in the normal monastic attire. He is being accompanied by a delegation of monks from Drepung. The procession heads for the *rMe ru snying pa* – an ancient monastery lying to the east of the Lhasa cathedral – where the oracle-priest stays till the twenty-sixth day of the same month.

On the tenth day, a week after the *chos rje* arrives in Lhasa, a religious ceremony is held which is known by the date on which it takes place as the *Tshes bcu* (*mchod pa*). On this day the Dalai Lama or the Regent pays a visit to the *chos rje*. Previous to the Dalai Lama's arrival *Pe har* will be invoked to assume possession of the *chos rje*, and when the latter had fallen into the trance he is led to the gate of the monastery to await there the arrival of Tibet's ruler. As soon as the Dalai Lama reaches the gate, the *chos rje* will approach him and bow thrice deeply. It is not customary to question the medium on this occasion, but sometimes it is said to occur that *Pe har* out of his own initiative will deliver a prophecy or give an advice through the mouth of the medium. Five days later, the state oracle has to return the visit to the Dalai Lama or Regent.

A few minor ceremonies take place on the subsequent days. One of them is a religious feast held in honour of *Pe har*, which takes place under the auspices of Drepung's two chief abbots. On the twenty-fourth day of that month the *chos rje* has to take part in the ceremony of driving the two "scape goats" out of the city. The details of this ceremony will be discussed in chapter XXVI. On the following day a religious feast is held in honour of *Buddha Maitreya* (Tib. *Byams pa*), which is known as the *Byams pa'i gdan 'dren*.[12] In the middle part of the procession which passes through the streets of Lhasa a huge statue of *Byams pa* is drawn on a four-wheeled carriage. The *chos rje* of *Pe har* is led in full trance at the head of the procession, in order to clear the way from all evil forces which might try to raise obstacles. The Dalai Lama or in his stead the *dGa' ldan*

[12] E. Schäfer, *Das Fest der weissen Schleier*, Braunschweig 1950, pp. 190–192, and Petech, *Missionari*, IV, p. 132 sq.

khri rin po che, one of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, will expect the arrival of the procession at a place called *gSung chos ra*. When reaching this spot the procession halts. The *chos rje* makes then obeisance to the Dalai Lama – or to his proxy – and offers, while reciting a short prayer, a ceremonial scarf to *Byams pa*'s statue. With this ceremony the stay of the *chos rje* in the capital comes to an end, and on the next morning he is conducted back to Nechung Gompa.

Also the oracle-priest of the *sKar ma shar*[13] or *sKar ma khya* shrine in Lhasa, who is attached to Sera Monastery, delivers once a year a prophecy concerning Tibet's future. This *chos rje* is believed to become possessed by a companion of *Pe har*, the *sku yi rgyal po Mon bu pu tra*, and on some occasions by the latter's minister *Bya khri mig gcig po*. The *sKar ma shar* prophet is allowed to marry; normally he is not consulted by the Tibetan Government. This *chos rje* proceeds annually, on the last day of the sixth Tibetan month, in procession from his shrine to Sera. He is being accompanied by a group of monks of this monastery who have been deputed to fetch him. Traditionally a number of corpse-cutters (*rag rgyab pa*) follow in his train. The *chos rje* delivers his prophecy within Sera Gompa. The full text of his prophecies is later made public on a poster which is displayed on the door of his residence in Lhasa. Many people use to copy the full text of this poster, in order to be able to compare later which of the predictions have really come true.

It is customary that when the *sKar ma shar* prophet returns to the capital, several objects are carried in his procession symbolic of the prophecies he has just made. Thus when after the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama the *chos rje* of *sKar ma shar* mentioned in one of his utterances a "banner of goat's skin with a golden point", such a banner was carried accordingly in the procession. It is supposed to have referred to the candidature of *Rva sgreng rin po che*, who was appointed Regent shortly afterwards. According to an interpretation of this prediction the word "goat", *ra*, stood in this case for *rva*, "horn", in the name of the future Regent. – The *sKar ma shar* prophet when mentioning in his prophecies the relations between China and Tibet mostly referred to the former country with the terms "the blue banner" and "the tiger". Thus, if the oracle-priest did not anticipate any danger arising from the side of the Chinese within the next year, he used to say that "the tiger will not annoy the Tibetans".

[13] For a resumé of the statements concerning this oracle, based upon older sources, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Staatsorakel', p. 139 sq.; some new information on the *sKar ma shar* has recently been made available by Petech (*Missionari*, IV).

A mask-dance takes place in the courtyard of the *sKar ma shar* shrine a few days before the *chos rje* sets out for Sera. This dance, which is held in honour of the *sku yi rgyal po Mon bu pu tra*, is executed by a number of corpse-cutters and Lhasa policemen (*skor lcag pa*).

A peculiar group of Tibetan mediums are the male "Pawo" (*dpa' bo*) and the female "Nyenjomo" (*bsnyen jo mo*),[14] to be found mainly in the Chumbi Valley, in Sikkim, and in Bhutan. They are laymen and laywomen who, though not connected with the few Bon monasteries existing in the first-mentioned area, are regarded by the Buddhists as typical representatives of the Bon creed. Actually, they seem to be a remnant of the earliest, unorganized Bon as it existed before the so called "white Bon" (*Bon dkar*) had developed after the example of Buddhism. The *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* are believed to be sorcerers and sorceresses who become possessed by the spirits of the dead, and who are able to communicate, while in the trance, with their own protective deities.[15] Their main task is to perform divinations and to cure illnesses. Just like other Tibetan mediums also the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* are supposed to have been forced by one or the other supernatural being to assume this position. In most cases only people who belong to families in which some members had already exercised such functions become possessed by the spirits visiting these two particular groups of mediums. It is customary to call then an experienced *dpa' bo* or *bsnyen jo mo*, who will first propitiate the spirit and establish his identity; the same person also usually takes over the initiation of the novice. After the period of instruction has been successfully completed, the new *dpa' bo* or *bsnyen jo mo* will have to perform a so-called *Bon khrus gsol*, which is carried out in the following way: a few flowers and officinal herbs are laid in a small bumpa which is then filled with ordinary water. The bumpa is wrapped in a white ceremonial scarf, and strings of white wool are tied around its mouth. The novice has to place this vessel on the palm of the left hand, and while whirling a small sand-glass shaped drum with his right hand he invokes all the *bon skyong* requesting them to descend upon the bumpa. After a while the vessel is supposed to start shaking, the indication that the multitude of the *bon skyong* has arrived. The ceremony ends by pouring some of the water contained in the bumpa on the head of the newly initiated, and subsequently also on the heads of

[14] *rNal 'byor ma* according to some of my informants. The latter spelling has also been given by J. van Manen, *Minor Tibetan Texts, The Song of the Eastern Snow-Mountain*, Calcutta 1919, p. 78. David-Neel calls these female mediums, however, *dpa' mo*; see *With mystics and magicians in Tibet*, London 1931, p. 36.

[15] A description of the trance of a *bsnyen jo mo* is contained in Morris, *Living with Lepchas*, p. 123 sq.

all those present. Some people drink this water, or they wash their eyes with it, since it is supposed to have turned in the course of the ceremony into an efficacious medicine.[16]

[16] One of the chief Bon divinities invoked in the course of this ceremony is the *Khod spungs (g.yung drung) tshe'i lha*, who occupies in the Bon pantheon the position assigned by the Buddhists to *Tshe dpag med* (Skt. *Amitāyus*). The *Khod spungs (g.yung drung) tshe'i lha* is being depicted as an azure-blue ferociously laughing figure with one head and two hands, which hold the swastika of life (*tshe'i g.yung drung*) and a snare of life (*tshe'i zhags pa*). He wears six kinds of bone ornaments, his right foot is stretched out and the left one is bent. His *yum*, who is shown embracing the *śakta*, is the *Yum mkha' 'gro nyi ma'i 'od zer ma* or *Yum rgod lcam nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ma*. She is a red figure, holding a *tshe'i bum pa*.

The various deities who accompany the *Khod spungs yab yum* are collectively called the *g.Yung drung tshe'i lha dang lha mo*. Together with the *yab* and the *yum* they form a *maṇḍala* consisting of two concentric circles, with four gates on the outside.

The inner circle consists of four pairs of deities shown in sexual union. They can be arranged in two different ways:

a)

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attributes*
East	*g.Yung drung rigs kyi tshe lha yab yum*	yellow-white	swastika and *tshe bum* or snare
North	*'Khor lo rigs kyi tshe lha yab yum*	blue-green	wheel and *tshe bum*
West	*Padma rigs kyi tshe lha yab yum*	brilliant red	lotus and *tshe bum*
South	*Rin chen rigs kyi tshe lha yab yum*	turquoise-green	gem and *tshe bum*

b)

In this case all the *yab* bear the name *g.Yung drung tshe'i lha*, and they all carry a swastika and a snare. The *g.Yung drung tshe'i lha* occupying the eastern direction is white, the northern one is green, the western one is red, and the southern is blue. Their corresponding *śaktis*, all of whom carry a *tshe bum* in addition to the emblems mentioned below, are:

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attribute*
East	*g.Yung drung rigs kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	yellow-white	swastika
North	*'Khor lo rigs kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	dark-green	wheel
West	*Padma rigs kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	red	lotus
South	*Rin chen rigs kyi mkha' 'gro ma*	turquoise-green	jewel

The outer circle consists of the following eight goddesses, called collectively the *Tshe 'gugs ma brgyad:*

Direction	*Name*	*Colour*	*Attribute*
East	*gZugs kyi lha mo g.yung drung tshe 'gugs ma*	white	torch
North	*sGra'i lha mo g.yung drung tshe 'gugs ma*	pale-green	*khol ma sgra snyan*

The *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* when performing a ceremony have their hair usually matted with some wool; we may mention in this connection that a class of Bon priests called *snang gshen* decorated themselves in a similar way. Formerly the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* usually brandished a *rnga chung* and a *gshang*, the characteristic flat, broad-mouthed bell of the Bon, during the ecstatic dances performed in the course of some of their ceremonies.[17] Through their contact with Buddhism they exchanged, however, the *gshang* for ordinary prayer-bells (*dril bu*).

In former times one of the main actions of the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* was the sacrifice of a black yak with white heels (*g.yag nag rting dkar*). Also the Chronicle of the Sikkim royal family mentions this kind of sacrifice: it was performed in honour of the mountain god *Khyung 'dus* by the Bhutanese giant *Ngag dbang gyad pa'i dpal 'bar* after the latter had been defeated by *brGyad 'bum bsags*, the ancestor of the kings of Sikkim. Under Buddhist influence this sacrifice was later abandoned, and instead the so-called "offering of five kinds of meat" (*Sha lnga mchod*) was introduced. It is performed nowadays with meat which had been obtained from a butcher. As a substitute for the real heart of a yak, which played an important part in the old form of the sacrifice, a heart-shaped piece of dough is offered. - The *dpa'bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* have not a firmly established organization. They mostly work alone, and only once a year between five to ten of them gather to perform a bigger sacrifice. Today

West	*Dri'i lha mo g.yung drung tshe 'gugs ma*	blue-red	a fragrant substance
South	*Ro'i lha mo g.yung drung tshe 'gugs ma*	yellow-red	vessel full of *amṛta*
Southeast	*Khrus kyi lha mo tshan chab ma*	green-red	vessel for ablutions (*khrus bum*)
Northeast	*mDzes pa'i lha mo me tog ma*	blue-green	flower
Northwest	?	?	?
Southwest	*dGos 'dod lha mo gter 'dzin ma*	*bheng ra?*	jewels

The guardians of the four gates are:

Eastern gate — the golden queen of spring, *dPyid kyi rgyal mo gser mdangs can.*

Northern gate — the turquoise-coloured queen of summer, *dByar gyi rgyal mo g.yu mdangs can.*

Western gate – the copper-coloured queen of autumn, *sTon gyi rgyal mo zangs mdangs can.*

Southern gate — the conchshell-white queen of the winter, *dGun gyi rgyal mo dung mdang can.*

According to work no. 16; see further Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 554.

[17] For a description of the trance of a *dpa' bo see* David-Neel, *Mystics*, pp. 36–38, the description of the trance of a *lha pa* is given on p. 187 of Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal.*

they play an important part in the religious life of the Lepcha tribe.

Unfortunately only few details have been preserved about the trances which took place already in the early Bon and out of which the oracle-cult of Tibetan Buddhism developed. The way of predicting the future by acting as the mouthpiece of a deity seems to have been known to the Bon under the names *lha bka'* and *sbas gsas rngam*, the latter term referring to a characteristic activity of a section of the Bon clergy called *'phrul gshen.*[18] According to Sandberg, female mediums are supposed to have occupied an important position in the early Bon. One of the main tasks of the Bon mediums was to serve as the temporary mouthpiece of the spirits of the dead, who had later to be conducted to the other world.[19] When performing this ceremony the specially prepared right foreleg of a sacrificed animal – mostly a sheep – had to be used. First the hoof was cut off, the part up to the knee was left untouched, but from the part above the knee nearly all meat had to be removed so that the bone became visible. A turquoise called *bla g.yu*[20] was placed then on the knee, and a string was tied with one end to the leg and with the other end to the left hand of the medium. – This same arrangement, except for the use of the *bla g.yu*, is still being observed by the *Mun*, the female mediums of the original Lepcha faith, when invoking in the course of a funerary ceremony the spirit of a deceased, who is asked to assume possession of the *Mun* before being conducted by the latter to the realm of the dead.[21]

Having discussed the position which oracles occupy in the life of the Land of Snows, we may proceed now to a description of their prophetic trances. The entering of a deity into the body of its medium is called *ye shes 'bab pa* or, in honorific language, *sku phebs gnang ba.* The prophetic sessions are regarded as ceremonies of a sacred nature, since in this case a deity which descends from its abode is supposed to be temporarily present in the oracle. The Tibetans therefore surround these ceremonies with an air of secrecy. Men belonging to another creed are

18 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 299; Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 716.

19 Graham Sandberg, *Handbook*, p. 209. The description of the Bon rite of defeating a demon who captured a soul which was on its way to the other world has been given by David-Neel (*Mystics*, p. 38). To get into touch with the souls of the departed is also the task of the ²*Llü-¹bu* sorcerers of the Na-khi tribe; Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 101, note 58.

20 On this term and the ceremony of offering a "soul leg" (*bla rkang*) see also Lessing, 'Calling the Soul,' p. 267 sq.; Lessing (*op. cit.*, p. 268) mentions further a "soul sheep" (*bla lug*) of butter, which should be white if offered for a man, but black if used as a substitute for a woman.

21 See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Funeral ceremonies,' p. 33 sq.

not always admitted to them; photographing on such occasions is generally regarded as sacrilegious and therefore forbidden.

The main stages which a divination-ceremony of an oracle usually passes are as follows:

The ceremonial attire and weapons of the medium are arranged on and around the throne or chair. On a table or altar standing nearby are placed the "inner offering" (*nang mchod*), one or several *gtor ma* destined for the *dharmapālas*, various ritual instruments as a bell, thunderbolt, etc. (called collectively the *dam rdzas*), a number of *spyan gzigs* made of dough, and cups containing Chinese tea (or also Tibetan beer and milk). All these objects and substances are consecrated by pronouncing over them six *mantras* and making six *mudrās*.

Chanting of the invocation of the *dharmapāla*, who is asked to assume possession of the medium. The invocation usually starts by giving a detailed description of the *dharmapāla* and also of the abode in which he is supposed to reside.

A litany is sung praising the *dharmapāla* – who by now should have occupied the body of the oracle – enumerating and eulogizing his various capabilities. He is also reminded of the oath he took at the time when he became a guardian of Buddhism.

Offering of tea (or beer, milk) to the *dharmapāla*.

Questioning the *dharmapāla*, who answers through the mouth of the medium.

Collapse of the medium at the moment in which the *dharmapāla* is supposed to have left its body.

The ceremony mostly ends by reciting a prayer of thanksgiving.

The prophecies of the state oracle are delivered in the course of an elaborate ceremony. The description which follows was given to me by *Blo bzang phun tshogs*, the son of the former state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*. Some additional details were learned from a colour film showing the trance of the Nechung oracle, which had been shot surreptitiously by a Tibetan government official.

At the beginning of the divination-ceremony the medium of *Pe har*, dressed in ceremonial robes but still bare-headed, is led by its assistants to the throne, which stands in the chapel adjoining the great assembly-hall of Nechung Gompa. The priest takes his seat with his legs set far apart and the points of the shoes turned towards the outside. Both hands,

their fingers forming the *tarjanī mudrā*, are placed on the knees. As soon as the medium takes its seat, the monks attending the ceremony intone a special "prayer of invitation" (*spyan 'dren*), invoking *Pe har* and requesting him to assume possession of the medium. This chant is repeated thrice, and its melody is being accompanied by the music of thighbone trumpets and drums. During the singing of the invocation the *chos rje* becomes gradually restless. His eyes close, the face turns red, his feet and the body start to shake spasmodically. White incense (*spos dkar*) is burnt in great quantities and blown into his face. Soon afterwards the heavy helmet is slowly lowered on the oracle's head by several assistants, who remain standing close to the *chos rje* still supporting the helmet with their hands. Then two priests approach the oracle, and taking up positions at his left and right sides each of them blows a thighbone trumpet into his ears. The convulsions of the *chos rje* grow now in intensity. He puffs out the air vehemently, the face assumes a dark-red colour and it begins to swell up. When this stage of the trance is reached, the assistants let the full weight of the helmet rest upon the oracle's head, they tie the belts which should hold the helmet in position, and then they step back from the throne. This is supposed to be the moment in which *Pe har* has assumed full control of the medium. In spite of the heavy headgear the oracle-priest rises from his throne and by bowing thrice pays homage to *Padmasambhava*, *Pe har*'s spiritual master.

An assistant places now a lance into one of the oracle's hands. The medium brandishes the lance for a while and then drops it again. Next, a sword is laid into the right hand of the *chos rje*, and a bow into the left one. After dropping these weapons too, the oracle begins to execute a short dance. In case of the annual New Year divination and on other important occasions the *chos rje* will leave his chapel and perform this dance in the great assembly hall, from which the seats of the monks had already been removed before. Sometimes, after finishing this dance, the oracle takes his seat on the throne once more. He receives then a libation-offering of plain tea-water, and having been presented with several ceremonial scarfs the *chos rje* begins to deliver the prophecy. His utterances are taken down by his private secretary, who makes his notes in a kind of shorthand. Occasionally, before this part of the ceremony begins, the *chos rje* calls to bring him some milk, tea, or Tibetan beer, which he pours into the cupped hands of those standing nearby. It is customary to drink this liquid since it is supposed to have been turned by the deity into a medicine. Or the oracle takes a handful of seeds from a box held in readiness by one of the assistants. After blowing on the seeds the *chos rje* scatters them among the

onlookers. The trance usually ends abruptly. After making the prophecy the medium suddenly collapses and is carried away in the state of unconsciousness. If the *chos rje* has to deliver a prophecy directly to the Dalai Lama or the Regent, he will address them personally. In case that his utterances had been written down by the secretary, they will first be interpreted and later the answer, which is very often couched in vague terms, is given in writing, the official seal of the state oracle being affixed to this letter.

Several Europeans and Americans had already the opportunity to witness a trance of the state oracle.[22] The most detailed among these reports is that given by Schäfer.[23] Judging by this account the *chos rje* passess in the course of the session through the following main stages:

> The oracle rests on his throne, supported by his assistants. His eyes are closed. After the monks have intoned the prayer, his eyes suddenly open so wide that it appears as if they would come out of their sockets.
>
> The strength of the fit increases. The face of the oracle turns gradually red. It is contorted by pain and covered with sweat. The *chos rje* gasps for air, tries to jump up, and wields his hands wildly.
>
> The *chos rje*'s eyes close again, the lids of the eyes hang down heavily, the mouth is half open, and his face assumes now a yellowish colour. Spasms shake his body, the lips are covered with froth, his head seems to swell up. The assistants lower the helmet and tie its belts.
>
> The oracle stands up and executes a slow dance (which in this case ended by greeting the Regent who attended the ceremony).
>
> The *chos rje* starts to dance wildly and his face turns red again.
>
> The oracle is being questioned. His face assumes a sad expression, the cheek-bones and the chin protrude sharply underneath the drawn parchment-coloured skin.
>
> A wild grotesque dance follows. The *chos rje* throws seeds at the onlookers and finally collapses under ecstatic trembling. His eyes open, the white of the eye-balls becoming visible.

In case of more important matters one or several ministers of the Tibetan Government undertake the journey to Nechung Gompa to seek the

[22] Spencer Chapman, *Lhasa*, pp. 316–319; I. Tolstoy, 'Across Tibet from India to China,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (August) 1946; Schafer, *Fest der weissen Schleier*, pp. 190-192; Harrer, *Sieben Jahre*, pp. 164-167.

[23] Schäfer, *Fest der weissen Schleier*, pp. 149–165.

oracle's prophetic advice. Normally it is not possible for common people to ask the *chos rje* to enter a trance for their benefit. In case, however, that he went into a trance on behalf of the government and that *Pe har* – or one of the other deities who occasionally visit him – after answering all the questions of the officials remains in his body, then also private persons are allowed to seek divine advice, either by asking the questions directly or by submitting them in writing. No fee is charged for such consultations, but it is customary to donate some money to the monastery as a sign of gratitude.

Only a few aristocratic families enjoy the privilege of consulting the state oracle in private matters at any time. Their prerogative is based on the circumstance that one of their ancestors had been a benefactor of the Nechung monastery. Thus e.g. the family of *gZim shag bshad sgra*, one of the ministers who negotiated the British-Tibetan treaty of 1904, is permitted to consult the state oracle whenever necessary.

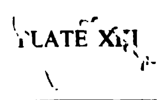
During my stay in Kalimpong I had several times the opportunity to witness the prophetic sessions of a young Tibetan called *lHag pa don grub*, who was regarded to be the medium of *rDo rje shugs ldan*, his acolytes *Nam mkha' 'bar 'dzin* and *Kha che dmar po*, the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*, and the minor *dharmapāla dPa' bo khro 'bar*. *lHag pa don grub* had been born at Tenge Dzong (*bsTan rgyal rdzong*), a locality close to the Sikkim-Tibetan border. According to his own statement he had become possessed by a deity for the first time at the age of sixteen. He accepted the call of the *dharmapāla* and was sent for his training to Dungkar Gompa in the Chumbi Valley, where he stayed for eight years. Afterwards he spent a shorter time at Drepung in Central Tibet. Notwithstanding his long stay in these monasteries, *lHag pa don grub* had remained a layman, and while in Kalimpong he even married. He lived with his wife in a house in the Tibetan quarter of the town. In one of his rooms he kept an altar bearing a number of images mostly representing various *dharmapālas*, among them a huge statue of *rDo rje shugs ldan*, which had been made by *lHag pa don grub* himself. In the corner next to the altar stood a heavy wooden throne on which a set of costly ceremonial garments, a *btsan zhva*, a snare etc. were arranged in the ritually prescribed way. *lHag pa don grub* had a numerous clientel among the local Tibetan population, and he was also frequently consulted by the Tibetan traders, muleteers, and pilgrims who visited Kalimpong.

The first trance which I witnessed took place in November 1950, in the private chapel of a wealthy Tibetan merchant. The ceremony was being conducted by my teacher *Rin po che Dar mdo sprul sku* under the assis-

PLATE XII

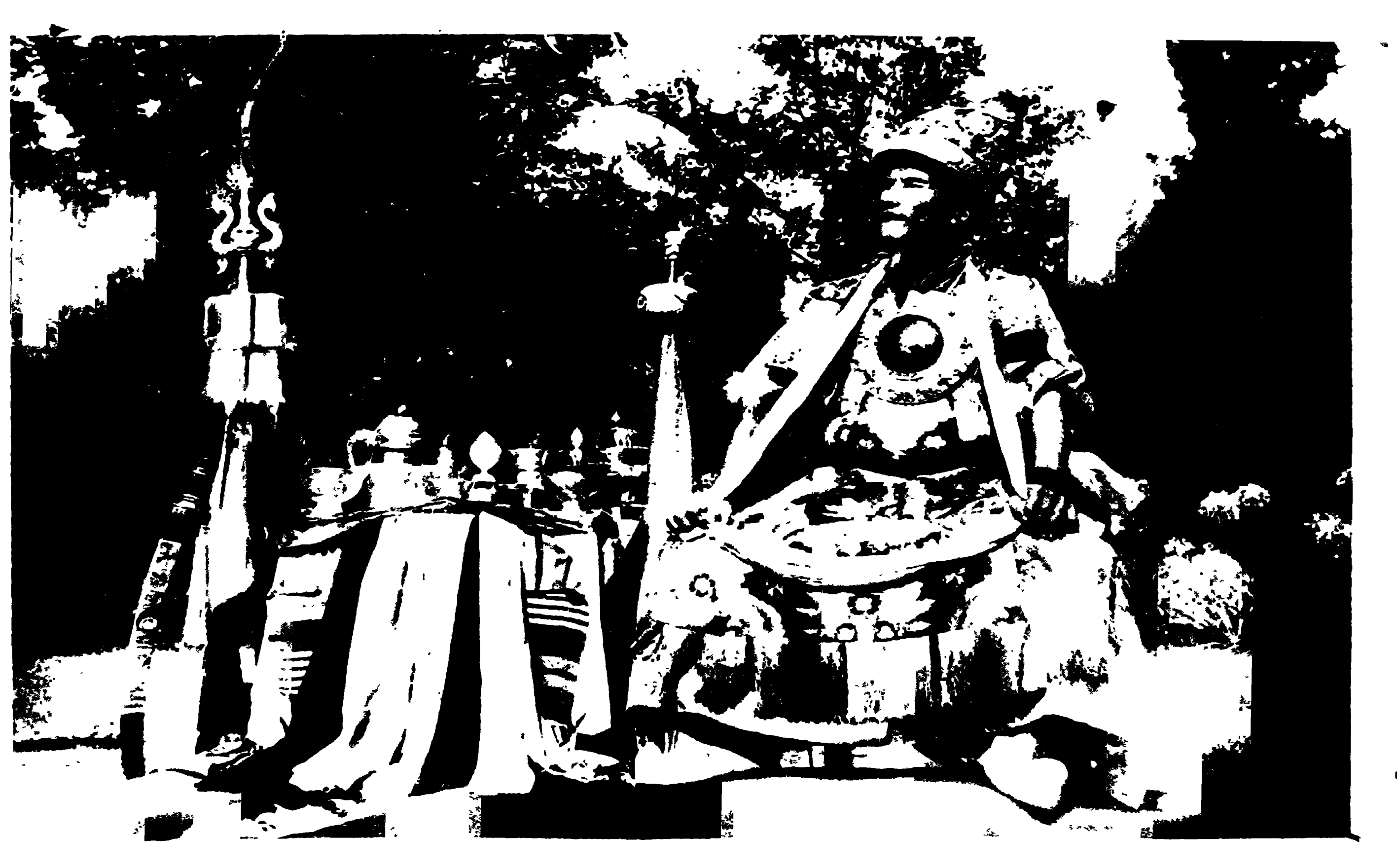


The outfit of the oracle-priest lies in the prescribed ritual order on the throne. To the left, stuck into the earth, are the weapons used in the course of the trance, and on the table stand vessels containing offerings for the *dharmapālas* who are expected to take possession of the oracle-priest



The oracle-priest *lHag pa don grub* (left) dresses for the trance with the help of a lama-assistant.

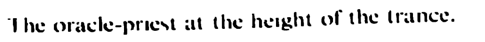
PLATE XIV



The beginning of the trance. The first spasms shake the body of the oracle-priest and his face starts to change gradually.

TE XV

PLATE XVI



The oracle-priest at the height of the trance.

PLATE XVII



The collapse of the medium at the end of the trance.

PLATE XVIII



The helmet of the medium has been taken off, but spasms still continue to shake his body.



A weather-maker of the *rDzogs chen pa* sect.

tance of three of his monk-servants. There were about fifteen people present, mostly belonging to the house in which the ceremony took place. At the time of my arrival – at about 10 a.m. – the oracle, dressed in the ceremonial garments and wearing the *btsan zhva*, had already taken his seat on an improvised throne. His eyes were closed; he was leaning slightly forward and his hands, with their fingers spread, rested on his knees. His legs were set apart, and the points of the feet were turned to the outside. Two of the servants stood at his sides, ready to support him if necessary. The third assistant held a censer and was blowing the thick white smoke of burning juniper twigs into the face of the oracle. Several *gtor ma* had been placed on the altar of the chapel, as offerings for the *dharmapālas* who were going to take possession of the medium. *Dar mdo sprul sku* sat at a low table, an open book in front of him, and just as I entered he began to chant the invocation of *rDo rje shugs ldan*, while ringing rhythmically a bell which he held in his left hand. The invocation began with a request to *rDo rje shugs ldan* to descend from his abode and to partake of the offerings which had been prepared for him: the *gtor ma* consisting of flesh and blood (*sha khrag gtor*), the *phye mar* and the libation-offering of Tibetan beer, Chinese tea, curd, and milk, further the kinds of sacrificial objects known as *dam rdzas*, *bskang rdzas*, *brten rdzas*, and *mthun rdzas*, and also the "outer, inner, and secret *spyan gzigs*" (*phyi nang gsang ba'i spyan gzigs*), all of which were supposed to be presented in such quantities that they filled up the whole sky. Then the *dharmapāla* was asked not to hesitate in fulfilling the various tasks with which he had been charged, and further to reveal future happenings and to uncover false charges, to indicate which kind of fruit various actions will bear, to help the weak and to protect the pious etc. The first passages of the invocation were sung slowly, but soon the tempo increased. The singing of the whole prayer lasted some four or five minutes.

During this time the oracle had been inhaling deeply the white fragrant smoke. His eyes remained closed, the face was drawn and it bore the expression of tension. Gradually, the muscles of his face began to twich nervously, he bit his lips as if in pain and stirred uneasily. The feet and knees started to shake. With a gasping sound he tried to jump up, but fell heavily back on his seat. Once he slumped forward and supported his head with one hand for a while. Then he straightened up again, wiped with the hands over his face which had become covered with perspiration, and then started to pull at the ceremonial scarf hanging around his neck. His breathing became heavier, and he began to puff out the air with a deep gurgling sound. With the progress of the chant the fit increased in inten-

sity. The oracle began to swing the upper part of his body rhythmically with a rotating movement, from left to right and then reclining back, his head rolling at times limply as if it would have been only loosely attached to the trunk. From time to time he tried to jump up, but always fell back again. The face, glistening with perspiration, grew gradually dark-red, and even from some distance one could easily discern that it had become strongly swollen. The lips were blue and covered with froth, his mouth was emitting a gurgling sound.

The chanting ended, but the convulsions of the oracle's body were still getting stronger. Suddenly, he jumped several feet high, right out of the sitting position. Then he began to beat with his left hand the shield which was hanging on his breast, so strongly that his knuckles were soon covered with blood. Apparently he did not feel any pain, for he continued to hit the shield again and again. There could scarcely be any doubt that the medium was not simulating, but had actually fallen into a full trance. The gurgling sound became louder and the oracle tried to grasp the throat with both hands, in which, however, the assistants prevented him after some struggle.

A short while later the puffing, though still loud, became more rhythmical. Also the movements of the oracle were now less abrupt. The eyes remained closed, the face was contorted into a fierce expression. The body was slightly swaying, the hands with their fingers closed to a fist remained resting on the knees. *Dar mdo sprul sku* draped now a ceremonial scarf over the neck and the shoulders of the oracle, and then took a cup filled with some plain cold tea. While saying a prayer, he held the cup to the lips of the oracle, who took a few gulps from it. Then a short sword was handed to the oracle who grasped the hilt with the right hand, and setting the point of the weapon against the right side of the strong leather belt which he was wearing underneath his apron he pressed against the sword until the blade bent into a U-form. – After the end of the ceremony I tried to bend the sword straight again, but without the slightest effect. On another occasion the same oracle twisted a sword with his bare hands into a spiral. One such sword was kept by *lHag pa don grub* fastened to the wall above the entrance to his room.

The assistants took the sword away, and then *Dar mdo sprul sku* approached the oracle once more, and placing his right hand around the medium's neck he began to whisper the questions into his right ear. The oracle answered immediately, but also in a whispering voice, his speech being interrupted from time to time by loud puffing. I could neither understand what was being asked nor what the answers were, and

since the questions were apparently of a private nature – the ceremony was being performed for the owner of the house in which the session took place – I also abstained from enquiring the details later on. After some ten minutes *Dar mdo sprul sku* stepped back. The oracle suddenly began to swing the upper part of his body with the same rotating movements as before. He tried again, but vainly, to jump up, and finally he slumped backward, into the arms of the assistants, with his knees still bent and the feet still resting on the floor. Several strong convulsions shook his body and both his hands, with their fingers spread, moved several times forward just as if trying to push something back. The eyelids opened and the white of the eyes became visible. Gradually the spasms subsided. The assistants gently lifted the medium into a sitting position. About two minutes later the oracle recovered his senses. He opened his eyes and looked somewhat dazedly around. Then he sighed deeply and asked with a weak voice to be given some tea. After drinking about half a cup he sat for a while motionless and bent forward. Some five minutes later he straightened again, ready to enter the next trance.

While in the former case *rDo rje shugs ldan* was supposed to have manifested himself in his angry form, the oracle expected to become now possessed by the peaceful aspect of the same deity. Once more *Dar mdo sprul sku* began to ring his bell and to chant. This time, however, it took the oracle only half the time he needed before in order to fall into the full trance. This fit was not as strong as the previous one. The oracle was puffing and gasping less loudly, and also the movements of the hands and of the body were more moderate. The face this time bore a completely different expression. It was swollen, but not as strongly as in the previous case, and it appeared to me that it had assumed a yellowish hue. *Dar mdo sprul sku* began again to ask questions, but the session had not yet progressed very far when the oracle-priest suddenly, in the middle of an answer, jumped up and threw himself backward with full force. This unexpected movement caught the assistants unaware. Their hands shot forward, but too late. The oracle's head missed the thick cushions which had been piled up against the wall at his back and crashed with a loud thud against the stone-wall. One of the miniature skulls on the side of the diadem adorning the *btsan zhva* broke off and rolled to the floor. The assistants immediately lifted the medium, who was unconscious, his hands hanging limply at the sides, and they hastily untied the leather straps holding the *btsan zhva*. A little blood was dripping from the back of the oracle's head, but apart from a superficial cut on the scalp he had not suffered any greater harm, the thick inner lining of the hat having

apparently diminished the strength of the impact.

After this incident a longer pause was made, during which more cushions were brought to prevent the oracle-priest from injuring himself once more. Finally he assumed the usual posture, and a new chant was intoned, an invocation to the deity *Nam mkha' 'bar 'dzin*. Again, like in the second case, the medium fell into the trance within a comparatively short time. This fit was nearly as heavy as when the medium had become possessed by the wrathful form of *rDo rje shugs ldan*. The face was strongly swollen and it turned red again. The oracle was puffing the air out vehemently, though this time with a peculiar hissing sound. The deep, throaty gurgling did not reoccur, and also the hands did not fly up anymore to his throat. He only threw up from time to time the white scarf which was hanging around his neck. In this case no questions were asked. Instead, the oracle was handed by an assistant a ribbon of red silk, and the onlookers queued up to receive the blessings of the deity who had assumed possession of the medium. They filed one by one past the oracle, the monk-servants of *Dar mdo sprul sku* at the head. The first monk upon reaching the throne bowed low, and the oracle with trembling hands made a knot into the ribbon, blew on it, and then laid the knotted ribbon on the monk's neck.[24] The man then stepped to the side and tied the ribbon around his neck. While the next person approached, an assistant handed to the oracle another ribbon, and the whole procedure was repeated. I was invited to step into the row as well. Strange to say, upon reaching the oracle the latter seemed to have become hesitant. Though I believe that he could not have seen that I, too, had been asked to approach him - to all appearances his eyes had remained firmly closed from the beginning of the trance on - he must have been somehow aware that his movements were being watched critically and from close proximity by a rather sceptical observer. The puffing became stronger, and the trembling hands could scarcely tie the knot. Finally, after a considerably longer time than which had been required in the previous cases, the knotted ribbon was placed on my neck, and I made room for the next participant. As soon as the distribution of ribbons had been finished, the body of the medium began again to shake in strong spasms, which were followed by the collapse.

The fourth deity which was invited to descend into the body of the seer was the *dharmapāla dPa' bo khro 'bar*. The strength of the fit and its

24 Ribbons of this kind are called *srung mdud* and they are worn tied around the neck as a charm. Regarding the *srung mdud* see also van Manen, *Eastern Snow-Mountain*, p. 78.

symptoms were about the same as in the last-described case. Again no questions were asked, but soon after falling into the trance the oracle started to shout to be brought some milk. An assistant hurried away and returned shortly afterwards with a cup of milk, which he placed into the hands of the medium. All spectators had to form once more a file, and when passing the throne each person bowed and stretched out the cupped hands, into which the oracle, his hands being guided by the assistants, poured some of the milk. I was asked again to step, too, into the queue. This time the oracle did not hesitate, and I received my share without any difficulty. I was urged by those standing nearby to drink the milk immediately, since, as it was pointed out to me, it had been turned into a powerful medicine. After the last person had received some of the milk, the cup was taken away by one of the assistants, and immediately afterwards the medium came out of the trance in the way already described. The whole ceremony, from the beginning of the first trance till this moment, had lasted about two hours.

Supported by the helpers, the oracle-priest then rose from the throne. He discarded his hat, boots, and all his ceremonial robes, which he had been wearing atop of his normal dress: the latter had become, as one could see now, soaked with sweat. While one of the monks arranged all pieces of the attire on and around the throne in the ritually prescribed way, the two other assistants led the medium to an adjoining room to lie down and rest. The oracle appeared to be rather exhausted, his face was pale, drawn, and haggard. A servant brought him some tea to drink and a wet cloth to nurse the wound on his head. After approximately three hours of rest the oracle got up and, though still very weak, set out on his journey home, accompanied by two servants of *Dar mdo sprul sku*, one of them supporting him and the other carrying the box into which the various pieces of the ceremonial attire had been packed. – It should be mentioned in this context, that some of the oracles, when suffering from a state of exhaustion after the trance, rub all joints of their body with a substance prepared by mixing nutmeg (*dza ti*)[25] with melted butter. This procedure is said to speed up the recovery.[26]

Hlag pa don grub told me at a later occasion that, if he is asked to deliver a prophecy for one of his customers and there is no priest present who would be able to chant the necessary invocations, he will sing the prayers himself. He assured me that this method, too, proves most effective,

[25] Hübotter, *Beiträge*, p. 7: Myristica fragrans sive mosikata.

[26] Lessing (*Mongolen*, p. 150) mentions, that a Mongolian oracle-priest whose trance he witnessed drank a special potion after the trance in order to recover.

and that before concluding the chant he looses consciousness and falls into the trance. Should, however, the first prayer have no effect, then he will chant it once or twice again.

In July 1952 Prince Peter of Greece and I had the opportunity to photograph one of *lHag pa don grub*'s prophetic sessions. Prince Peter also shot a colourfilm of this ceremony and recorded with a wire-recorder a part of the chants and some of the utterances the medium made, while on another occasion I recorded with a tape-recorder the complete invocation sung in order to induce *rDo rje shugs ldan* to assume possession of the seer. This time the ceremony took place in the open. A priest of the local *dGe lugs pa* monastery sang the necessary prayers by heart. He accompanied them with the sound of a pair of cymbals, while a servant was asked to beat one of the round, flat drums which the priest had brought with him as well. The questioning of the oracle was done by an assistant of Prince Peter's, a *dGe lugs pa* monk from a Central Tibetan monastery.

Originally it was intended to hold the ceremony in the morning, but on account of heavy rain we had to wait till the late afternoon. We could thus ascertain that the oracle did not take before the trance any substance which would have caused him to fall into a fit. He ate the food he was offered, and accepted also some cigarettes and a small quantity of alcohol, though he said that he actually should not smoke nor drink alcohol before the trance, since this displeases the deities assuming control of his body, who would punish him then for this sin by making him suffer strong pains at the beginning of the session.

A heavy chair served as an improvised throne for the medium. First a thick cushion was placed on its seat, and over it was spread a piece of brocade. To the back of the chair one of the priests tied an oblong piece of yellow brocade bearing the picture of three torn out human eyes; this object was the property of the oracle, and it had been brought together with the rest of the attire. A table was set close to the chair, and on it were arranged in a row several cups filled with plain cold tea. At the sides of the table a *btsan mdung* with a triangular flag bearing the syllable *kyai*, a trident, and a ceremonial sabre were stuck into the earth. The robes, together with the *btsan zhva* and the *btsan zhags*, were placed on the throne in the usual order, and the shoes of the oracle were set on the earth in front of the chair. Then the oracle started to dress. He put on his robes over his usual clothes. While starting to dress he was joking with his assistants. Soon, however, his face grew earnest. The younger one of the two priests who was helping him to dress began to recite a litany, which the oracle joined from time to time with a loud voice. The medium

then took a seat on the chair and assumed the prescribed posture.

The first deity to be invoked was *rDo rje shugs ldan* in his angry aspect, and the trance which followed took the same course as in the case described already above. After performing the prescribed libation-offering, a few questions of a private nature were asked, but the answers, though they were given without hesitation, were evasive and difficult to interprete. Several times when the movements of the oracle became abrupter and it seemed that he was coming out of the trance, the priest who did the questioning took hold of one of the hands of the medium while addressing the deity supposed to be present in its body with a polite "please stay on a little". In the course of the second trance *rDo rje shugs ldan*'s acolyte *Kha che dmar po* was invoked, while in the third session the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* was asked to descend into the body of the medium. In this case the *btsan zhva* was replaced by the *phying zhva*, the peculiar hat previously described which this *dharmapāla* is supposed to wear. In the fourth trance the minor guardian deity *dPa' bo 'khro 'bar* was questioned. Both these sessions took the same course as in previous cases, with the only difference that once the oracle took hold of the *btsan mdung* and brandished it for a while. The whole ceremony lasted about two hours.

During one of the intervals between the trances the oracle-priest listened attentively to the recording of one of his prophecies. He claimed that this was the first time he was able to hear himself delivering a prediction since – as he alleged – he regularly looses consciousness "as soon as the deity descends upon him" and he recovers it only after the *dharmapāla* has withdrawn again. He does not therefore remember anything what he has said or done during the trance. From my Tibetan informants I heard that some of the oracles claim to be slightly dazed at the beginning of the trance; then they recover consciousness for a short while, but only to fall soon afterwards into the full trance.

Other sessions of *lHag pa don grub* which I had the opportunity to witness took a similar course. In most cases only two or three of the deities who were supposed to use the oracle as their mouthpiece were invoked. It often occurred that the lower-ranking deities, who were usually invoked after *rDo rje shugs ldan* or *Phying dkar ba* had already spoken, only declared through the mouth of the medium that they fully endorsed the statement which these higher *dharmapālas* had already made. Sometimes it happened that the oracle gave the answer in verse, dictating it to one of the assistants and even repeating upon request those words which the latter had not properly understood.

Usually the oracles – and especially the higher ranking ones – should spend, before entering into a trance, a few hours or even several days in meditation. They should also purify their bodies ritually by fasting and by abstaining from meat, smoking, snuffing, and drinking alcohol. On the other hand I heard of oracles who out of fear that they might be unable to fall into the trance intoxicated themselves secretly a short time before the ceremony began, by drinking *chang*. Impostors, who pretend to be true mediums, are said to use in order to fall into a fit a mixture consisting of Indian hemp (bang) and Guinea pepper (*g.yer ma*). According to the statement of Tibetans this substance is supposed to make one feel the blood running hot through the veins and to become rather excitable by the music made at the beginning of the ceremony. None of the genuine mediums, however, would stoop to such practices, and the Tibetan ecclesiastical authorities, when testing the candidates for the position of an official oracle, are said to take great care in order to ascertain that none of the candidates makes surreptitious use of any intoxicant.[27] Nevertheless I found that, though most of the Tibetans firmly believe into the prophetic powers of the oracle-priests, there are also many people, especially among the better-educated class, who are inclined to regard the oracles if not as impostors, then at least as strange pathologic cases. I have often been asked by Tibetans the question what I thought of their mediums, and whether I had the impression that really some supernatural forces were manifesting themselves in the course of these ceremonies. Some of the Tibetans explained their disbelief in the power of the mediums by claiming that even several of the highest-ranking oracles were known to have accepted bribes in order to deliver a prophecy favourable to the interests of one party.

The proof of the fact, however, that the Tibetan oracles develop in their trances if not unusual mental capabilities, then at least great physical powers, are the swords which they bend or even twist in spirals while in the state of possession by a deity. Such a sword is called the *rdo rje mdud pa*, "knotted thunderbolt". It is a highly priced and allegedly most efficacious protection against harmful spirits. Usually a few white scarfs are wrapped around the *rdo rje mdud pa*, which is then fastened above the door in order to prevent demons from entering the house. Also the knotted ribbons, sometimes distributed by an oracle in the course of a trance, are believed to be amulets which guard especially against illnesses.

[72] Medical authorities who examined my material expressed the opinion that the trances of the oracle priests may be partly induced by tetany, the attack being initiated by controlled respiration.

These ribbons are called *srung mdud* or *phu mdud*. Ribbons of a red, white or yellow colour are used, and in order to be efficacious they should be worn tied around the throat.

Especially in the rural areas of Tibet it is customary to bring people who had fallen ill into the presence of a possessed oracle, in order that the latter may beat them with his sword.[28] This action, known as *bgegs dkrol*, is said to have the effect that the harmful forces which had penetrated into the patient's body and had thus caused the illnesses will be driven away. Those oracles, who are supposed to serve as mouthpieces of deities belonging to the *the'u rang* class, are alleged to be able to cure a person by using a so-called "divination-arrow" (*mda' dar*). The details of this method were already given on p. 367. A well-known and much sought oracle who specializes in such cures lives at *Klu sbug chu shul*,[29] a locality to the west of Lhasa.

Some of the minor oracles try to impress their onlookers and thus to enhance their own fame by thrusting during the trance a sword into their chests, so deep that its point comes out at the back. After a while they pull the weapon out again without having suffered any injury.[30] Similarly, as we mentioned above, the oracle-priest of *gTing skyes blon po mtshan lnga* is supposed to vomit or swallow coins in the course of the trance

From a report by Hanbury-Tracy we learn that an oracle may use its sword as means of divination. He witnessed at a locality called Sangachödzong in Zayul the trance of an oracle-priest who was regarded to be the medium of the deity *Karma 'phrin las*. In the course of the trance this oracle stood up and hurled his sword from the assembly-hall, in which the ceremony took place, through the open door out into the courtyard, where a number of signs had been drawn on the floor before. The sign by which the sword fell was interpreted as an answer to questions concerning future events. Sometimes an accident occurs during this ceremony, the oracle missing the door and the sword injuring one of the spectators.[31] Such accidents seem to occur during the prophetic sessions of the Tibetan mediums quite frequently, and one often hears about people having been wounded or even killed by an oracle who suddenly attacked the spectators. In such a case it is generally assumed that the deity who took possession of the medium injured these persons in order to punish them for some grave sin they had committed.

[28] Lessing, *Mongolen*, p. 149.
[29] Petech, *China*, p. 39: *Klu sbugs*.
[30] Such feats are also performed by the ²*dto*-¹*mba*, the priests of the Na-khi; see Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 135.
[31] Hanbury-Tracy, *Black River*, p. 66.

Before concluding our discussion of the Tibetan oracles and their ceremonies, we may give a short survey of the places, where the chief mediums of the more important *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* stay:

Name of dharmapāla	*Residence of medium*
Pe har (*'phrin las rgyal po*)	*gNas chung* *Don gnyis gling* *Mi gyur lhun grub lha khang* *sKu 'bum byams pa gling*[32]
Mon bu pu tra (*sku yi rgyal po*)	*sKar ma shar*
Shing bya can (*yon tan gyi rgyal po*)	*dGa' gdong*
rDo rje shugs ldan	*sPro bde khang gsar*
Phying dkar ba	*Rva sgreng*
Tshangs pa dkar po	*La mo*
bSe'i khrab can	*Khra 'brug* *mNyes thang ra ba stod* *Nyi ma thang*
Li byin ha ra	*La mo* *bSam yas*
rDo rje legs pa	*Pa ri*
Tsi'u dmar po	*bSam yas*
bsTan ma bcu gnyis	*bsTan ma*

Oracles who are believed to become possessed by various *dharmapālas* are to be found not only in the Land of Snows, but also in those areas to which Tibetan Buddhism has spread. Judging by the reports so far available, the position, ceremonies, and also the attire of the Mongolian oracles, known as the *gurtum*,[33] are the same as in the case of the Tibetan religious mediums. Also the oracles of the Tu jen (Tib. *rGya hor*) a population of Tibetan stock living close to the Kuku Nor – bear the name *gurtum*. Some very interesting details about their activity have recently been published by Schröder.[34] Judging by his description, most of the Tu jen *gurtums* have to be placed on the level of the lower-ranking oracles of

[32] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, I, p. 156. Regarding the medium of *Pe har* which formerly resided at *sKu 'bum* see Cybikov, *Palomnik*, p. 30.

[33] On the *gurtums* see H. Haslund-Christensen, *Men and gods in Mongolia (Zayagan)*, London 1935, p. 58 sq.

[34] D. Schröder, 'Zur Religion der Tujen des Sininggebietes (Kukunor),' *Anthropos*, 47, Posieux 1952, p. 18 sq.

Tibet, especially those who are supposed to become possessed by the various *yul lha.* The Tu jen *gurtums* do not wear a helmet or hat, but instead either the *zhi ba'i rigs lnga* or a diadem adorned with small skulls, which is set atop a red cloth bearing a number of little bells. Just like the lower Tibetan oracles, the *gurtums* heal patients by beating them with their swords. To heal a patient a Tu jen *gurtum* may also tear off a small piece of cloth from his dress and dip it into a spoon with boiling water; this liquid is then given to the patient to drink. By piercing their bodies with the sword, or by licking hot plough-shares and swallowing fire the *gurtums* try to prove their supernatural powers. The Tu jen *gurtum*, too, uses his sword for the purpose of divination; with his left hand he holds the round shield hanging on his breast, in a horizontal position, and by means of the sword's blade he scatters on it some seeds; he divines then from the position of the latter. The sword is even regarded as the seat of the deity, who takes possession of the medium.

Different from the oracles of Tibet, the *gurtum* of the Tu jen mostly enters the trance while sitting crosslegged or kneeling on a mat, often made of white felt. The *gurtum* – like the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* of the South-Tibetan borderland – might speak in his trance in a foreign language which he would be unable to speak while in his normal state. The women of the Tu jen are not allowed to witness the ceremony of a *gurtum.* If the latter got polluted by having had sexual intercourse, by smoking, or by drinking alcohol, he has to wound himself in order to become "purified". Once a year, the *gurtum* has to return for a short spell to his spiritual master from whom he had received his training.

Schröder mentions further a group of prophetic magicians who are more often consulted by the Tu jen than the *gurtums.* Such a magician, while in the state of a semi-trance, divines the future from the trembling of a spear which he is holding. The trembling of the weapon is supposed to be caused by a deity who had selected it as its temporary abode.

CHAPTER XXII

THE STATE ORACLE

The residence of *Pe har*'s chief medium is the *gNas chung sgra dbyangs gling* monastery, shortly called *gNas chung dgon pa* (Nechung Gompa) or *gNas chung lcog*. Its oracle-priest is therefore commonly known as the *gNas chung chos rje*. Nechung Gompa lies about half a mile to the south of Drepung, Tibet's biggest monastery and one of the main strongholds of the *dGe lugs pa* order. Though Nechung Gompa is an establishment of the *rNying ma pa* sect, religious – and also political – ties link it closely to Drepung, and most of the ceremonies carried out at the first-named establishment are therefore a mixture of *rNying ma pa* and *dGe lugs pa* practices.

The legends about the origin of Nechung Gompa have already been told before. Judging from the descriptions given by the few Europeans and Americans who had the opportunity of visiting the residence of the *gNas chung chos-rje*, this shrine seems to be one of the most remarkable monasteries of the Snowy Land. Perceval Landon, who visited Nechung Gompa in 1904, writes: "I am not sure that this temple is not, the Cathedral always apart, the most interesting thing in Tibet. It is small, entirely complete in itself, finished ad unguem, daintily clean .... The scene here is of unusual beauty and interest; it is very seldom in Tibet that the contrast of luxuriant foliage and vivid temple colour is obtained.... Green there is in the background, green of more shades than a camera can detect, and the deep, claret brown of the temple buildings is handsomely accentuated above by golden roofs, and harmonises well with the plain grey ochre of the courtyard stones, and the interminable strings of gauzy fluttering prayer-flags of every tint between the two."[1]

Ernst Schäfer, leader of the German expedition to Tibet in 1938/39, writes of his visit to Nechung Gompa: "Der Komplex des Staatsorakels besteht aus mehreren tiefroten, goldbedeckten Gebäuden, die sich im Geviert um einen sauberen steinplattenbelegten Hof gruppieren. Rings

[1] P. Landon, *Lhasa*, London 1905, II, pp. 246-264; a similar description has been given by Waddell (*Lhasa and its mysteries*, London 1905, p. 383 sq.).

von Blumengärten, Weiden, Juniperusbuschkagen und zierlichen Bambushecken umsäumt, hat Netschung einen friedlichen, beinahe idyllischen Charakter."[2]

The various descriptions of Nechung Gompa, vivid and interesting as they may be, still do not suffice to give a detailed account of this remarkable temple and its treasures. I tried in vain to obtain a *dkar phyag* (guide-book) of Nechung Gompa, and the following description of the temple, received from *sku gshogs Blo bzang phun tshogs* – the son of the former state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* – has therefore to suffice until the time at which it will be possible to make a more thorough survey. According to *Blo bzang phun tshogs* three gates lead into the cloistered courtyard of the monastery. The southern gate (1) is held closed in accordance with an old tradition that the *chos skyong rDo rje shugs ldan* is waiting at this entrance for the day to come on which he will be allowed to enter the monastery, to succeed *Pe har* as the chief *dharmapāla* of Tibet after the former has become a *'jig rten las 'das pa'i srung ma* and has vacated the temple.

Through the western (2) and eastern (3) gates[3] visitors of all ranks may enter the monastery. From the roofing of the western gate hang several stuffed tigers and leopards, which had been presented to the shrine. They act now as a guard against all evil powers which might try to penetrate into the sanctuary.

After passing through the gate one enters a square, cloistered courtyard (4) which is covered with stone-slabs. The walls which surround the courtyard are covered with colourful frescoes representing *Pe har's* emanations as well as various minor deities of his train, and the pillars of the cloister are decorated with ancient weapons and pieces of armour. In the centre of the courtyard stands a stone column, some seven feet high, bearing a small roof in Chinese style(5). The column appears to have been erected in honour of the reigning deity of Nechung monastery; it is, however, bare of any inscription which would give evidence by whom this memorial stone had been put up. In the centre of the courtyard's northern side a few steps (7) flanked by a pair of Chinese lions (8, 9) lead up to an arcade (6) which stretches in front of the main facade of the three-storied temple. The heavy beams, supporting the roof of the arcade, are usually wrapped in a course, red woollen cloth (*ka thum*). On festive occasions, however, this covering is exchanged for wrappings of heavy, multicoloured silk. The main door (10) through which one enters the

[2] Schäfer, *Fest der weissen Schleier*, p. 160.

[3] Ch. Bell, *Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, London 1946, plate XLVIII.

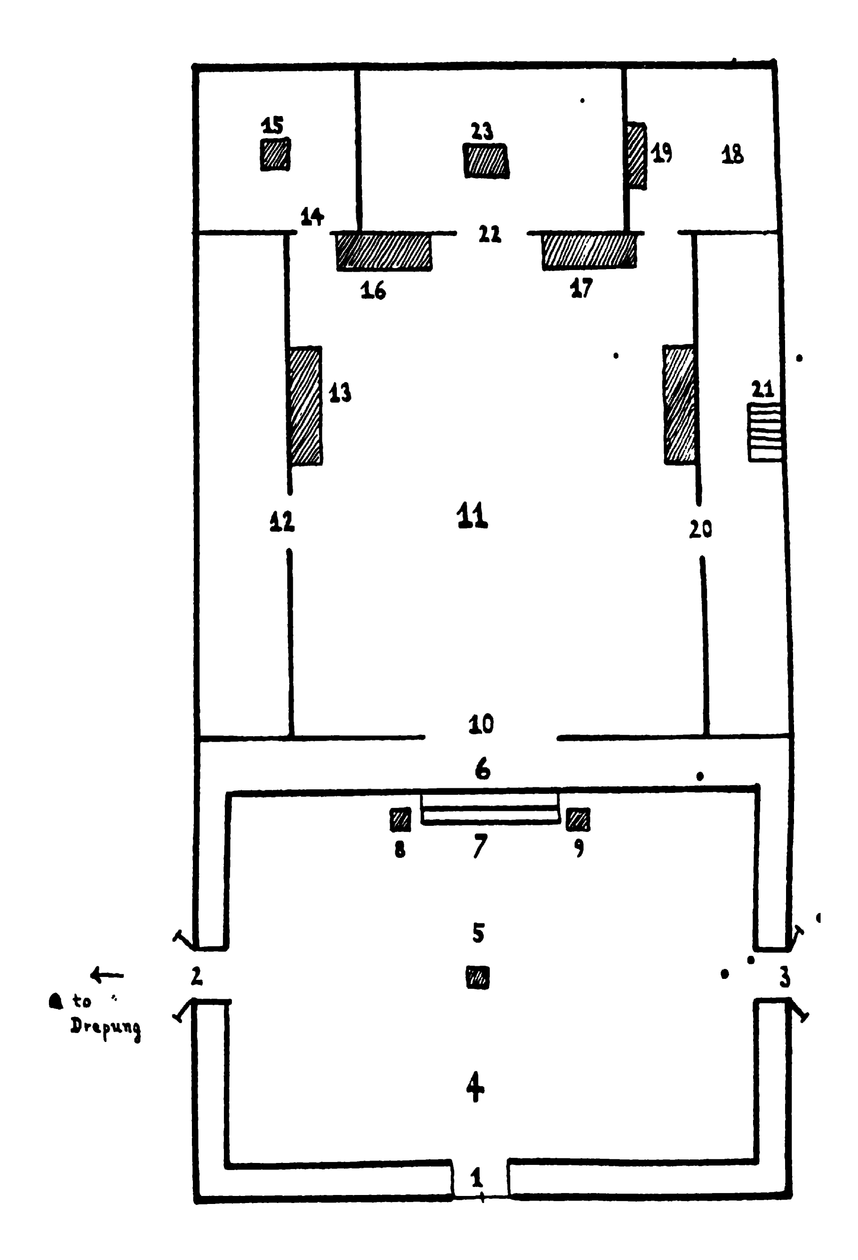
temple differentiates itself from most other temple-doors by the great amount of richly coloured carvings – skulls, sacrificial instruments, skins of men and animals, etc. – which it displays. Above the door is a parapet of lion-heads carved of wood, and at the sides of the entrance two huge paintings can be seen on the outer wall of the shrine, depicting *Pe har* and the *chos skyong rDo rje grags ldan*. Remarkable are also the crossbeams forming the inner roofing of the arcade, as they consist of bundles of arrows, spears, swords, matchlock-guns, and other ancient weapons which had been presented to the temple-authorities at the time when Nechung Gompa was built. It is believed that these arms, which had been used in many a battle, increase considerably the magic forces which are supposed to pervade the temple.

Passing through the main door one enters the chief assembly-hall (11), which is divided by rows of massive pillars into three aisles. Here the monks congregate daily, to say their prayers and to perform the prescribed rites in honour of the monastery's chief deities. The monks take their seats on six rows of cushions which are laid from the door to the far end of the hall. The walls of the temple are covered with frescoes – their dominating colour being black – showing demoniacal deities, their mythical abodes and the gory sacrifices which they receive. Close to the walls stand rows of drums with long handles.

A gate (12) in the left sidewall, as seen from the entrance, leads into a chapel containing a number of images, and next to this door, inside the main hall, stands a small altar (13) bearing several statues.

In the left corner of the far end of the assembly-hall a low gate leads into one of the most important rooms (14) of Nechung monastery. While in the main hall the ceiling is comparatively low, the room now described is open right up to the main gilt roof of the temple. In the centre of this chamber stands the famous tree (15), in which according to the legend previously narrated *Pe har* is believed to have vanished in the form of a white dove. Generations of devotees have covered the tree with countless ceremonial scarfs, so that its stem and branches are scarcely visible anymore. Next to the sacred tree stands a small altar with a statue of *Pe har* on it. The walls are covered with frescoes depicting mountain-retreats, and small niches contain the images of Gautama Buddha and the sixteen *arhats*.

Entering the main hall again, one finds to the left hand, next to the door through which one just passed, an altar (16) bearing the huge statues of three prominent personalities known jointly as the *mkhan slob chos gsum:* on the left the so-called *mkhan chen Bodhisattva* – a prominent propagator



GROUND-PLAN OF NECHUNG GOMPA

of Buddhism upon whose advice *Padmasambhava* was invited to visit the Land of Snows –, in the centre the *slob dpon Padmasambhava* himself, and on the right side the *chos rgyal Khri srong sde btsan*, under whose reign these two religious teachers were active.

Next to this altar, in the centre of the wall, leads a broad door (22) into the most important chapel of the monastery. In its middle stands a massive carved throne (23) plated with silver, on which the chief oracle-priest of Tibet takes his seat whenever the reigning deity of Nechung Gompa or one of its minor emanations is due to enter his body. A set of his ceremonial garments is being kept in readiness on this throne. The heavy helmet of the *chos rje* lies on top of the robes, and a pair of ceremonial boots stands on the floor in front. Other garments as well as one or two more helmets are kept on a few low tables standing along the walls of this chapel. Behind the throne, on a small altar, is an ancient statue of *Padmasambhava*. Tradition claims that this image, which is known as the *sKu tshab rin po che*, was made and blessed by the great sage himself. It is believed to preserve the supernatural forces by means of which *Padmasambhava* was able during his lifetime to hold the fierce *Pe har* under control. The image now acts as *Padmasambhava*'s "proxy", radiating an influence which compells *Pe har* to remain faithful to his oath of protecting Buddhism in the Land of Snows.

To the right side of the door, through which one enters the chapel containing the throne, stands another altar (17) bearing also three images of the same size like those which stand on the altar situated to the left of the door. Unfortunately, my informant was unable to remember whom these three figures represent.

Through a small door, which lies to the right side of the latter altar, one enters the *mgon khang* (18) of the monastery. Inside the *mgon khang*, on the right side and close to the entrance, stands a huge statue only partly visible under a cover of numerous ceremonial scarfs. This image represents *Pe har* and all his emanations united into one single form, known as *Kun 'dus rgyal po*. The effigy seems to be black-coloured, depicting the *dharmapāla* in a one-headed and two-handed wrathful aspect. The right hand holds a chopper in front of his breast, above a *kapāla* which the deity supports with the left hand. At times, when the seat of the state oracle is vacant and *Pe har* did not manifest himself yet in a new medium, this statue is carried from time to time in procession around the monastery.

At the wall to the left of the entrance stands an altar (19) bearing an image of *dMag zor rgyal mo*, and on a second altar at the opposite wall rests a statue of the goddess *Nyi ma gzhon nu*. The *mgon khang* contains

further the huge effigies of *rNam thos sras* and *gShin rje*, as well as a number of smaller images.

When entering the main hall again and proceeding clockwise, one reaches a door opening into another chapel (20). From this room a staircase (21) leads to the upper floors of the temple.

Behind the shrine, surrounded by a well-kept garden, lies the house of the oracle-priest. Some of the state magicians, however, never took residence here and preferred to live in one of the upper rooms of the temple. The living quarters of the approximately hundred-twenty monks[4] who are attached to the monastery lie opposite the southern and eastern gates. From among the monks the Tibetan Government selects an administrator (*sde gnyer*, called colloquially *sde pa*), who is responsible for all economic affairs of the monastery. Another important personage is the private secretary of the *chos rje*, who has the responsible task of writing down the prophetic utterances of his master.

Since its establishment, Nechung Gompa received repeatedly substantial donations, which were partly spent on the upkeep of the monastery, partly they were added to the two treasures kept within the walls of the temple. One of these treasures, known as the *Pe har dkor mdzod*, is the property of the Tibetan Government. It includes a great number of various objects, ranging from gold-pieces to Chinese brick-tea. This treasure is said to be guarded by *Pe har* personally, who continues to exercise here the old function which he had formerly occupied during his stay at Samye, where he bore accordingly the title *dkor bdag* or "treasure-master".

The second treasure, which, too, consists of a great variety of goods, is the private property of Nechung Gompa. To its greater part this treasure consists of donations which the monastery received from one of its most famous oracle-priests, *Śākya yar 'phel*, and from *Phung rab pa*, a famous war-lord who at the beginning of this century had led several successful punitive expeditions against bands of robbers operating in Eastern Tibet. *Phung rab pa* not only increased considerably the shrine's private treasure, but has also spent a great amount of money to have the roof of the temple richly gilt.

Those Tibetan historical sources which have become available to this day provide, unfortunately, only very little information on the history of the seers who occupied the throne at Nechung Gompa in the four centuries which passed since the establishment of this monastery. Nevertheless,

[4] On the monastic rules to be observed by the monks of Nechung Gompa see the work listed in the Tohoku Catalogue under no. 6958.

this amount of information suffices to prove at least how great the influence is which the chief oracle-priests exercise on the internal as well as the external affairs of the Land of Snows. Due to this influentce, however, the position of the seers is a rather precarious one, and it happens only too frequently that *Pe har*'s chief medium becomes the playball of political intrigues. Though he is in theory only the mouthpiece of the chief *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* and some of its emanations, the oracle-priest is nevertheless held in a high degree responsible for his prophetic utterances, and many a *chos rje* of Nechung has already been punished or dismissed in disfavour from his office in case that his predictions did not prove true.

The important position which the prophetic magicians of Nechung Gompa occupy is said to have been established at the time of the fifth Dalai Lama. The appointment of *Pe har*'s chief medium to the office of a government-advisor is claimed to have been due to the fact that at that time an oracle-priest saved the population of the Tibetan capital from death: by means of his clairvoyant powers he discovered that members of the Nepalese community intended to kill the inhabitants of Lhasa by poisoning the public wells, and he frustrated in time the execution of the plot.

Already under the following Dalai Lama, *Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho* (1681-1701) the Nechung oracle was drawn into the whirlpool of politics. A part of the Tibetan clergy, which received support from the side of the Chinese, tried to remove the Dalai Lama from his office under the claim that he had gravely sinned against the rules of moral conduct expected of the divine rulers of Tibet. *Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho*, pursued by his foes, took refuge at Drepung[5] and its monks took up arms to defend his life, since the oracle of Nechung declared that the Dalai Lama should on no account be allowed to fall into the hands of his enemies. Later, however, the monks were forced to capitulate. The Dalai Lama was carried away by the Chinese and died soon afterwards.

The Chinese then tried to place on the throne of the Dalai Lama a candidate of their own selection, an already grown-up monk called *Ngag dbang ye shes*, but he was refused recognition by the Tibetans. Instead, the Tibetan people and clergy believed to have found the new rebirth of their ruler in the person of a child which had been born in the East-Tibetan town *Li thang* and whom the oracle-priest of Nechung declared to be the true new Dalai Lama.[6] Later on, this candidate was recognized also by the Chinese, and under the name *Blo bzang bskal*

[5] See Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 12.
[6] Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 17.

bzang rgya mtsho he ruled the Land of Snows till 1758. Thus a prediction of the unfortunate sixth Dalai Lama, who had not only foretold his early death but also his rebirth at *Li thang*, really became true.[7]

Also when selecting the successor of *Blo bzang bskal bzang rgya mtsho* the state-magician of Nechung is said to have played a most important part by giving advice where to search for the rebirth of the ruler. Unfortunately the sources so far available do not mention anything about the activity of the Nechung oracle-priest during the more than one and a half centuries which elapsed between the enthronement of the seventh Dalai Lama at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and that of the thirteenth divine ruler in 1874. I only learned from *Blo bzang phun tshogs* that at the time of the twelfth Dalai Lama a very famous oracle-priest named *Ngag dbang* occupied the throne of the state-magicians. He might have been the same man who prophecied the names of the parents of the future Dalai Lama, and upon whose advice a state commission, led by a dignitary of one of the two *rGyud* monasteries in Lhasa, began its search after the rebirth of the thirteenth Dalai Lama on the banks of *Chos 'khor rgyal mtsho*. A vision which the officials are supposed to have had there induced them to search for the new rebirth in Eastern Tibet.[8] This eventually led to the discovery and enthronement of the great thirteenth Dalai Lama, *Ngag dbang blo bzang thub ldan rgya mtsho*, who ruled Tibet till 1933.

According to *Blo bzang phun tshogs*, the famous *chos rje* of *Pe har*, *Śākya yar 'phel* – whom we mentioned already above as one of the most open-handed donators towards the private treasury of Nechung Gompa – is supposed to have lived under the reign of this Dalai Lama. Though most of the Tibetan mediums are said to be shortlived, this priest, who became a *chos rje* when twenty years old, is supposed to have reached the age of seventy; unfortunately neither the year at which he assumed his office nor the year of his death could be ascertained. My informant claims that numerous statues of *Śākya yar 'phel* exist in Tibet in the possession of monasteries as well as private persons. Two types of such effigies have been made: one showing *Śākya yar 'phel* in his normal state and dressed in the customary monastic robes, the other one representing him at the

[7] This prediction is contained in one of the poems composed by the sixth Dalai Lama: see Yu Dawchyuan, *Love Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, Peiping 1930.

[8] Bell (*Portrait of the Dalai Lama*, p. 41) mentions that this is supposed to be the "soul lake" (*bla mtsho*) of the Dalai Lama. According to this author (*op. cit.*, p. 40 sq.) also the seer of Samye gave some important hints where to search for the new Dalai Lama.

height of a trance and wearing all the garments and emblems which the state oracle carries on such occasions. A life-sized statue of the latter type is alleged to be kept in the tantric college (*sngags pa grva tshang*) of Drepung.

Upon the death of *Śākya yar 'phel* an oracle-priest who became known as the *Go bo chos rje* assumed the function of the supreme *chos rje*. This seems to have been the unfortunate oracle-priest who was later on held partly responsible for the developments which led to the defeat of the Tibetans in 1904 at the hands of a British expeditionary force.

A prelude to this conflict was an incident which occurred on the Sikkim-Tibetan border already in 1886. Disturbed by the inclusion of Sikkim into the British sphere of influence, the Tibetans began to adopt measures to prevent a further advance of the foreigners towards the Forbidden Land. Upon the advice of the chief *chos rje* they eventually occupied a mountain lying already within the boundaries of British Sikkim, since the oracle-priest had declared that the magic powers radiating from this mountain would be strong enough to check all future movements of the British should they try to enter Tibet. The mountain was, however, later reoccupied by British troops without encountering any noteworthy resistance.

In 1904, when the British Expeditionary Force[9] after patient but fruitless negotiations began to make its way into Central Tibet, the oracle of Nechung predicted that the foreigners would succeed in reaching the heart of the Forbidden Land. Nevertheless, he seems to have made the error of believing in a final victory of the Tibetan army. When the British troops reached Lhasa, the *chos rje* fled in the retinue of the Dalai Lama to Mongolia. After the withdrawal of the occupational forces he returned to his monastery, but soon afterwards the Tibetan authorities dismissed him from his office.

The successor of *Go bo chos rje* was *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, the father of my informant *Blo bzang phun tshogs*. The fate of this man had been linked from the first day of his life with the office of the state oracle. Just on the day on which *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* was born, the current *chos rje Śākya yar 'phel* fell into a trance and declared that this child had been predestined to become his successor. When the boy reached the age of reason *Pe har* himself, speaking through the mouth of the oracle-priest, is supposed to have ordered that the boy should from now on be present always when the *chos rje* would go into a trance. It even became a char-

[9] On these events see among others Landon, *Lhasa;* Waddell, *Lhasa* E. Candler, *The unveiling of Lhasa*, London 1905.

acteristic feature of these ceremonies that every time *Pe har* took possession of his medium the latter would present a ceremonial scarf to his future successor. Thus a spiritual relationship was gradually established between *Śākya yar 'phel* and his young protégé, and the lamas of Drepung and Nechung got even into the habit of calling *Śākya yar 'phel* the "uncle" of this boy. After *Śākya yar 'phel*'s death and the unsuccessful period of *Go bo chos rje*, the oracle of Gadong while being possessed by *Pe har*'s emanation *Yon tan rgyal po* declared that now young *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* should be installed as the new state-oracle. *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, who was now about twenty years old, had already since a few years become possessed by *Pe har* at regular intervals, and his teacher experienced great difficulties in keeping him under control during these unforseen trances. The Gadong oracle predicted, too, that in the near future a dispute will arise in the Nechung monastery, and that when this will happen the abbots of Drepung should not fail to act in support of the young *chos rje*.

Two years after *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* had assumed his office a dispute actually broke out over some monetary question between a fraction of the Nechung monks on one side and the *chos rje* and his father – who acted as his son's private secretary – on the other. The abbots of Drepung, in spite of the admonishment which they had received from the side of the Gadong oracle, did not intercede for the *chos rje*, and thus the Tibetan Government solved the dispute by dismissing *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, banishing his father from Nechung Gompa and jailing the group of quarrelsome monks for life.

Even after the dismissal from his official function, *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* continued to be visited by *Pe har*, a circumstance of great inconvenience to the seer, who fell often into a trance at the most unexpected moments and sometimes sustained considerable injury. He also became frequently irritated even by matters of minor importance.

The Tibetan Government had apparently in mind to reinstall *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* into his former position after some time, and the Dalai Lama personally advised him to prepare himself for the resumption of his office by performing rigorous meditations. *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, however, after the unpleasant experience he had made, did not feel inclined to accept once more this rather risky position and thus, renouncing any future claims to the dignity of a state-oracle, became a layman and eventually married.

His imprisoned opponents did not live long, and it is claimed that *Pe har* himself caused all of them to die under horrible sufferings. The oracle's

main enemy, a monk who bore the nickname *Slob dpon*, is alleged to have ended by vomiting all his intestines. His spirit failed to find a rebirth and turned into a roaming ghost, which had to be exorcised and was later placed into the retinue of *Thog btsan pa*, a deity of the *btsan* class, who acts as one of *Pe har*'s officers (*las mkhan*).

After *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*'s retirement the Tibetan Government reappointed his predecessor *Go bo chos rje*, dismissing him after some time - but only to recall him later once more. Eventually, as his prophecies did not prove true, *Go bo chos rje* was dismissed for a third time. He died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by a monk called *Blo bzang rnam rgyal*, who in his turn was relieved by a monk nicknamed *Chung bdag*.

The Nechung oracle and also the oracle-priest of Samye played an important part in the life of the two last Dalai Lamas. When the search for the 13th Dalai Lama began, the seer of Nechung monastery is said to have uttered the name of the father and the mother of the future Tibetan ruler, and he also gave some details about the whereabouts of the house in which the divine rebirth would be found, while the oracle-priest of *Tsi'u dmar po* residing at Samye mentioned that the mountain standing close to the house of the future Dalai Lama was shaped like an elephant.[10] Later, when the new Dalai Lama was found, the discovery of the true rebirth was confirmed by the state-oracle.[11]

After loosing a good deal of his reputation by the false predictions he made in connection with the events which led to the war with the British in 1904, the seer of Nechung regained some of the prestige he lost by uncovering a plot aimed at the life of the Dalai Lama and allegedly headed by the Chief Minister and his brother, the abbot of *bsTan rgyas gling*.[12] In 1931 the state-oracle is supposed to have predicted the impending illness and death of the Dalai Lama. He was one of the few dignitaries who were admitted to the sick-bed of the Dalai Lama: however, it was later claimed that the Nechung seer, upon the instigation of the spirit of a *sprul sku* from *Nya rong* who had turned a malignant demon after death, injured the health of the Dalai Lama by giving him a wrong medicine.[13]

Nevertheless, when the search for the new Dalai Lama began, the state oracle, too, was asked for his prophetic advice. From time to time he even interfered again with Tibet's foreign relations. Thus e.g. in 1947 the

10 Bell, *Portrait*, p. 40.
11 Bell, *Portrait*, p. 42.
12 Bell, *Portrait*, p. 54.
13 Bell, *Portrait*, p. 384.

Tibetan Government, following the advice of the Nechung oracle, refused a British mountaineering expedition the permission to enter Tibet in order to reach Mt. Everest from the north. According to information received from officials of the Tibetan Government, the medium of *Pe har* played an important part in 1950, when the Dalai Lama assumed power prematurely shortly after Chinese troops began to occupy Tibet. Already before the situation became critical, *Pe har*, speaking through the mouth of his chief medium, suggested that the Dalai Lama, though still minor, should take the power over from the then current Regent *sTag brag rin po che*. However, the Tibetan authorities did not follow this suggestion. Later, after the invasion of the Chinese had started, the Nechung was consulted again, but this time *Pe har*, offended that his advice had not been headed, refused to take possession of the medium. Instead one of the other deities who sometimes visits this *chos rje* answered that the Dalai Lama should assume power immediately. This time the Government followed the advice.

Finally we may mention two mediums who, too, are supposed to become possessed by *Pe har*. Formerly the Tibetan Government used to consult a medium of *Pe har* attached to the monastery *Don gnyis gling* in the southeast Tibetan province *lHo kha*. This custom was introduced at the time of the fifth Dalai Lama, who ordered this medium to be questioned in case *Pe har* refused to give answer through the *chos rje* of Nechung. In more recent times, however, this custom was abandoned. Another medium of *Pe har* used to live within the precincts of the famous monastery *sKu 'bum byams pa gling* in Amdo, where it occupied a shrine which had been built in 1692. The manifestation of *Pe har* in this shrine came, however, to an end after the monks of *sKu 'bum*, transgressing their monastic rules, took an active part in a war against Chinese Mohammedans.[14]

[14] Cybikov, *Palomnik*, p. 30

CHAPTER XXIII

METHODS OF DIVINATION

To consult an oracle-priest is only one of the many ways open to a Tibetan who wishes to know something about his future, to ascertain the reasons of an illness or calamity, and who also desires to learn which appropriate counteractive measures have to be taken. In general the services of an oracle-priest are engaged only in matters of greater importance, since already the payment of the considerable fees asked by most of these clairvoyants makes it to the average person impossible to consult them frequently. There are, however, numerous methods of divination to which one may take recourse without incurring great expenses.

Research on some aspects of Tibetan divination (*mo, pra*), which is closely connected with the wide and extremely complicated subject of astrology (*rtsis*), has already been carried out by a number of scholars, the most important treatises on this theme having been published by Schiefner, Schlagintweit, Waddell, Rockhill, Bacot, Vidyabhusana, Stein, and Hoffmann.[1] Since these publications are easily accessible, we may give here only a short resumé of the material so far collected, to which we shall add our own observations.

In the first place the scapulimancy (*sog dmar*) should be mentioned. This kind of divination is not only in vogue among Tibetans, but it is also practised by many other, especially nomadic, peoples of Central Asia and North America. Details about the scapulimancy have already been published elsewhere, and it may suffice therefore to mention that in this case the shoulder-blade of a sheep which had been stripped of all meat is laid into a fire. The resulting cracks in the bone are supposed to give an answer to questions concerning luck or misfortune, health, travel, busi-

[1] A. Schiefner, 'Über ein indisches Krähenorakel,' *Mélanges asiatiques*, IV, St. Petersburg; Schlagintweit, *Bouddhisme*, p. 195 sq.; Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 465 sq.; W. W. Rockhill, 'Tibet. A geographical, ethnographical and historical sketch, derived from Chinese sources,' *JRAS*, London 1891, p. 235; B. Laufer, 'Bird-divination among the Tibetans,' *T'oung Pao*, Leiden 1901, pp. 1-110; J. Bacot, 'La table des présages signifiées par l'éclair,' *JA*, Paris 1913, pp. 445-449; S. C. Vidyabhusana, 'Srid pa ho· A Tibeto-Chinese tortoise chart of divination,' *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 5, Calcutta 1913, pp. 1-11; Stein, *Divination tibétaines*; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 192-197.

ness, etc. The scapulimancy is one of the oldest Tibetan divination methods, having been practised by Bon sorcerers already in ancient times; in some special cases the Bonpos are alleged to have used the shoulder-blades of men instead of the shoulder-blades of sheep. Another method of divination which had been known already in ancient Tibet was the interpretation of the voices of birds, especially of raven.

One of the simplest methods of divination is to select at random a card from a pack of divination-cards. These are cards made of cardboard, and each of them bears a drawing and usually also an inscription, both indicating the auspicious, mediocre, or inauspicious value of the particular card. In some cases, after a card has been drawn, the clairvoyant (*mo pa, mo ma, mo mkhan*, also *pra mo mkhan*) has to consult a corresponding book (*mo dpe*), which generally not only indicates the exact value of each card but also suggests the appropriate measures which should be taken in order to counteract the predicted dangers.

Another simple method which is prefered, according to Waddell,[2] by Bon priests and also by illiterate people, is the divination by means of a rosary (*'phreng mo*). After pronouncing a prayer, a rosary is rolled between the palms of the hands and then, with closed eyes, one has to seize some portion of the rosary between the thumb and finger of both hands. The intervening beads are then counted off in threes, starting from both ends, and the result of the divination depends on whether one, two or three beads are finally left.

Also dice are frequently used for divination; this kind of divination is known as *sho mo*, from *sho*, "dice".[3] After throwing the dice the number of eyes reached is compared with the entries in the corresponding *mo dpe*. This kind of divination was practised in Tibet already in ancient times, as the discoveries made in Turkestan have shown. – A work on *sho mo* is mentioned under no. 111 of the Tibetan Sources. It is a book giving instructions about the performance of a dice-divination standing under the auspices of the goddess *dMag zor rgyal mo*.[4] Three dice have to be used in this case, and the auspicious or inauspicious values of the numbers thrown are as follows:

[2] Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 465–466.

[3] On a dice-divination carried out in front of a figure representing the local deity guarding the Ha Valley in Western Bhutan see B. K. Todd, 'Bhutan, Land of the Thunder Dragon,' *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington (December), plate on p. 730.

[4] See also Tohoku Catalogue, no. 6915.

17	-	exellent
5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15		good
8, 18	-	middling, but with a slight inclination to good
3, 10	-	medium
14	-	middling, with tendency to bad
4, 6	-	bad
12, 16	-	extremely bad

Waddell[5] mentions further a *sho mo* standing under the auspices of the *Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*. In this case a single cubicle is used, made either from the wood of the *bla* tree of this particular god or from sandal-wood, rose-wood, conch-shell, or glass. The cubicle bears on each side one letter of a *mantra* dedicated to *Mañjuśrī*, and each letter corresponds again to an entry in the appropriate *mo dpe*.

More complicated are the methods involving the application of dice-boards on which a number of seeds or pebbles are distributed. Dice-boards with ten, fifteen, twenty-one, twenty-eight, and more fields are used, in order to determine with their help the causes of an illness, to ascertain the prospects of a marriage, to learn something in general about one's future, and even to predict the kind of rebirth which the spirit of a deceased is going to find. These methods, which have been already described in detail by Schlagintweit and Waddell, bear names like "the five *ḍākinī* circle", "the Chinese medicinal water", "the twenty-one *Tārās*", etc.[6]

A method of divination frequently to be observed among the Tibetans is the so-called *rde'u dkar nag mo*, also known as *rdo mo*. This *mo* is carried out with seven black and seven white pebbles; sometimes also thirteen white and thirteen black pebbles are used. The pebbles of both colours are placed into a cup and shaken for a while. The person who performs the *mo* has to say a prayer and to turn with closed eyes the contents of the cup onto a table. Then, keeping the eyes closed, one has to select five pebbles and line them up in a row. The value of the resulting arrangement of colours is then determined with the help of the corresponding divination-book.

A peculiar kind of *mo*, which does not seem to have been mentioned so far in any of the various publications on the subject of Tibetan clairvoyancy, is the *rnga mo*[7] or drum-divination. The *rnga mo*, as Tibetan tradition claims, is a very ancient way of divination, which is nowadays

5 Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 466.
6 Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 465 sq.
7 See also R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Tibetan Drum Divination,' *Ethnos*, 1–4, Stockholm 1952, pp. 149–157.

still in vogue among the priests of the *rNying ma pa* sect, the adherents of the "white" and the "black" Bon, and especially among the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo*, a class of male and female sorcerers mainly to be found in Sikkim, Bhutan, and the Chumbi Valley. Their ways of performing the *rnga mo* are identical, the only difference being the types of drum which these various groups of priests and sorcerers use: the *rNying ma pa* as well as the priests of the "white" Bon perform the drum-divination with the help of the *rnga chen*, the "great drum", the magicians of the "black" Bon use a tambourine – the so-called *phyed rnga* or "half-drum" –, and the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* carry out the *rnga mo* by means of the *rnga chung* or "small drum".

The *rnga mo* is usually performed to divine the causes of an illness or, more rarely, to answer questions concerning business and marriage. In order to carry out a *rnga mo* for the first-named purpose the drum has to be prepared in the following way: first two big concentric circles are drawn on the drum-skin, which are then divided by four intersecting lines into sixteen sections. Then some soot is applied on one half of the drum in order to divide the surface into a "black" and a "white" part. The four cardinal points are indicated by signs, and the names of all those malevolent spirits who in the opinion of the sorcerer might be responsible for the patient's illness are written into the fields, which have been formed by drawing the intersecting lines, each section being reserved for one particular demon or group of spirits. In case the number of fields does not suffice, some seeds of barley or wheat are marked to distinguish the various supernatural beings they represent, and the seeds are then placed on the drum-skin to form a circle which lies closer to the centre.

The drum is now laid on a low table, and the priest (or sorcerer) performing the *rnga mo* takes his seat on a cushion placed on the floor close to the table. A vessel containing seeds of wheat or barley and a cup of milk are handed to the officiating priest, who dips a finger into the milk and then places one drop of the liquid into each section which has been previously drawn on the surface of the drum. The seeds contained in the vessel are then held into incense and, one by one, the priest takes them out of the vessel, touches his forehead with each of them, and then places one seed into each drop of milk. Lastly, a seed representing the patient is laid into the centre of the drum-skin, exactly on the border between the "black" and the "white" portions, and several other seeds, which stand for the patient's nurse and physicians, are lined up on the "white" half.

These arrangements having been carried out, an attendant will burn some more incense, and the priest will take in hand a second drum,

lying in readiness at his side. While beating this instrument in a slow rhythm, he begins his incantations by pronouncing the name of the patient and giving an account of all his astrological data, mentioning as well the characteristic signs of his illness. Both *rNying ma pa* priests and Bon priests or sorcerers then address themselves for help to the deities of their religions. The *rNying ma pa* begin by invoking *Padmasambhava*, while the Bon call for the assistance of *gShen rab mi bo*, the legendary propagator of the Bon creed, and his wife, *bTsan ldan blo sgron ma*. The Bon sorcerer relates then shortly the biography of king *gDung rgyal btsan po*, the first of the eighteen legendary rulers of the Bon period, and he requests as well the help of his wife, the queen *dPal ldan chos 'joms ma*, and her son, *dKar me 'od 'bar*. Besides invoking some well-known deities worshiped both by Bonpos and Buddhists, as the seventy-five *mGon po*, the *sKu lnga*, etc., the Bon sorcerer also addresses himself to the *bon srung sTag lha me 'bar*, the thirteen *Srid pa'i lha rog*, and the mother of *gShen rab mi bo, A ni gung lha'i rgyal mo.*[8]

The priest (or sorcerer), while still beating his drum, requests now the deities previously invoked to answer the question, whether the patient will survive the illness. At this point the seed which represents the patient is supposed to start moving. If it proceeds to the "white" part, then the illness can be cured; should, however, the seed move to the "black" half, then it has to be assumed that the fate of the patient is already sealed, and the ceremony is therefore not further continued. In case a positive answer has been obtained, the question is asked next, which deity or demon had caused the illness. The seeds, lying in the centre, should now remain motionless, while those representing the various classes of supernatural beings begin to jump. One or several seeds, however, will leap higher than the rest, and this is taken as the sign that the particular deity or class of spirits which is represented by these seeds is responsible for the patient's illness. Next the question has to be asked, what kind of ceremony should be performed in order to appease the wrath of these supernatural beings. To this purpose the priest (or sorcerer) puts the drum he was beating aside; after some more incense has been burnt he takes a seed, and while pronouncing a magic formula places it on the drum lying on the table in front of him. He suggests then a particular ceremony, e.g. offering a *gtor ma* or constructing a thread-cross, and resumes the beating of the second drum. Should the seed remain motionless in spite of all

[8] According to various versions recorded in the *Bon rgyal rabs 'byung gnas* (printed edition of Darjeeling) her name was *Phyi rgyas bzhed ma*, but also *bZang za ram btsun ma* or shortly *Chu lcam*.

drum-beating, then the deity indicates that the ceremony which the priest had just mentioned will have to be performed. If, however, the seed begins to move, then it has to be exchanged and other kinds of ceremonies will have to be suggested, until the deity shows its consent by leaving the seed lying motionless.

Finally, the priest will try to ascertain whether it is auspicious that the same nurse should continue to take care of the patient, and also, which of the physicians so far consulted is most capable of restoring the patient's health. While asking these questions the priest will continue to beat the drum which he is holding, and he will closely watch the movements of those seeds which represent the nurse and the physicians. Should the seed, which stands for the nurse, begin to move towards the brim of the drum, then another person will have to be selected to attend to the patient. As regards the physicians, the question is decided by observing which of the seeds approaches closest to that representing the patient. At the end of the ceremony the priest or sorcerer has to conduct all deities whom he has invoked and called into his presence back to their heavenly abodes.

I have been told that about a century ago the drum-divination was still being practised in Sikkim and the other two adjoining areas named above, for deciding business-matters or questions of marriage, but nowadays other methods are being preferred in both cases. When performing a drum-divination with the view of determining the prospects of some business, first the cardinal points were marked on the drum-skin. Then buyers, merchandise, etc. were represented by seeds, and the movements of these gave answer to the question where a ready market would be found and which goods would be sold.

For deciding questions of marriage, the drum-skin had to be prepared in the following way: the name, age, and native village of the bridegroom were written in the centre of the skin and a seed was placed there as his symbol. Then the cardinal points were marked, and the name and age as well as the place of residence of all prospective brides were written on the brim of the drum in that direction in which the residence of each partner was lying, and a seed placed there. After burning incense and invoking the various deities mentioned before, a second drum was beaten to accompany the incantations of the priest or sorcerer. After a short time, all the seeds were supposed to start moving. It is alleged that only one of them, however, approached the seed representing the bridegroom and followed it in all its movements. This decided the question which partner should be selected.

The *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* also often perform the following divination: a cloth, a little bigger than a handkerchief, is placed on a part of the floor which had been swept clean. This cloth may be of any colour except black. Into its centre a measure of either barley or wheat seeds is poured, and then a clean rug is spread out next to this cloth. Incense is burned, and the sorcerer takes his seat crosslegged on the floor and facing the rug. He invokes the protective deities of the Bon and taking a handful of seeds holds them close to his forehead for a while, drops them on the cloth again, and then throws up some of them once more. He takes then the cloth by its four corners, lifts it up to his forehead, and passes it three times through the smoke spread by the burning incense. Then he touches with the cloth the head of the man for whom the divination is being performed; the latter has to concentrate at this moment all his thoughts upon the question which he wishes to have answered. The sorcerer then requests the protective deities to grant an answer, and finally he gently drops the cloth with its contents on the rug. After a while he opens the cloth carefully and examines minutely the arrangement of the seeds. From the patterns which the seeds have formed he derives the answer. The last-described part of the ceremony is performed three times, and if always the same result is obtained the answer must be regarded as definite.

An ancient way of predicting the future, divining illnesses, etc. is the *ju tig gi mo*, the divination performed with the help of special kinds of threads or strings called *ju tig*. This is supposed to be a *mo* which had been known originally only to the Bon sorcerers and which they called the *Zhang zhung gi mo*. The various *ju tig* methods formed the greater part of the Bon teachings known as the "*phyva* (*cha*) *gshen* vehicle",[9] which dealt with the ways of divination. Later, the *ju tig gi mo* began to be practised also by Buddhist priests, especially by members of the *rNying ma pa* sect. According to a Tibetan oral tradition not less than thirteen volumes were written on this kind of divination. The meaning of most of the ancient terms used in these books was, however, gradually lost. Later, a Buddhist priest called *Ju mi pham mgon po* is supposed to have condensed the essential parts of these thirteen volumes into a single book.

Here we may give at least one example of a *ju tig gi mo*: some wool, which had been taken from the right shoulder of a ram, is spun into a uncoloured thick string, out of which five thinner strings issue. Before carrying out the divination, a *gtor ma* is made in honour of the *dharmapālas* whom the sorcerer invokes subsequently, requesting them to grant an

[9] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 192.

answer to his question. Having concluded his prayer, the priest takes his seat in front of a table and loops each of the five thinner strings into a loose sling. Grasping the thicker end of this device with his right hand, he lifts his arm and throws the five looped strings gently back, so that they come to rest upon his shoulder. Then, with a quick movement of his hand, he hits with the strings the surface of the table standing in front of him and examines carefully the various knots which have been formed by the impact. Finally, he consults the book on the *ju tig gi mo* and delivers his predictions accordingly.

Future events can also be predicted with the help of arrows; this method of divination bears the name *mda' mo*. One way of performing a *mda' mo* is as follows: a great number of arrows, each of them bearing a number, are placed into a high vessel, which is then shaken vehemently until one or several arrows jump out of it. The numbers which these arrows bear are then compared with the corresponding entries in the *mo dpe*. Another kind of *mda' mo* is the so-called *Ge sar mda' mo*. This divination is supposed to have been introduced by the mythical king *Ge sar*, whose name it therefore bears. Unfortunately I did not obtain any information about the way in which the *Ge sar mda' mo* is performed.

A second method of divination which, too, is brought into connection with king *Ge sar* is the *Ge sar rgyal po('i) pra mo*. The way of its execution is said to be known among members of all the sects of Tibetan Buddhism. In order to perform this ceremony first the following arrangements have to be made. A painted-scroll bearing a picture of king *Ge sar* is hung up on a wall, and a table is placed below it. We may mention in this context the way in which *Ge sar* is usually depicted: a white figure wearing a cuirass and a helmet of crystal as well as a white cloak. The feet are covered by high leather boots; a bow-case, quiver, and a sword are suspended from his girdle. The hands brandish a stick of cane and a battle-lance with a white pendant. – Should no such painted-scroll be available, then either an image of *Ge sar*, his particular *gtor ma*, or a *phye mar* should be placed on the table. In front of one of these objects three cups are set filled with Tibetan beer, milk, and tea, and on the right side of the table a vessel is placed full of barley or wheat, into which a "divination arrow" has been stuck with its point downward. On the left side of the table comes another vessel filled with wheat or barley and bearing a well-polished mirror of silver or bell-metal on top. The mirror is then covered with five pieces of silk, a red, white, yellow, green, and blue one. Should these five kinds of silk not be available, then one piece of silk may be used, which should be either red, yellow, or white. On no

account black-coloured silk must be taken, since the black colour, which is being associated with the evil-natured *ma mo* and *ḥdud*, would influence the course of the ceremony in an inauspicious way. Finally one, three, or five butter-lamps are placed in front of the three cups previously mentioned.

The priest who directs this ceremony should be a man who has gained great spiritual powers by practising yoga. He has to take his seat in front of the table, and after burning incense and offering a *gser skyems* he reads a litany in honour of king *Ge sar*, whose help he requests in order to bring the *mo* to a successful end. Then a boy is brought into the room where the ceremony is being performed and led to the table bearing the offerings. He should be about eight years old, and should come from a better-class family; on no account the services of the son of a butcher or a blacksmith must be engaged. The boy takes his seat on a white cushion in front of the mirror. The officiating priest now removes the five covers of silk, and the boy is asked to gaze for a while into the mirror. If the divination works well, the boy will soon claim that he sees various apparitions in the mirror. He has to describe these to the priest, who derives from the account of his helpmate the answer to the questions which the *Ge sar rgyal po pra mo* should clarify.

Should the boy, however, claim that he sees only the reflection of his own face, then the priest will once more implore king *Ge sar* to grant an answer. If even the third attempt does not lead to a success, then recourse must be taken to other kinds of divination. In case that it is difficult to find a suitable young helpmate to participate in this ceremony, the officiating priest himself will try to recognize some apparition in the mirror. – The same kind of divination can be performed with the help of a sword, in which case the various apparitions are supposed to become visible in the polished blade of the weapon. Another kind of *mo*, also alleged to have been introduced by *Ge sar*, is the *Bya drug mo*, the "six-bird divination". Details about this way of predicting the future were unfortunately not available.

The method described in the case of the *Ge sar rgyal po pra mo* is also followed when performing the *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma('i) pra mo*, a divination which stands under the auspices of the goddess *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma*. Only the number and arrangement of objects needed in this ceremony differ from those required in order to carry out the *Ge sar rgyal po pra mo*. First a clean and auspicious spot has to be selected. There one has to spread out a white cloth, and on top of it should be placed a vessel filled with corn, into which a mirror had been stuck. The mirror should

be of bell-metal and adorned with five engraved dots arranged symmetrically in the form of a cross. In front of this vessel one should place a piece of crystal or, preferably, a small *stūpa* made of this material. Back of the vessel bearing the mirror a divination arrow is stuck, which has five silk ribbons of five different colours attached to its shaft. Then the effigy of a *lha g.yag*, the "yak of the *lha*", made entirely of butter, is set in front of the crystal or the *stūpa*. To the right of the *lha g.yag* comes a roundish *gtor ma* made of the "three sweet substances", and on the left side is set a red *bka' srung gi dmar gtor*. Other offerings, which have to be lined up on the white cloth as well, are a *phye mar*, an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, various kinds of wood, and incense. The prayers which have to be chanted are in this case of course different from those said when performing the *Ge sar rgyal po pra mo*.

A third kind of mirror-divination, which stands under the auspices of the *Tshe ring mched lnga* group, is the *Tshe ring mched lnga('i) pra mo*. The arrangement of objects for performing this *pra mo* is essentially the same as that made in the last case, only the prayers which have to be recited are different again.

The apparitions which become visible when performing this kind of *mo* are e.g. a *stūpa*, a lake, a pond, a spring, or a healthy tree, all these being regarded as auspicious signs. Evil-portending signs are, however, to see a house which is only dimly visible, just as if the view would be obscured by a snow-storm or by a fog, or to see a tree being cut.

The Tibetans believe that important knowledge about future events may also be derived by observing and interpreting various omens (*ltas*).[10] A person experienced in the interpretation of omens bears the name *ltas mkhan*. Great attention is paid to the omens e.g. when setting out on a long journey, at the time of the New Year, or when celebrating a marriage, since any unusual sign which one might observe on such an occasion is certain to be an indication whether the journey, the coming year, or the new period of life will bring luck and success, or perhaps misfortune. From some of the invocations rendered in the foregoing chapters we learned already, that there are supposed to be not less than eighty-four evil omens. Especially the protective deities are being requested to avert these evil signs and the misfortune which would inadvertantly follow. Some of these bad omens we mentioned already above; other evil-portending signs are e.g.: if vultures and other birds which live on corpses and carcasses descend on a roof and start to call aloud, some leading

[10] On the various *ltas* see also the work quoted under no. 6558 of the Tohoku Catalogue.

personality of the country is soon going to die; if a child is born which has two faces and three eyes, or if the newly-born has no head and only one arm, the whole country will soon have to suffer from various calamities. Grave misfortunes are also to be expected if a chicken is hatched with several fully developed heads.

When discussing the ceremonies of the Tibetan weather-makers we shall mention in which way these magicians interpret some of their dreams. But also the common Tibetan regards certain dreams as a good or evil foreboding. Here a few examples: to see oneself in a dream all clad in armour is a sign that there is no danger of one falling ill, and if seeing oneself carrying a weapon, then one will not suffer any harm from an enemy. To wear a magnificent dress in a dream is the sign that one will be praised and held in high esteem. Seeing oneself fording a river successfully, ascending the peak of a high mountain, or riding upward on a lion, tiger, a superb horse, or on a dragon are dreams indicating that one will attain great spiritual progress presently. Auspicious dreams, said to be a foreboding of happiness, wealth, and fame are to see the sun rising unobscured by any clouds, to hear the sound of drums and trumpets, to obtain rich food and splendid clothes, to see oneself sitting in a palatial building or on a throne. To see oneself wearing a beautiful hat is the sign that one can expect to receive favours from one's superiors. Dreaming that one drinks sweet-tasting water is an omen indicating that one will be blessed with a long life. If, however, one dreams about a storm, or if seeing oneself crossing a swamp or wearing an unclean, evil smelling garment, then such dreams are the foreboding that one will suffer from some kind of pollution, as caused by illnesses or death. To see oneself hatless or gazing into a mirror are forebodings of sufferings, to see one's body covered with insects or to be bitten by a wolf are omens of approaching illnesses. To be hurt by weapons, see oneself pursued by a warrior, or descending into an abyss, to see a flood or a conflagration or lightning are dreams interpreted as an omen indicating the approach of dangers, such as are the outcome of inauspicious constellations of the stars. Signs that one stands under a curse or that an enemy tries to kill one by means of black magic are to see oneself in fetters, to be sinking into the earth, or to have one's body and head split in two. A foreboding that one's life is in danger is to see oneself riding naked on an ass which heads towards the South, to see red flowers, to sit amidst water, and to see rain falling from the clouds. Very evil omens, said to be the signs of approaching death, are to see one's bowels being torn out from the belly by a black woman, to be dressed in red clothes, pick red flowers, to wind a red

turban around one's head, or to drink and dance with the dead. One can also determine which class of spirits caused the hallucinations one experienced in a dream: if one saw a snowy mountain or a soaring white bird, then the *lha* caused this dream. When seeing an old temple, images of clay, a fox, or a small child, the dream was caused by the *'gong po* demons. To see snakes, frogs, girls with a pale-blue skin, and mountain-meadows are mirrages caused by the *klu*. The *btsan* make one see rocks, trees, riders, and warriors, the *the'u rang* let appear ash-coloured chiidren in one's dreams; if one sees the figures of Buddhist priests, of asses, monkeys, rats, horses, and dogs, these dreams were the work of the *rgyal po* demons, and if one trembles with terror and fear in the sleep, this is due to the influence of the *bdud*.

CHAPTER XXIV

TIBETAN WEATHERMAKERS

Many of the *dharmapālas* are believed to be able to exercise a considerable influence on weather. Especially those *klu* who dwell in the water may withhold rain if offended by some sinful actions of men. We mentioned already before, that the class of the *klu* counts hundreds of members, and it would go beyond the scope of this book to discuss them all. The names of the most important *klu* are to be found in the Bon works as the *Klu 'bum dkar po*, *Klu 'bum nag po*, and *Klu 'bum khra bo*, which are used nowadays even by the Buddhist clergy in their weather-making rites. At the time of *Tshong kha pa*, after the break with some of the old traditions, a part of the *klu*-cult[1] was substituted by ceremonies centering upon the Indian deity *Varuṇa* and his companions. On Tibetan paintings *Varuṇa* – who is also called *klu rgyal Varuṇa* or *gZhon nu gtum po sog ma med* – is depicted in two different ways: as a blue-coloured god, with seven snakes rising above his head and wielding a snare consisting of snakes; or as a dark-yellow figure dressed in snake-skins, holding a vessel and a tortoise and riding on a nine-headed *makara*.

The mountain-deities are said to be able to send hail, and some of them bear therefore the title *ser bdag*, "master of hail". There are supposed to be eighteen masters of hail (*ser bdag bco brgyad*), and their commander seems to be the mountain-god *gNyan chen thang lha*. A similar group is that of the *thog bdag*, the masters of lightning, who are said to occupy the position of heavenly blacksmiths. Also the members of the *the'u rang* class are held responsible for both hail and lightning, and especially the adherents of the Bon and the *sngags pa* living in the Himalayan area are said to be very proficient in worshiping and influencing the various *the'u rang*.

Other deities who are believed to exercise powers over the weather are: the goddess *Glog bdag mo* or "mistress of lightning", mentioned in the *Klu 'bum* texts; the same sources name a group of nine brothers (or sisters?).

[1] On the annual *klu*-worship carried out in the Tibetan capital see Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 508.

the *Glog ma sprin spun dgu*, as deities who bring lightning and clouds; also the group of the *Gab sbas gdong mo chen mo bzhi*, comprising the goddesses *'Brug gi sgra sgrog ma*, *Drag po'i klog khyung ma*, *gNam lcags thog 'bebs ma*, and *Khrug gi ser 'bebs ma*. The goddess named in the first place is said to have her residence in the sky, the second is supposed to dwell in the space which lies between the sky and the earth, the third is believed to live on top of Mt. Sumeru, and the fourth in the depths of the ocean. Further the *Chu('i) lha mo*, a goddess of the water, whose attribute is a snake-snare, and various *Nam mkha'i rgyal mo* or *Nam mkha'i lha mo*, queens and goddesses of the sky. The distribution of the four *Nam mkha'i rgyal mo* inhabiting the main quarters of the world is as follows:

Direction	*Colour*	*Appearance*
East	white	toupet of conch-shells, holds the Great Bear (*skar ma smin drug*)
South	blue	toupet of turquoise, carries snare of lightning (*glog gi zhags pa*)
West	red	toupet of turquoise, lifts a precious banner of victory
North	green	toupet of red clouds, holds a rainbow

The four intermediary quarters are the residence of four other sky-goddesses, each of them holding a particular *ba dan*:

Northeast – *Nam mkha'i lha mo sprin tshogs ma*, holds a *rlung gi ba dan*
Southeast – *Nam mkha'i lha mo tshod 'dzin ma*, carries a *me'i ba dan*
Southwest – *Nam mkha'i lha mo tsha gsang snyoms*, lifts a *chu'i ba dan*
Northwest – *Nam mkha'i lha mo snyoms byed ma*, her attribute is a *sra brtan ba dan*

Not included in the above list is the sky-goddess called *Nam mkha'i lha mo gsal byed ma*; her attribute is a *nam mkha'i ba dan*. Tucci mentions a sky-goddess of the Bon called *Nam mkha' g.yu mdog snang srid mdzad*,[2] believed to cause lightning, hailstorms, thunder, and clouds.

In certain cases even the high-ranking deities which stand outside the group of the *dharmapālas*, as the *sPyan ras gzigs kasarpani*,[3] the goddess *rDo rje phag mo*, the five chief *ḍākinīs*, etc., are invoked in the weather-making ceremonies.

These ceremonies comprise, however, not only the worship and pacification of those gods and goddesses who are supposed to rule over rain,

[2] Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 719.
[3] Concerning this form of *sPyan ras gzigs* see 157, I, fols. 262a–267a and 270b–272a.

hail, lightning, and clouds, but they are frequently also performed in order to defeat or destroy those malevolent spirits who might try to frustrate the endeavours of the weather-maker. While the *bgegs* raise obstacles in any such ceremony, the various rulers of the wind, the *rgyal 'gong* demons, the *dam sri*, the *yul 'dre* or "country demons", and the *'byung po* demons are supposed to be those supernatural beings, who especially try to prevent rainfalls[4] and whose resistance has therefore to be broken first in case that the weather-maker intends to bring about a rainfall.

A few iconographic notes concerning the rulers of the wind should be given in this connection. The texts of the *rNying ma pa* sect mention a *Rlung lha* or "wind god" depicted as a blue-coloured deity riding on a stag and carrying a conch-shell and a silk-scarf.[5] A ruler of the wind is further the red *Rlung gi lha mo*, whose attributes are a *ba dan* and a trident.[6] The *Rlung lha'i bu mo 'bum gyi gtso mo* is a pale-blue goddess, who is supposed to ride on the "wind of the four seasons" (*dus bzhi rlung*); she wields a battle-lance.[7] From a union between the wind-god *Wa skyes* and the *rākṣasī Kha 'bar ma* originated the goddess *Nye 'byed chen mo phra ma mkhan*, a wrathful fourhanded deity with a smoke-coloured body. Her upper right hand lifts a raven, the upper left one holds an owl, the lower right hand wields a hook and an axe, the lower left one a *rlung gi rkyal pa*. On her right shoulder sits a falcon of iron with turquoise eyes, on the left shoulder a copper-falcon with eyes of gold, and on the top of her head a *khyung* of crystal with turquoise- eyes.[8]

The *Rlung lha* of the Bon is called the *g.Ya' bo byed rgyal po stobs po che*. His right hand lifts a *rlung gi ba dan*, the left one holds a *rlung gi 'khor lo*. He is dressed in a cloak consisting of fire-wind (*me rlung thul pa*), and he leads the war-hordes of one hundred thousand wind-gods.[9]

A goddess who is believed to be able to subdue all those deities who bring hail is the "mistress of the cemetery, the black ferocious one", *Dur khrod kyi bdag mo khros ma nag mo*. She is a black-coloured figure, and her attributes are a human skin and a trumpet made of a human thigh-bone.[10]

Most members of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy know one or another

[4] 41, fols. 5b–6a

[5] 42.

[6] 6, fol. 39b.

[7] 6, fol. 43a.

[8] 196.

[9] 202.

[10] 40.

simple ceremony which is supposed to influence the weather. Among the *sngags pa* and the sorcerers of the "black Bon", however, one finds many who specialize in weather-making and who are prepared to place their knowledge at the service of the broad public.[11] Especially weather-makers from the Kham province are held in great esteem. According to Schröder[12] weather-making is in vogue also among the Tu jen (*rGya hor*), where the appropriate ceremonies are mostly carried out by Bon priests. Schröder gives an interesting description of several such practices, the most noteworthy being the ceremony of offering the empaled body of a goat ("Pfahlziege"): a goat is killed, its body is stuffed and then empaled. A *khram shing* is tied to each of its hoofs and also to the forehead. In this case the five *khram shing* are supposed to represent the magic daggers carried by the divine blacksmith apparently *mGar ba nag po* is meant and his acolytes and used by them as weapons against demons.

Even the Tibetan Government has three weather-makers of the *sngags pa* class in its services, who take turns in protecting the Potala, the Lhasa Cathedral, and the palace and garden of Norbu Linka (*Nor bu gling ka*) – the summer-residence of the Dalai Lama against hail, mainly because hail falling on these places is regarded as an evil omen for the future of the Land of Snows. Two of these official weather-makers belong to the *'Dod* (?) *grab steng* and the *sTag tshal* families, living at *Shung gdong khar*, a place about five miles to the southwest of Lhasa. The third weather-maker lives at *'Brom stod*,[13] a locality about fifteen miles away from the Tibetan capital. These three magicians do not receive any regular pay for their work, but are rewarded by occasional grants of land; they are, however, allowed to work also for private customers. In case that their work for the Government does not meet with success they may be punished, the matter being often referred to the Dalai Lama or to the Regent for a personal decision. As a punishment they may be ordered to pay a fine, to help in carrying out some public work, or they receive a number of strokes. Numerous stories circulate among the Tibetans telling about the good luck or misfortune of the official weather-makers. At least two of these accounts should be rendered here,

One day heavy hail fell on the Tibetan capital, and within a short time the streets and gardens of Lhasa were covered with a high layer of ice. To the astonishment of the population not a single corn of hail fell within the areas of the Potala, the Cathedral, and Norbu Linka, which had

[11] On the preventing of hail by *sngags pa* see Bell, *People of Tibet*, p. 43f.

[12] 'Zur Religion der Tujen', 47 (5 6), p. 823 sq.

[13] Apparently the *'Brom ston phu* of Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 61.

been protected by the skill of one of the weather-makers, who had set up a great number of small protective cairns (*mtho mtho*) all around these three places.

On another occasion it occurred, however, that a heavy hailfall devastated the garden of Norbu Linka. The head of the Dalai Lama's household ordered the "weather-maker on duty" to be called immediately, so that he might be punished on the spot for his negligence. But the magician declared that he was completely innocent. He had applied all magical devices which were at his disposal, but in spite of it the hail fell, apparently, because the gods wanted to show their displeasure or perhaps because they intended to warn the Tibetan Government by this sign before some approaching disaster. To prove how great his magical powers were the weather-maker asked a sieve to be brought, and under the chanting of *mantras* he poured some water into a sieve. Not a single drop fell through the net of the sieve and only after the magician stopped chanting the water flew immediately through.

The main task of the weather-makers who live in the country is to protect the fields of the villagers from hail and to bring rain in case of drought. As a reward for their work they receive a part of the harvest: but should the crop be damaged or destroyed by hail in spite of their endeavours, they may be punished or even forced to pay an indemnity. Occasionally they are also asked to stop rain for a certain period of time, so that the constructing of a new house or the performance of a religious dance may take place under good weather-conditions.

The most important instruments used by Tibetan weather-makers are a thunderbolt and a bell, a *phur bu*, a human thighbone trumpet – its sound is supposed to scare away all demons who try to prevent a rainfall – and a drum. With the help of the latter instrument an experienced weather-maker may determine a change of weather: if the sound of the drum is deep or "ominous", bad weather is approaching, while a high or "cheerful" sound is the indication that there is no danger of a hailstorm. To recognize whether the clouds of a thunderstorm carry hail, the magician will fill a flat vessel – preferably made of five precious metals (*rin chen sna lnga*) – with water and then watch the reflection of the approaching clouds. With the help of certain signs, which are the secret of his profession, he will recognize whether the clouds bring hail, and should this be the case, the magician will start immediately with the performance of the appropriate defence-ceremonies.

There are, however, numerous other signs which show to an experienced weather-maker the changing weather-conditions. Inauspicious signs

indicating that no immediate rainfall is to be expected are e.g. clouds moving from the North to the South, or from the West towards the East, big clouds which slowly desintegrate into smaller ones, or if the setting sun colours the evening clouds yellow or red. From the form and colour of the clouds and the direction from which they approach the weather-maker can also deduct which particular class of spirits ought to be propitiated in order to cause a rainfall. Thus if a cloud in the form of a *stūpa* comes from the East, then the *rgyal po* demons have to be worshiped. If clouds having the form of locks such as the fierce deities are supposed to possess come from the South, then the *ma mo* demonesses are obstructing the rainfall and accordingly a rite in honour of this class of spirits should be held. A cloud having the shape of a red horse and approaching from the West indicates the influence of the *btsan* demons, and a cloud in the form of a fox-brown yak which comes from the northern direction has to be regarded as a sign that the obstruction has been caused by the *bdud* devils. Further, should the sky be covered with big clouds and still no rain will fall, then the *yul lha* must be held responsible.

Should loud thunder be heard during perfect weather and should a strong wind be blowing at the same time, then the *rgyal po* are obstructing the approaching of rain clouds. A slow wind and spreading fog indicate an interference from the side of *Rāhu*, red clouds coming in the morning show that the yellow *klu* are displeased, while if the red of the morning clouds turns later into black or gray, it is a sign that appropriate ceremonies for all the water-spirits must be performed. Various other indications are also derived from the clouds which have the form of dragon, *makara*, or snake heads, and which move swiftly in a western or northern direction. The sound of thunder coming from various directions serves to the weather-maker as an indication when a rainfall can be expected. If thunder is heard from the West, then a rainfall may occur in the evening of the same day. Should the rumbling of thunder come from the eastern direction, then rain will come only after a period of three days, while thunder heard from the North is a sign that it will start raining the following midnight.

Dreams, too, indicate what kind of weather one may expect: if the weather-maker sees in his dream a great river, a woman who pours out water or beer, cattle and wild animals grazing, or if he sees himself well-attired in a new dress, then a rainfall is soon to be expected. On the other hand dreaming about an empty house or tent, a huge fire, a bad harvest, or a destitute beggar are signs indicating drought.

When trying to influence the weather, great attention has also to be paid

to an auspicious astrological timing and to the selection of an appropriate spot. Thus e.g. some of the ceremonies for bringing rain should never be performed at an arid place, but on the top of a mountain on whose slopes one finds many springs inhabited by water-spirits. The springs should be ritually pure and not polluted, especially not "by the presence of a woman or dog". Also the thoughts of the weather-maker should be pure, he has to abstain from eating meat and garlic and from drinking beer before the beginning of the ceremony. The offerings destined for the deities, too, have to be pure and of the best quality, otherwise his endeavours will not meet with success.

According to Tibetan belief, the weather can be influenced by making offerings in order to please or pacify the deities who have command over the forces of nature, some of which we enumerated at the beginning of this chapter. Other means are the threatening, catching, or even destroying of those malevolent spirits who bring hail and lightning or who try to obstruct the work of the weather-maker. Of great importance is further the pronouncing of *mantras*, the making of *mudrās*, and the performance of a dance.

The preventing of a hailfall[14] is said to be an easier task than to bring about a hailfall at one's own free will. Tibetan weather-makers claim that generally it is impossible to stop hail from falling down, and they can only try to keep the ice so long in the clouds until the thunderstorm has moved out of the area which they have to protect. The hail might then fall on the territory of some inexperienced or negligent weather-maker. Or the clouds are made to empty their dangerous load over land which is not being kept under cultivation, especially a barren mountain-area. The texts giving information about the performing of weather-making ceremonies mention as suitable places on which it is easy to make the hail descend: snow-mountains, hills covered with meadows or forests, and mountains of slate.

The making of the *tarjanī mudrā* is claimed to be the simplest way to avert hail and also lightning. Tibetan texts say that "when making the *tarjanī mudrā*, hail and lightning cease and thunder fades away". Another easy way to prevent a hailstorm is to repeat either seven or twenty-one times the *mantra*: *nanāgadzamuntea*. The strength of this and other hail-preventing formulas can be intensified by offering at the same time *gser skyems* to the group of the *Dregs pa sde brgyad*, and by burning seeds of mustard.

[14] On averting of hail and lightning see also the various texts mentioned in the Tohoku Catalogue, nos. 5073, 5155, 5156, 5250. 6640.

A more effective, though also more complicated method to prevent damage by hail is the setting up of a so-called *ser srung*. First the skulls of donkeys, dogs, monkeys, snakes, and crows are filled with slips of paper covered with drawings of astrological designs and inscribed with magical formulas. Around the skulls are tied threads of five different colours. The skulls as well as offerings of five precious metals are then buried on the top of a mountain which lies in the direction from which hail is likely to approach. Above the spot at which all these objects have been buried a small stone-pyramid is erected, called *mtho mtho*, into which sometimes several thread-crosses are stuck as a trap for demons carrying hail.[15]

Some of the weather-makers prefer to live during summer and early autumn on the top of a mountain, from where they have a good view over the surrounding countryside and can thus recognize in time a thunderstorm approaching the area which they have to protect.

According to a report from Eastern Tibet,[16] the hail-preventing ceremonies of the local Bon magicians begin in the third month of the Tibetan year. The weather-maker, accompanied by all male inhabitants of the village, visits a nearby mountain which has a *la rtse* on its top, and there he plants a few new spears with flags bearing the picture of the *khyung* bird, supposed to be an efficacious protection against hail. He next blesses some cut-off branches of a birch-tree, which were coloured black in their lower part by means of Chinese ink, while a cut is made into the upper part, into which a few white feathers of a pheasant are fastened. These branches are later stuck by peasants into their fields as a protection against hail.

Also the following method is said to prove efficacious in averting a hailstorm. At the beginning of this ceremony, the weather-maker invokes the "mistress of the cemetery, the black ferocious one", *Dur khrod kyi bdag mo khros ma nag mo*, who is said to subdue all those demons who bring hail. Her face has three eyes, her right hand lifts upward a human skin, and she blows on a thighbone trumpet which she holds in her left hand. Her body is covered with ornaments made of human bone. Having made reverence to this goddess, the weather-maker pronounces thrice the magic syllable *phat*, and he blows subsequently three times his thighbone trumpet. Next he invokes the *dBang sdud kyi mkha' 'gro ma*, and after enumerating her attributes he exhorts her to make powerless the "masters of hail" (*ser bdag*), the "masters of lightning" (*thog bdag*), as well as the

[15] An interesting picture of a huge thread-cross, used in the Chinese-Tibetan borderland as a protection against hail, has been published by Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I, p. 54 and plate XV.

[16] A. Tafel, *Meine Tibetreise*, Berlin 1914, Bd. II, p. 231 sq.

country gods, the *gzhi bdag*, and the gods of wind, who, too, might cause a hail-storm. Then the magician says *hūm hūm hūm phat phat phat* and blows once more his *rkang gling*. The weather-maker now invokes a number of other deities, among them the *gZa' bdud kyi rgyal po rāhula*, the ten guardians of the world quarters, the *mGur lha*, the "eighteen hail-masters" (*ser bag bco brgyad*), and the particular *gzhi bdag* of his own locality. After enumerating the offerings which are symbolically sacrificed to these divinities, and having pronounced thrice the magic spell *phat*, he blows again thrice the thighbone trumpet, and he finally invokes the "golden-bodied Buddha Śākyamuni".

Should the usual *mantras* prove of no effect, then the following magical formula should be recited: "*ōm vajrabharahikrotikālihariniīsa* the evil doers, all those who bring the hail, *māraya stambhaya nashaya hūm ram phat – ro bhyo ram trag ram*, the hail *ram* be cut! *Dzva la ram ram phat*!" And if even this strong *mantra* does not help, then the weather-maker should address himself to the great merciful Bodhisattva Kasarpani and recite fervently the "six syllable prayer", the well-known *ōm maṇi padme hūm*.

The Buddhist priests of the Lepchas address themselves in their hail-preventing ceremonies to *Debrong Pano*,[17] the *The'u rang gi rgyal po* of the Tibetans. *Debrong Pano* is described by the Lepcha priests as a supernatural being which has the typical appearance of Bon deities: nine heads, eighteen arms, and a thousand eyes. For his worship, which is usually carried out indoors, an effigy has to be made out of dough, which is supposed to depict *Debrong Pano* but in a different form from that mentioned before, as it has only one head and two hands. The left hand holds a bow and a snare, and the right one grasps an umbrella-like object and an arrow. This effigy is placed on top of a basket filled with earth and bearing three concentric pieces of turf on top.

On the topmost square four smaller effigies are placed, which represent the four ministers of *Debrong Pano*, while on the lower steps various small dough figures are placed. Around the basket twigs of such trees are set which bear eatable fruits, further five cups filled with milk, tea, and strained Lepcha beer are placed in front, and then various kinds of grain are scattered all over the structure.

Next, two more effigies, made of dough and resting on small wooden boards, are placed on both sides of the basket. They are supposed to represent the father of Debrong Pano, called in Lepcha *Chien lut* and his mother *Looh lut*. To each of these two effigies, one thread-cross made of white thread, two notched sticks, and two sticks bearing tufts of wool are

[17] See Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer, 'Thread-crosses', pp. 74–76.

added, and in front of each plate three cups filled with milk, strained millet-beer, and tea are set. In the back of *Debrong Pano*'s image a huge multicoloured thread-cross is stuck, and in each corner of the topmost square, next to the effigies of the four ministers, a thread-cross is placed, flanked on both sides by a notched stick and a stick bearing a tuft of wool. The two small thread-crosses which stand in front are both white-coloured, one of those in the back is made of blue, and the other of red thread.

After all these arrangements have been made, further offerings of rice, cooked meat, water, and strained beer are made, and the invocation of *Debrong Pano*'is read. This part of the ceremony having been concluded, a path is made with the help of some flour, leading from the basket to the door. After the great central thread-cross has been removed, the basket with all the effigies as well as the two boards with the effigies of *Debrong Pano*'s parents are carried along this path to the door and then brought to some remote place, where they are abandoned.

Those of the *sngags pa* and Bon priests who specialize in black magic are said to be able to conjure up hail-storms in order to destroy the crops of their enemies. For this purpose the magician has to make the figure of *Rāhu* out of yellow-coloured rice-dough, and brandishing a *phur bu* made of black *sher shing* wood he transfers the "essence" (*snying*) of the *Khyab 'jug gza' rgyal rāhu* into this effigy. Should this ceremony be performed correctly, a hailstorm will approach soon afterwards.

To bring rain is said to be a much more difficult task than to prevent a hailstorm or rain. An essential part of most of the rain-making ceremonies is the worship and purification of the water-spirits, who have been polluted by the sins of men,[18] and consequently these ceremonies should be carried out near springs or on the banks of lakes and rivers. In some cases, in order to bring rain, pills – made from the dried blood of "red horses" and wrapped in paper and cloth – are thrown into springs; or a weathermaker should stand naked near a spring or on the bank of a lake, and brandishing a *ḍamaru* and a bell he has to pronounce repeatedly the following *mantra*, which is said to bring about a quick rainfall: *ōm vajravārāhikrotikāliharinisa i i hūm hūm dzva dzva phob phob.*

Even *Tsong kha pa* is claimed to be the author of a weather-making rite which aims at causing rainfall.[19] In the course of this ceremony, which is preferably performed by priests of the *dGe lugs pa* sect, not the demoniacal deities of old Tibet, but *Varuṇa* and his companions are

[18] Such a purification-prayer is B. Laufer's *Ein Sühnegedicht der Bonpo*, Wien 1900.
[19] Tohoku Catalogue, nos. 5361, 5362; see also Waddell, *Buddhism*, pp. 499 sq.

invoked. The ceremony should be held only when the stars augur well for a rainfall, and also when the weather shows favourable signs. It should take place at a spot where water-spirits dwell: in front of a spring or, if there is a large pond close by, on its western bank. There on a flat piece of earth a *maṇḍala* has to be drawn. First two concentric circles are made, one of them being a "circle of fire" (*me'i dkyil 'khor*) and the other a "circle of air" (*rlung gi dkyil 'khor*). In the centre of the *maṇḍala* an eight-petalled lotus is outlined, with the figure of *Varuṇa* sketched in the middle and the figures of eight water-spirits as his train grouped around him. Near the *maṇḍala* one has to place various offerings: five *nyer spyod*, a blue streamer, a blue vessel full of blue-coloured water, some blue flowers, fragrant substances, white mustard, incense mixed with the flower of *na ge sar* and saffron, a butter-lamp, and some *lha bshos* made by kneading raw sugar with milk. Then one has to draw with the help of a sword, which has been dipped into liquid indigo, the form of a wheel and write in its centre the *mantra ōm shu li ni svāhā*; in front of it one should place a cup made of dough (*kham phor*) around which blue thread has been wound.

The next step for the weather-maker is to meditate on the deity *sTobs po che*,[20] a god blue in colour, with one face and two hands. His left foot is drawn forward and the right one stretched out. He is adorned with eight snakes and wears a loin-cloth of tiger skin. The right hand lifts a trident, the left one rests in the *tarjanī mudrā* and holds a "snare of the water-spirits" (*klu'i zhags pa*). Next the priest has to imagine a *maṇḍala* of fire, on top of it a *maṇḍala* of air, above the latter a *maṇḍala* of water, and again on top of it an eight-petalled lotus with a blue centre: each of the petals corresponds to one of the main and intermediary world-quarters, and they should be imagined as having the following colours: the eastern petal is pale blue, the southern white, the western red, the northern green, the southeastern red, the southwestern pale yellow, the northwestern yellow, and the northeastern varicoloured. One should further imagine that the syllable *bam* is written on the centre of the lotus and the syllable *nam* on each of its eight petals. Out of the syllable *bam* the form of the "water-god" (*chu lha*) *Varuṇa* should be created: a blue-coloured figure with seven snakes rising over its head; the two hands lift a snare consisting of snakes. Then his companions should be imagined appearing in the following order: on the eastern petal comes forth from the syllable *nam* the pale-blue *mTha' yas*, on the southern one the white *Nor rgyas*, on the western

[20] A white, four-handed form of this god has been described by Tucci in the *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, p. 195; see further *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/2, p. 154 sq.

the red *'Jog po*, and on the northern petal the blue (or green) *sTobs rgyu*. In the intermediary quarters appear: in the southeast the red *Padma*, in the southwest the pale-yellow *Padma chen po*, in the northeast the yellow *Dung skyong*, and in the northeast the varicoloured *Rigs ldan*. These eight companions of *Varuṇa* have the typical appearance of water-spirits: seven snakes rise above their heads, and the lower part of their bodies is the coiled tail of a snake. All of them hold the hands folded in front of the breast. – The rest of the ceremony consists of making offerings to these deities and reciting invocations in their honour, interspersed with *mantras*.[21]

In the case that vast areas of the Land of Snows suffer from drought, the Tibetan Government might take measures to safeguard an early rainfall. All the monasteries will be ordered to read the three *Klu 'bum* and to present gifts to the *klu*. Simultaneously all weather-makers will be prohibited from carrying out any ceremonies aimed at averting rain. The offerings for the *klu* include various *gtor ma*, so-called *klu rdzas* food said to be preferred by the water-spirits –, the *dkar gsum* and the *mngar gsum*, white and red incense, further jewels, gold, and silver. All these objects and substances are placed in a vessel and buried near a spring. For pacifying the *klu* the priests are ordered to perform a *khru gsol* ceremony, supposed to wash away the sins through which the displeasure and the illness of the *klu* had been caused. This ceremony is divided into the following sections:

1) the reciting of *mantras*.
2) pouring yellow-coloured water from a vessel called *khrus bum* on a mirror, which is supposed to reflect the images of all those *klu* who have been polluted by the sins of men. The mirror (*me long*) should be of silver, less efficacious are mirrors made of bell-metal (*li*) or glass. The water, poured over the mirror, is caught into a flat pan called *khrus gzhang*.
3) the *khru gsol* ceremony should conclude with the reading of the three *Klu 'bum*. Also the population is requested to assist the priests in their endeavours: while the lamas pray for rain, women walking in a single file and carrying the volumes of the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* on their backs circumambulate the monastery and the fields. In some localities people perform a so-called "water-play" (*chu brtse*), its main feature being that men and women crowd the streets and with merriment pour water on each other.[22]

[21] 63; two other works on causing rain are listed in the Tohoku Catalogue under nos. 6732 and 6734.

[22] Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 509.

Often it is found that various classes of demons try to divert or dispell the approaching rain-clouds, and in this case the weather-maker will have to counteract the unfavourable influence of these malevolent spirits. Thus for counteracting the wind which threatens to dispell the rain-clouds, the following formula should be recited repeatedly: *ōm vajravārāhīkrotikāli-harinīsa ōm char ya chur ya bhaya stambhayanan*. In order to achieve success by means of this *mantra*, the magician should meditate for three subsequent evenings and repeat the above formula many times. After this period, rainfall is certain to occur.

In the course of another chant supposed to banish the demons who prevent a rainfall, the following *ḍākinīs* are invoked, who are supposed to defeat the malevolent spirits: the white *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma* in the East, the yellow-white *Dam tshig mkha' 'gro ma* in the southeast, the yellow *Rin chen mkha' 'gro ma* in the South, the yellow-red *sNa tshogs mkha' 'gro ma* in the southwest, the red *Padma mkha' 'gro ma* in the West, in the nadir the black *Ye shes mkha' 'gro ma*, in the northwest the red-green *Thams cad mkha' 'gro ma*, in the North the green *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma*, in the northeast the white-green *'Jig rten mkha' 'gro ma*, and the blue *Sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro ma* in the zenith, the last one being specially asked to deflect those obstacles against rainfall which are caused by the planets and stars. Towards the end of the same chant the *ḍākinīs* are mentioned again, the text describing them in this case as lion-faced goddesses, each of them holding in the right hand an antelope-skin from which fire issues

For stopping rain the same procedure can be applied which we mentioned already as means for preventing a hailfall: the *Dregs pa sde brgyad* are invoked, mustard-seeds are burnt, etc. Another simple way of stopping rain is to melt some salt on smoldering embers and then cast it away under the reciting of *mantras*.

We mentioned above that making the *tarjanī mudrā* is said to be a way of causing lightning to cease. Another effective method of stopping lightning is to blow several times on a thighbone trumpet to which a piece of paper has been tied inscribed with the following *mantra*: *ōm ghuhurāhupāhedzaldathā*. In case that a weather-maker intends to harm an enemy and his property by lightning, he should perform the following rite: armed with a *phur bu* made from five different metals the magician should visit a spot where "a black water-spirit" dwells. There he should draw a black, triangular *maṇḍala*, and in its centre he should place an effigy having the shape of a king of the *klu*. Having "joined the *phur bu* with a thunderbolt" the magician should make one hundred thousand times obeisance to the local black water-spirit. If he succeeds in drawing

the *snying* or "essence" of the *klu* into the effigy, then at that moment the first flashes of lightning will be seen.

The Tibetan weather-makers also claim to be able to protect the crops from damage by frost. An appropriate rite when carried out by members of the *dGe lugs pa* sect runs as follows: a vessel is filled with the "three white substances", the "three sweet substances", and then *Avalokitēśvara* in his fourhanded form is invoked. The contents of the vessel are mixed with some wheat flour, and small balls are made which are kept in a copper pan; they are later on thrown into lakes, springs, and wells inhabited by water-spirits.[23]

CHAPTER XXV

DESTRUCTIVE MAGIC

The assistance of the *dharmapālas* and especially that of the wrathful and malevolent deities can be engaged for causing harm to the foes of the Buddhist religion and the Tibetan state, but also in order to injure a personal enemy. The *sngags pa* and the magicians of the "black Bon" are renowned for their knowledge of "black magic", and they are said to derive a considerable income from performing ceremonies for customers who desire for one or another reason the misfortune or even death of some enemy. To carry out this task the magician will often try to find out first where the so-called *bla*,[1] the "soul" or "life-power" of his potential victim, is supposed to rest. Before discussing further the ceremonies which Tibetan magicians perform in order to harm or destroy people and their property, we may give therefore a few details about the *bla*-belief.

The *bla* of an individual, a family, or even a whole nation is supposed to be connected with a certain place or being. This place or being to which the *bla* is attached is called the *bla gnas*. Should the *bla gnas* be destroyed, then the existence of the persons depending on it will come to an end or will be at least gravely endangered. In some cases the *bla gnas* is well-known to a man, as its identity had been handed down from generation to generation. Apparently a remnant of totemistic beliefs is the opinion of many Tibetans that their *bla gnas* is a particular tree (*bla shing*) or animal (*bla sems can*, short for *bla gnas kyi sems can*). In this case the person will refrain from cutting a tree or killing an animal of this particular kind. Sometimes, should a man be unaware where his *bla gnas* is located, the seat of his life-power may be determined by an astrologer. It happens e.g. that the astrologer discovers, that one of the horses belonging to this man is the latter's *bla gnas*. The man will then be advised to keep this horse apart from the others, to feed it well and see to it that the animal is never ridden by anybody else than the owner himself or by a priest.

The *bla gnas kyi sems can*, "the life-power animal" of a king (*rgyal po'i*

[1] Lessing ('Calling the Soul', p. 266) speaks of the "old shamanistic term *bla*".

bla gnas) or of a noble family, will usually be a tiger, a lion, an elephant, or a bear, while common people will regard as their "life-power animal" a horse, mule, sheep, ox, yak, etc. A popular account tells that when *Ge sar* was fighting against king *Sa tham* he first killed seven bear (*bla dred bdun*) who were the kings *bla gnas kyi sems can*, and thus brought about the doom of his adversary. Also in connection with the story of *Ge sar's* fight against the three kingdoms of *Hor ser*, *Hor dkar*, and *Hor nag* Text no. 76 on fol. 9a speaks of the "life-power fish" (*bla nya*) of these three countries.

Very frequently a lake is regarded as a *bla gnas* on which the life of a man or even of a whole nation depends. Thus for example a legend claims that the Yamdok Lake (*Yar 'brog mtsho*) is the "life-power lake" (*bla mtsho*) of the Tibetan nation, and should it dry up then the whole population of the Land of Snows will meet its death. The same story is told about the *Byang nam ru mtsho*. The *bla mtsho* of Bhutan is the *Ka la mtsho*[2] near Dochen (*rDo chen*), on the way between Phari Dzong and Gyantse, while the neighbouring *Sras mtsho* is said to be the "life-power lake" of Sikkim. The *bla mtsho* of all the Dalai Lamas is the *Chos 'khor rgyal mtsho* regarded as the residence of *dPal ldan lha mo* - in the southeastern province of Thagpo.

Also mountains are believed to be the seat of a man's "life-power"; in this case the Tibetans speak of a *bla ri*. The most famous mountain of this kind is the *Bya skya dkar po ri*, which lies on the outskirts of Lhasa opposite the *lCags po ri*, from which it is separated by the river *sKyid chu*. According to a legend the former mountain was the *bla ri* of the king *Glang dar ma*, the irreconcilable foe of Buddhism, and after his death the *Bya skya dkar po ri* began to move gradually towards the river. If no measures were taken, this mountain would eventually block the course of the stream and then the Tibetan capital would be destroyed by an immense flood. To save the city from this threat an image of *sGrol ma* is said to have sprung miraculously into existence on the neighbouring *lCags po ri*, and this figure is supposed to check now partly the movement of the opposite mountain. In addition to it, at the time of the annual great prayer (*sMon lam chen po*) the lamas perform a special "casting of a *gtor ma*" (*gtor rgyab*), destined to stop the movement of the mountain, and at the same time several guns are fired off against *Glang dar ma's bla ri*.

The *bla ri* of all the ancient *dharmarājas* (*chos rgyal*) of Tibet is said to be a mountain called *lHa ri rtse lnga*, some one and a half day's journey to the southwest of Lhasa. Other *bla ri* are two mountains in the neighbourhood

[2] Tucci, *Lhasa*, p. 31: *sKa la mtsho*.

of Lhasa known as the *Bum pa ri* and the *dGe 'phel ri*, whom some regard as the *bla ri* of the Tibetan people.

Not only men but also some of the divinities are supposed to possess their *bla gnas*, and accordingly the Tibetans speak about a *chos skyong gi bla gnas* or *srung ma'i bla gnas*. The mountain *Jo mo sil sil* e.g. is believed to be the *bla gnas* of an unidentified member of the *bsTan ma* group.[3] This mountain lies one stage to the northeast of Lhasa, and every year some offerings have to be placed on it by a representative of the Tibetan Government.

A few simple prescriptions for causing injury circulate among the Tibetans. These practices do not require any special training and can be performed by anybody. Below we give three examples:

Some hair or nail-clippings of the potential victim are wrapped in a piece of paper and surreptitiously placed under the pedestal of a wrathful deity in the *mgon khang* of a monastery. The person who tries to cause injury will then pray to this deity to harm or even kill the victim. Should one be unable to hide the package inside the monastery – the priests keep a close watch that no such actions of black magic are carried out inside a temple by a layman – then the paper with its contents should be hidden in the foundations of a *btsan khang*, a wayside shrine erected in honour of a particular local *btsan*.

A custom practised by Tibetan men is to write the name and age of a person whom one wants to injure together with some harmful *mantras* on a piece of paper. The paper is then folded and worn inside the boot, under the heel of the person who performed this magic action.

Another way of injuring an enemy, which is especially in vogue among women, is cursing: a woman will invoke the various wrathful deities and then pronounce the victim's name, asking the *dharmapāla* to harm or even to kill her personal enemies. While pronouncing the curse, the woman will either shake out her apron, clap her hands, or throw some soil backward over the shoulder. Should a lama curse a person, then he will shake out his hat at the moment of saying the curse.

A more complicated method of killing an enemy, said to have been originally practised by the "black Bon", but known nowadays also among the priesthood of the *rNying ma pa* sect, is the preparing of a so-called *ngan gtad*. First some nail-clippings or a piece of a worn dress have to be procured surreptitiously from the potential victim or, if none of these things can be obtained, at least some earth from his footprints should be taken. A circle is drawn on a piece of paper and then divided by two lines

[3] Perhaps the goddess *rDo rje g.yar mo sil*.

into four equal sections. In the centre of the circle is outlined the image of a man or woman – representing the victim – its hand and feet bound by heavy chains. All around this figure various curses are written in a circle as *srog gcod*, "the life be cut", *snying gcod*, "the heart be cut", *lus gcod*, "the body be cut", *dbang thang gcod*, "the power be cut", and *mi rabs gcod*, "the descent be cut"; the latter term expresses that also all the relatives of the victim should be killed as well. Then a few drops of the menstruation-blood of a prostitute are smeared on each curse, the hair, nails, etc. of the victim are placed on the figure previously drawn, and the paper is folded up and wrapped in a piece of cloth, soiled by a prostitute's monthly flow. The package is now placed in the right horn of a wild yak and the following things are added: a small quantity of blood from a man, a woman, a goat, and a dog, some earth from a crossroad, iron and brass filings which have been obtained from a blacksmith, a piece of a rope – or a piece of some other object – by means of which somebody has commited suicide, the bone, skin, or hair of a woman who died in childbirth, some

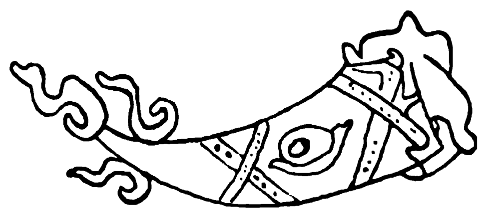


Fig. 21. The magic horn used in the *ngan gtad* ceremony (Tibetan drawing).

aconite, a piece of the underwear of a widow, and some water from a subterranean spring. Lastly, one or two black live spiders are placed into the horn as well. Its opening is then tightly closed with a stopper made from the hair of a corpse. Black thread is tied crosswise over the stopper, and then several small spikes, made from the wood of a poisonous thorny bush and sharpened on both ends, are inserted underneath the thread. The horn thus prepared is called the *ngan gtad*. During this whole operation the magician has to take great care that none of the objects or substances which he puts into the horn get into contact with his own body, as otherwise the magic would work against him as well. He will therefore keep his hands wrapped in pieces of cloth until the horn has been closed.

All the above described operations having been finished, the magician will perform at night the ceremony of "inviting all *srung ma*". He places three stones, taken from a cemetery or from a crossroad, in a triangle close to each other, and on top of them he sets an iron pan, which he fills with the bones of low-class people, adding also earth from a place where

men have died in a fight and the soil of a haunted mountain. Into the centre of the pan he places the *ngan gtad*. Around the stones and the iron pan nine concentric circles of mounds are made out of earth, symbolizing nine ranges of mountains, and between the mounds he has to pour some water, to represent the nine oceans separating these mountain-chains.

The magician then calls all the wrathful *srung ma* to come and help him to destroy the enemy and offers to them a blood-libation (*khrag gi gser skyems*). The liquid applied in this sacrifice is either the blood of a sheep, yak, or, still better, that of a hen. Formerly also human blood was used to prepare this kind of *gser skyems*.

At dusk or dawn – the times which are believed to be the most favourable to perform magic ceremonies – the magician will cautiously approach the house of his victim, in order to hide there in its foundations the *ngan gtad*. The horn should be placed under the main pillar of the building or, should one find it impossible to do so, burried underneath or close to one of the house-corners. The small pit which is dug to this purpose must have a triangular form, its base being drawn in the direction in which the magician's own house lies, while the triangle's point is turned towards the inside of the enemy's residence. Then three stones are laid into the pit, symbolizing three huge bolders, and some water is poured into the hole to represent a lake. Lastly, a firebrand is held into the pit "to drive out the *pretas*, which might otherwise get trapped once the hole is closed" – a strangely considerate action in view of the purpose for which the whole ceremony is carried out. After laying the horn between the stones, the hole is closed immediately and the earth is stamped down as hard as possible. A stone is then placed on top, a fire lit on it which is left burning for a little while, and afterwards some roasted barley flour is spread over the surface of the stone.

After performing this rite, the person who carried out all these magic actions – and also that one, upon whose wish the *ngan gtad* was made – will have to sever all connections with the victim, not even to speak with him, and above all not to enter his house. Three months later the magic is supposed to begin to show its first results. At first various misfortunes will befall the victim's household, resulting eventually in his or even his family's death.

It might happen that after the first signs of bad luck have occurred the person whose destruction is being wrought will suspect that somebody has placed a magic horn into the foundations of his house. First one will try to find out with the help of various kinds of divination, or by consulting

oracles, whether and where a *ngan gtad* is hidden. Should one succeed in discovering it, then the horn is dug out and thrown into a river, this sufficing to destroy all its evil powers. If, however, the divination did not render the desired result, then the lamas will have to be called in, to offer a *glud* of dough as a substitute for the person whose life is in danger. The *glud* and a *gtor ma* have to be buried underneath the foundations of the house, to counteract there the evil influence emanating from the *ngan gtad*. This counteractive offering is called the *gtad rul*, "that which spoils the (*ngan*) *gtad*".

Also the following methods are often practised by Tibetan magicians in order to cause harm and destruction:

For sending illnesses to a man, a red *maṇḍala* in the form of a crescent moon is drawn. The magician has to write on a piece of cotton cloth, taken from the body of a man who has died of plague, the name and descent of the person he wants to harm. As ink he has to use the menstruation-blood of a dark-skinned Brahmin girl. This piece of cloth is held into black smoke, while the wrathful deities are invoked, and then the cloth is placed on the *maṇḍala*. Wielding a *phur bu* made from the bone of a man who has died of plague, the sorcerer has to pronounce a hundred thousand times the appropriate *mantra*, and having "loaded" the cloth with destructive magic he has to hide it at the spot where the victim comes to sleep.

To make a man suffer from fits of fainting, his name and descent are written on a piece of cotton-cloth or bark with the help of a liquid prepared from white aloe-wood. This object is then held into poisonous smoke, and while pronouncing the necessary *mantra* the magician takes into his hand a *phur bu* made either from a kind of tree called *g.yer shing* or from turmeric wood. The magic object is then hidden at a place where *'byung po* demons are supposed to dwell.

In order to cause a man to become insane a quadratic *maṇḍala* of a white and yellow colour has to be drawn in the middle of a great forest. Next, the figure of the enemy is made out of leaves and grass and held into smoke produced by burning datura leaves. After saying the necessary *mantra* a hundred thousand times – during this part of the ceremony the magician has to take a magic dagger to hand, made from a Brahmin's bone, and touch with it repeatedly the tongue of the figure – the effigy is burried at a place where wild animals use to gather.

A method said to have the effect of causing a man to become insane very quickly is as follows: on the top of a mountain the magician draws a circular *maṇḍala* of a white colour, and in it he places a likeness of the

potential victim, made from the poisonous leaves of a poisonous tree. Then the name and descent of this man are written on the effigy with the help of the resin gained from white sandalwood. The likeness is then held into smoke made by burning human fat, and while pronouncing the appropriate *mantra* the magician takes into his right hand a magic dagger of the kind called *rgyal rigs mchog phur* and touches with it the head of the effigy. The latter is then deposited at a place where *ma mo* demonesses are believed to reside.

To make a person suffer from idiocy his name and descent have to be written, with the brain-blood of a man who has died in imbecility, on a piece of paper or bark. Then again, just as in the case described before, an effigy of the victim is made, and the magician touches its tongue, while pronouncing the destructive *mantra*, with a *phur bu* made of juniper wood or the grass called *'jag*. The effigy and the piece of paper or bark are then placed on a spot which is the residence of a *sa bdag*.

A magic way of making a person lame is as follows: at a place where there is a tree with a single branch – the tree thus being similar to a crutch – a black triangular *maṇḍala* is drawn, and the magician then writes the name of the victim together with a description of the kind of lameness which is desired on the skin of an owl; the liquid used as ink is the blood of a raven. A snake and a lizard are then wrapped in the skin, which is tied together with coloured thread, and finally smoked over a fire made with the help of black coal. The appropriate *mantra* is recited a hundred thousand times by the magician, who has to wield simultaneously a *phur bu* of the kind called *dmangs rigs kyi mchog phur*. Finally the package is tied to a tree growing on a cemetery, and should at this time a strong wind come up, then it has to be taken as the sign that the person one wishes to harm will soon become lame.

In order to cause cattle fall ill the name of that kind of the enemy's livestock which the magician wishes to make sick is written with the help of blood on a skin taken from the carcass of a horse of a good breed; the blood used in this case has to be obtained from the body of a sheep, cow, etc., which has died of a cattle-disease. Then the magician has to say the appropriate invocation and wield a *phur bu* made from the bone of a Brahmin; finally, the skin is cast into an enemy's animal pen.

If one intends to cause damage to the stores of an enemy, a ceremony has to be performed in the course of which evil *mantras* are pronounced; for this ceremony a *phur bu* measuring twelve inches – made of sandalwood or from the wood of a juniper tree –, a skull cup filled with objects of evil quality, black grain, and pieces of black silk are required.

Some of the Tibetan magicians also endeavour to gain power over wild birds, especially birds of prey, in order to be able to call them (*bya 'bod*) and to use them for their own means, e.g. to send them as their messengers or to harm with their help the flocks of sheep belonging to an enemy. In certain cases a magician or priest might also try to call vultures (*bya rgod 'bod*) by magic means, in order that they may come and consume quickly a corpse which has been set out. The deities who are supposed to send vultures are five winged *ḍākinīs*, each of them being accompanied by one special kind of vulture, which has a tail of the same colour as the body of the corresponding goddess. The names and distribution of the five *ḍākinīs* are as follows:

East – *rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma* (white), wears a *thu lu* of conch-shells, has a beak and wings of thunderbolts. She is accompanied by hundred thousand *bya rgod thang dkar*.

South – *Rin chen mkha' 'gro ma* (yellow), wears a golden *thu lu*, has a beak and wings of jewels. She is accompanied by hundred thousand *bya rgod thang ser*.

West – *Padma mkha' 'gro ma* (red), wears a *thu lu* of coral, has a "lotus-beak" and "lotus-wings". She is accompanied by hundred thousand *bya rgod thang dmar*.

North – *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma* (green), wears a *thu lu* of turquoise, has a beak and wings consisting of crossed thunderbolts. She is accompanied by hundred thousand *bya rgod thang ljang*.

Centre – *Sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro ma* (blue), wears a *thu lu* of *mu men* stone. Her beak and wings are called *'khor lo'i mchu dang gshog pa*. She is accompanied by hundred thousand *bya rgod thang nag*.

When calling the vultures one should, besides invoking the above goddesses, draw the figures of vultures on five black stones. Then each stone has to be made magically efficacious by pronouncing over it the following *mantra*: *ōm nag po lhab lhab, nag po lheb lheb, nag po thib thib, ōm garuḍa sarva ḍākinī, samaya ja hūm bam ho.*[4]

More complicated than the ceremonies which we just described is a tantric ritual designed to induce the four-handed *Mahākāla* to kill an enemy.[5] The priest who performs the ceremony has to wear a black hat and a black dress. His first action is to erect a panoply consisting of a skin

[4] 137.
[5] 107, fol. 2a.

which has been drawn from a corpse, and beneath it he has to place a table covered either by a human skin or the skin of a tiger. On the table he places three stones, arranged in the shape of a triangle. In the centre of this triangle and on the four points around it the priest has to write magic formulas, using as ink the blood which has been wiped from a sword, and on the stones he places a pan carrying five heaps of black corn mixed with blood.

In front of the table he erects a small platform in the shape of an irregular triangle, with its base turned towards the North; the sides of the triangle should have the shape of flames. In the centre of the triangle has to be drawn a figure representing the person who should be killed, and on top of this sketch is set a big iron vessel. It contains a great *gtor ma*, which should be prepared by grinding first five different kinds of corn and then mixing the resulting flour; the measure used should not be less than five *bre*. Blood and charred wood, which has been taken from a funeral pyre, are added to the flour until the colour of the pulp turns a lustrous red. Out of this mixture a three-pointed *gtor ma* is made. Around it one has to place pieces of pastry prepared of black corn, various medicines, grains, flowers, fruits, pieces of the Indian pastry called *la du*, radishes, onions, garlic, the "three white" and the "three sweet substances", human flesh and various kinds of meat, evil-smelling food, and freshly-brewed beer. All these substances are placed or poured into the iron vessel until it is filled up to the brim, and then all around it are wound pieces of black silk and fresh bowels. To the east of the great *gtor ma* comes a smaller one dedicated to all the *dharmapālas*. In front of the table the magician has to dig a triangular hole – or form a small enclosure of triangular shape –, its edges having the shape of flames, and in its centre he has to set an effigy made of the earth taken from the enemy's footprint. Into that corner of the triangle which points towards the West he has to place a "skull of bad quality", filled with a dry substance prepared by mixing black and white mustard with powder made by grinding a medicinal herb called *thang khrom* (also *thang phrom*),[6] filings of iron, copper, and stone powder. In the corner which points towards the East the horn of a red ox should be set, filled with a moist substance consisting of various kinds of blood and poison. Finally, at a place lying to the northwest of the big *gtor ma* the magician should place a big vessel filled with meat and other kinds of food, and to the northeast of the main *gtor ma* he should set a skull cup filled with beer, blood, and other kinds of drink.

All these preparations having been made, the appropriate text has to be

[6] Datura; see p. 346, note 6.

read, in order to induce *Mahākāla* to partake of the offerings and to carry out the various tasks which the priest then enumerates.

Also *lCam sring* (*Beg tse*) and his companions belong to the group of those deities whose help can be engaged for purposes of "black magic". The main source on this subject is said to be the tantric work *dMar po khrag mda' 'phen*, quoted in excerpts on fols. 1b-3b of Text nos. 34. According to this source the priest who tries to secure the assistance of *lCam sring* should first meditate in the middle of a cemetery which lies at a spot where three mountains and three rivers meet. Later he should meditate separately on the *yab* (i.e. *lCam sring*), at a place where there is a rock resembling the shape of the ferocious *Yama* or similar to the figure of a leaping lion, where a river clashes against rocks, and where the voices of owls and other night-birds can be heard. In order to meditate on the *yum* (i.e. *gDong dmar ma*) the priest has to visit a cemetery lying in between three mountains on which the *ma mo* dwell. These are the places where one can induce the deities to appear quickly.

Should, however, the meditation at the above localities not render the desired results, then one has to meditate either in a cemetery or in a cave which is "pleasing to the mind". Here water mixed with the blood of a red dog should be spilt, and over the spot which has been moistened in this way red powder is to be spread; this place is then imagined to be the "leather castle" of the *Srog bdag dmar po*. Then, on the twenty-ninth of any month – if this date falls either on a Tuesday or on a Thursday – a painted-scroll or an image representing one's own *yi dam* and a painting depicting the *yakṣas* in *lCam sring*'s retinue have to be displayed. The "treasures" which are to be laid nearby – they are either painted or made of dough – are a red horse, a brown yak, a red goat, a red dog, and a black sheep. Next, the "life *mantra*" of *lCam sring* must be written on a piece of Chinese paper, either in gold or with blood which has been wiped from the blade of a sword. Around the *mantra* the following inscription has to be written: "Dwell in this receptacle and be my guardian! Protect me, the devotee, and the members of my family, my wealth, and my house. Curse those who have taken them away, and bring these possessions back to me!" The paper bearing this inscription has to be tied up with red thread, and then various greens, medicines, precious stones and silks are to be laid on a red cloth and wrapped into a small package.

The next step is to prepare the "inner treasure": a piece of bamboo with three joints is filled with medicines and precious stones and then adorned with feathers of "cemetery birds" and owls. Then the syllable *pra* has to be written with sword-blood, together with various curses, on the point of

an arrow made of sword-iron. Below the arrow-head a long piece of red cloth is to be tied – on which the life *mantra* of the *yab* has been written in gold – as well as a piece of black cloth, inscribed with the life *mantra* of the *yum* in golden letters.

The treasure destined for the *yum* is a sandal-wood *phur bu*, eight finger-breadths long and wrapped in black silk. As an offering for the *las mkhan* one has to keep ready a *phur bu* made of red copper, around which a cloth removed from the hilt of a sword has been tied.

To prepare the "secret treasure" one has to take a tube with nine joints made from a shoot of wild-growing bamboo. Into this tube is to be inserted a piece of cloth, on which the life *mantra* of the deity has been written. The container is then closed by inserting at each end a piece of sandal-wood shaped like the half of a thunderbolt.

All these preparations having been made, the priest has to take the whole skin of a red goat and write on it many times with blood wiped from a sword or with Chinese ink the *mantra* of *lCam sring*, together with those invocations and curses which had been mentioned before.

Then the receptacle (or offering) of the body (*sku'i rten*) has to be prepared. On a piece of cloth – which had been used previously to cover a corpse – the form of *lCam sring* is drawn with sword-blood. As the receptacle of speech (*gsung gi rten*) a tantric book concerning this *dharmapāla* as well as his ritual have to be kept ready. The receptacle of mind (*thugs kyi rten*) is the "life stone" (*bla rdo*) of *lCam sring*; this is apparently a stone which had been taken from a mountain believed to be the *bla ri* of this *dharmapāla*.

Moreover, one has to obtain from a butcher the hearts of a red goat and of a black sheep. Then the *mantras* of the *yab* and the *yum* are to be written either in gold or with sword-blood on two pieces of paper, which are afterwards inserted into the hearts, together with medicines, scents, precious stones, and pieces of silk.

In front of all these objects the priest has to keep on a stool a vessel of metal, preferably a copper bowl, into which he places a triangular *gtor ma* made of barley-flour which had been mixed with blood and wine. This *gtor ma* – dedicated to *lCam sring* himself – should not be bigger than one elbow, but not smaller than a finger-span. On the left and right sides are to be set two more *gtor ma*, dedicated to the *yum* and the *las mkhan*. Around these three *gtor ma* eight sharp-pointed, three-cornered *gtor ma* – offerings to the "eight sword-holders" (*gri thogs brgyad*) – should be placed, and also twenty one small *gtor ma* of a similar shape dedicated to the "twenty-one butchers" (*bshan pa nyi shu rtsa gcig*). The *gtor*

ma should be surrounded by *mtheb kyu* pointing to the outside. Other offerings which have to be placed nearby are various greens, radishes, onions, garlick, an unstrained rice-brew (*'bras chen*), and Tibetan bread (*khur ba*). If a divination arrow – called in this case a *rten gyi mda'* – is at hand, then one should stick it into the main *gtor ma*, with a *tsakali* (small painting) of *lCam sring* tied to its shaft. In front of the *gtor ma* one should set vessels containing blood and wine for the deities to drink, flowers consisting of the organs of the body, human flesh, goat's fat, and the *gu gul* scent, also a lamp fed with human fat, a vessel containing a strong-smelling liquid made of bile, a number of *bshos* for the *btsan* demons – white and red ones –, a skull-drum, a thighbone trumpet, and other such instruments. Moreover, various other kinds of offerings, real or symbolic ones, the latter being drawn or made of barley-dough, have to be displayed, and immediately in front of the officiating priest should be placed the "inner offering", viz. a thunderbolt, a bell and a *ḍamaru*.

In order to kill a man one should then meditate on *lCam sring* himself, while the meditation upon the *śakti* will enable one to kill a woman. When meditating on the *yab*, one should imagine *lCam sring* as having the form of a wild *btsan* who rides on a horse; when meditating on the *Srog bdag dmar po*, one should imagine him riding a he-goat, while the "minister" when meditating upon his person should be imagined as walking on foot. According to the source here quoted one should execute in connection with the meditation also the following actions: the shaking out of the undivided skin of any animal brings forth various hallucinations (*cho 'phrul*) which will disturb the foe, when blowing into a bamboo-tube the enemy will fall ill. Also sesame-seeds should be cast as a harmful *zor*.

The above tantra is supposed to be a "treasure book" (*gter ma*) which had been found by the *ācārya Nyi 'od grags pa* at a place called *Bam so dmar po*. The discoverer of the tantra, after acquainting himself with its contents and having performed the appropriate meditations, was able to kill all his enemies. Then his spiritual descendant *Zla ba nag po*, who is here called his "son" (*sras*), having become angry at his enemies caused them to die with the help of this text. Also the spiritual descendant of the latter sage, who was known by the name *Gayā dhara* or *Ācārya dmar po*, caused – with the help of this tantra – all his enemies to die after three days of meditation. From these sages the instruction was transferred to *Bla ma gnyen*, to *Marpa lotsāva*, etc., together with the explanation how to meditate on *lCam sring* alone, or only on his *śakti gDong dmar ma*, on the *yab* together with his retinue, or jointly on *lCam sring*, *gDong dmar ma*, and *Srog bdag dmar po*.

Even the Tibetan Govermnent takes occasionally recourse to ceremonies of black magic, in the hope to secure thereby the help of Tibet's protective deities for a fight against its internal or external foes. Thus an oral tradition claims that formerly the Tibetan troops used a magic wheel as a war-weapon. This wheel was known as the *Ral gri'i 'phrul 'khor*. Its spikes were eight swords, their points and parts of their blades protruding out of the wheel. After having been loaded with magic powers, the wheel was directed against the marching columns of the enemy. The legend claims that the wheel flew with a rotating movement along the columns, its swords cutting down the soldiers. The disasters which were caused by the *Ral gri'i 'phrul 'khor* are said to have been, however, so great that the authorities of the Land of Snows prohibited its further use, and even ordered to burn all books which gave instruction about the manufacture of this wheel.

A magic instrument of the Tibetan Government, which is being applied to this day, is the so-called *gShin rje'i rang thag*, "the mill of the *gshin rje*". This magic mill is being preserved in *mKhar rdo dgon pa*, a monastery of the *dGe lugs pa* order near Lhasa. It consists of two millstones. The lower stone is firmly fixed, the upper one can be turned with the help of a handle. Into the surface of the upper stone has been chiseled a number of powerful *mantras*. The *gShin rje'i rang thag* serves as an instrument to kill the leaders of a hostile party, and it may be turned only by a learned, high-ranking priest specially nominated by the authorities. In the initial stage of this action the priest has to concentrate his thoughts upon a few seeds of white mustard, into which he tries to transfer the "life essence" (*srog snying*) of the enemies. As soon as certain secret signs indicate that this process has been successfuly accomplished, he has to place the seeds between the millstones and grind them under the chanting of *mantras*. Tradition alleges that turning the *gShin rje'i rang thag* is a process dangerous even to the person who handles the mill, and several priests who had carried out this task are said to have died soon afterwards.

A very elaborate and rarely conducted ceremony for averting a grave danger threatening the existence of the Tibetan state and the Buddhist religion is the so-called *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* (*cho ga*), the erecting of the "*btsan* thread-crosses of the four continents". To perform the *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* ceremony in a very efficacious way is – due to centuries of experience – a speciality of the renowned Samye monastery, though knowledge of this ritual is not limited to the monks of this religious establishment.

The ceremony begins by erecting four complicated thread-crosses, some

eighteen feet in height, identical in shape but different in their predominant colour, as each of them corresponds to one of the four mythical continents of the Hindu-Buddhist cosmography. Thus the white thread-cross stands in relation to the eastern continent of *Pūrvavideha*, whose colour is believed to be white, the blue *mdos* is connected with the blue, southern continent of *Jambudvīpa*, etc. These four thread-crosses are set up in one of the main spacious rooms of the monastery – mostly inside the lofty, great assembly-hall – and each rests on a huge, square base, with sides each measuring nine feet. These pedestals are hollow, and before the main part of the ceremony begins they are filled with the following substances: the skulls, bones, flesh, and blood of various animals, especially of owls and crows, further skulls, or at least some bone, of people of noble descent, and also skulls of very low-class men, the fresh blood of a strong, healthy youth who had been killed in a fight, the vagina of a prostitute of an especially notorious reputation, various instruments and weapons with which people had been killed, the earlobes, tips of noses, eyebrows, the hearts, and the lips or tongues of men who had met with a violent death, and the skull and thighbone of a person who had died of a dreaded, contagious disease. Further the earth from hundred eight different cemeteries, the water of hundred eight springs, leaves and twigs of various trees, seeds, cloth and silks from a king's treasury (*rgyal po'i bang mdzod kyi 'bru sna gos sna dar sna*) – the latter three items being supplied from the treasury of the Tibetan Government –, the underwear, hair, and menstruation blood of prostitutes, huge pieces of five different metals, earth from places which are claimed to be haunted, various officinal roots, leaves, and herbs, and the skull, flesh, blood, and bone of an eight year old child. Finally effigies representing the leading personalities of the hostile party against which the whole ceremony is being directed are placed inside the pedestals as well.

After finishing all these preparations - which take a long time, as it is often found difficult to obtain some of the before mentioned substances - a highly learned lama will be invited to conduct the main part of the rite. He will spend seven days in meditation, requesting one of the deities of the *yi dam* order to dispatch the army of the *btsan* demons against the enemies of the Tibetan state. In addition to it the priests of the monastery will be engaged over the same period of time by day and night in different rites, reading also a special book on the *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* ceremony, in order to please the deities to whom the head-lama is addressing himself.

On the last day, the thread-crosses and their pedestals are divided into several pieces and removed from the hall. They are afterwards set up

again outside the monastery, at a place lying in the direction in which the adversary is living, and then burned at an auspicious time which had been ascertained with the help of an astrological book.

At the time of the thirteenth Dalai Lama the *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* ceremony is said to have been performed under the leadership of the learned abbot of the Mindoling monastery as a counteractive measure of the Tibetan Government against the military actions of the Nepalese, who at that time were to all appearances preparing an armed invasion of Tibet. It is being alleged by the Tibetans that on the very day on which the four thread-crosses were burnt a terrible earthquake rocked the Valley of Nepal, causing panic and disorder. A week later the Commander-in-Chief of the Nepalese army – whose effigy was one of those placed inside the base of the *mdos* – died suddenly, after which event the Nepalese gave up their plans of invasion. Also in 1950, when Chinese troops began to occupy Tibetan territory, the *bTsan mdos gling bzhi* ceremony was conducted again, but this time with disappointing results for the Tibetans.

Another ceremony, not less complicated than the one just described, is the so-called *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab*, the "casting of the *gtor ma* of *Kṣetrapāla*". The way of performing the *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab* is known to the better-educated monks of the *dGe lugs pa* order, though its actual execution is usually reserved for the members of the two chief tantric establishments of the Tibetan capital, the monasteries of *brGyud grva stod* and *brGyud grva smad*, called jointly *brGyud grva stod smad*.

The *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab* is performed at *brGyud grva stod smad* mostly by order of the Tibetan Government in case that a threat to the existence of the Tibetan state arises from the side of the Chinese. The magical influences released during this ceremony are directed against a spirit of the *gzhi bdag* class, colloquially called the *rGya 'dre mgo dgu*, "the nine-headed Chinese demon", who is believed to be a strong helpmate of the Chinese in all matters concerning Tibet. To counteract the evil powers of the *rGya 'dre mgo dgu*, the deity *Kṣetrapāla*, who is believed to be his deadly enemy, is dispatched in the direction of the Chinese border.

The object which plays the most important part in this ceremony and from which the latter also derives its name is the *gtor ma* of *Kṣetrapāla*. It is made of barley-dough in the form of a three-sided pyramid, with a symmetrical triangle as a base. The *gtor ma* is about ten feet high, and it is placed on a huge flat iron pan resting on a tripod (*rkang gsum*), the latter again standing on a rug made of coarse black cloth. The dough-pyramid, which is supposed to represent the supernatural abode of *Kṣetrapāla*, is of a bright red colour, its sides being carved in the form of

flames symbolic of the "fire mountains" (*me ri*) which surround *Kṣetrapāla*'s palace. The front-side of the pyramid bears on its upper third a number of ornamental designs made of butter, which are called the 'white ornaments' (*dkar rgyan*). To give the whole structure more firmness, a long wooden stick (*srog shing*) is inserted inside the *gtor ma* as its vertical axes.

The top of the pyramid bears a small human skull (*thod skam*), on which a thunderbolt is resting. Above the latter, a miniature painting (*tsakali*) of *Kṣetrapāla* is attached to that part of the *srog shing* which protrudes from the *gtor ma*. The painting is partly covered by a ritual umbrella (*gdugs*) made of blue silk. Finally five long streamers of silk, each of a different colour, are fastened to the top of the pyramid and then draped over its sides. On the left and right sides of the great pyramid two small three-sided *gtor ma*, some twelve inches high, are set. They differ, however, from the bigger *gtor ma* in shape as their front is broader than the other sides, and also the various emblems of the great dough-pyramid are missing in their case.

Around these three *gtor ma* a fence is constructed out of crossed sticks. These sticks are made from the wood of a red thorny bush known as *skyer shing*. The branches of the bush are cut to long pieces, the thorns together with the outer tissues are peeled off, and only the yellowish, thorn-shaped core of the branches, which is about a foot long, is used. Outside the fence the blown-up bowels of an animal are laid in several circles, with the three *gtor ma* as their centre; the bowels represent the "iron mountain-ranges" which are supposed to lie on the periphery of *Kṣetrāpala*'s abode. Inside the enclosure formed by the fence of sticks offerings of five kinds of precious metals (*rin chen sna lnga*), small pieces of various kinds of silk (*dar sna, gos sna*), different kinds of earth (*sa sna*), of wood (*shing sna*), cups containing different kinds of water (*chu sna*), etc. are placed, symbolizing the manifold treasures and substances which are to be found in *Kṣetrapāla*'s heavenly residence.

In front of the tripod two skull-cups are set, both containing libation-offerings to *Kṣetrapāla*: one of the vessels is filled with Tibetan beer, the other with plain Chinese tea, which stands for "blood-*amṛta*" (*rak ta'i bdud rtsi*).

Next the following kinds of *zor* are laid in a row, in front of the two skull-cups: the "mustard-seed *zor*" (*yungs zor*), the "*ma mo* blood-*zor*" (*Ma mo'i khrag zor*), the "arrow *zor*" (*mda' zor*), the "stone *zor*" (*rdo zor*), the "fire *zor*" (*me zor*), the "spindle *zor*" (*'phang zor*), and lastly the *gtor zor*. Should, however - as sometimes done - the number of the *zor* be increased, then the magical weapons are not laid in a single row in front of the tripod,

but in a circle around it. Five cups containing the five different offerings (*mchod pa sna lnga*) are then arranged in a row in front of the *zor*. Between the row of the *zor* and that of the *mchod pa sna lnga* a small *gtor ma* is set, dedicated to the *gzhi bdag* ruling the place on which the ceremony is performed.

The incantations and the reading of religious books connected with the setting up and casting away of *Kṣetrapāla*'s *gtor ma* lasts usually three days, but should an especially great efficacy of the rite be desired, then the chanting is continued for four more days. In the course of this part of the ceremony *Kṣetrapāla* is invoked and requested repeatedly to avert the impending danger; he is supposed to descend finally into the centre of the great *gtor ma*.

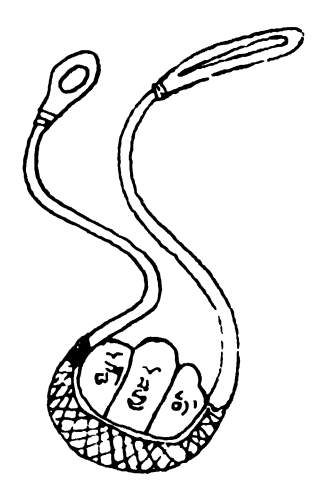


Fig. 22. A so-called *rdo zor* (Tibetan drawing).

In the evening of the day on which the rite comes to a conclusion, a path is made with the help of some flour, leading from the tripod to the exit of the room in which the ceremony had been officiated. Then the cups containing the offerings are removed, and the *zor* are lined up on the flour-path, the *gZhi bdag gtor ma* being set in front of them, closest to the door. Two men have to stand outside the door, each holding a kind of banner called *'phyar dar*. The *gtor ma* of the *gzhi bdag*, the *zor*, and lastly the main dough-pyramid along with the two small sacrificial cakes and all the objects, resting on the iron pan, are carried into the courtyard.

One of the priests – he should be a man of noble birth – approaches now the main *gtor ma*, carrying in his hands a big smoking censer. He is followed by two priests who bring the various objects needed for the

performance of the *gser skyems* ceremony: the carrier of the censer is called the *spos sne pa*, while the two other priests bear the name *gser skyems pa*.

The lamas then arrange themselves in the following order: immediately behind *Kṣetrapāla*'s *gtor ma* stands the *spos sne pa* with the censer in his hands. The place next to him, but standing a little in the back, is taken by the chief officiating lama, dressed in the full regalia of his rank. Close at his left side stands his religious assistant (*chos g.yog*), further to the left and right sides are the places of the two *gser skyems pa*, and still further outside are lined up in two rows all the other priests who take part in the ceremony.

A *gser skyems* is now performed by the chief priest, after which the various *gtor ma* are taken up by a few lamas especially assigned to this duty, and the procession then leaves the monastery's courtyard, walking in the following order: first come the two men carrying the banners (*'phyar dar*), followed by a lama carrying the *gZhi bdag gtor ma*. Then come priests carrying the various magical weapons (*zor*), the two small dough-pyramids, and lastly *Kṣetrapāla*'s great *gtor ma*. Behind the latter walks the *spos sne pa*, followed by the two *gser skyems pa*, and immediately after them comes the chief lama with his assistant. Then follow the other priests, all walking in a single file, the first of them clashing cymbals and the rest beating the long-handled temple drums. The procession proceeds to a flat spot, where a pyramid-shaped structure, some ten feet high and bearing an opening on one side, has been prepared beforehand out of dry grass. This structure is called the "*gtor ma* hole" (*gtor khung*).

Upon reaching this spot, a *gser skyems* is performed once more, followed by the solemn requesting of *Kṣetrapāla* to avert various dangers, which are specified in a long litany. This part of the ceremony is called the *bskul ba*. The following translation, though not mentioning all the requests addressed to *Kṣetrapāla* on the occasion of the great *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab* ceremony, as performed for the Tibetan Government, expounds at least some of the tasks which the deity is asked to fulfil:

"*Kṣetrapāla* with your retinue, who come forth from the palace of the *Mahā-dharmakāya*, partake of the offerings. I, the yogi, master and disciples, request you: avert the evil wishes and actions of others, avert the evil influence of the casting of the thorn-*zor* and the mustard-*zor*, avert the skull-*zor* magic of evil spirits, prevent the turning of the 'wheel of the *gshin rje*', preclude the exhibition of the notched stick of the *bdud*, avert the influence of the *Ma mo* blood-*zor*, avert the evil magic of the red *gtso* metal from the country of *Zhang zhung*, avert the evil influence of the

willow-tree *zor*, avert the evil influence of the *mantra-zor* magic of the lamas, avert the evil influence of the *gtor zor* of the Bonpos, avert the destructive power of the *mantra* egg-*zor*, avert the evil influence of the *Ma mo* arrow-*zor*, avert the evil influence of the cursing-*zor* cast by women, avert the accidents caused by the *tīrthikas*, avert the evil influence of destructive *mantras* and the disastrous conjuring-up of spirits, prevent the insertion of the destructive magic of the *klu*, prevent the calling of the *the'u rang* demons, avert the *gi gang* illness, let loose by the 'exalted *gZa*'' (*Rāhu*), counteract the evil influence of the eighty-four bad omens, preclude the occurrence of the three hundred sixty evil dispositions, prevent the occurrence of bad dreams and evil-portending signs, avert the influence of inauspicious years, months, and days, prevent the outbreak of the four hundred twenty-four kinds of diseases, counteract the difficulties caused by *ḍākinīs*, *vetālīs*, *rgyal po* demons, and *rākṣasas*."[7]

After concluding the *bskul ba*, one *zor* after the other is lifted and thrown inside the grass pyramid, while the chief lama enumerates all the tasks which *Kṣetrapāla* should fulfil with the help of these weapons. Only the 'arrow *zor*' (*mda' zor*) is shot off, and the burning 'fire *zor*' as well as the *rdo zor* are hurled away. Next, the *gZhi bdag gtor ma* is placed in front of the grass pyramid, and after the latter has been set on fire, the huge *gtor ma of Kṣetrapāla*, the two smaller sacrificial cakes and all the other objects are thrown into the flames; only the flat iron pan is retained The fire in which the *gtor ma* are burned is called the *gtor me*.

The climax of the ceremony, which is reached by throwing the dough-pyramids and the accompanying objects into the fire, requires the complete mental concentration of the chief priest, and all his thoughts should be turned at this moment towards *Kṣetrapāla*, urging him once more to execute the tasks which have been assigned to him. The priest should, however, in true Buddhist fashion, also feel compassion for the demon against whom *Kṣetrapāla* has been dispatched, realizing that this evil spirit is only a being which has been condemned to assume this shape due to the sins which it had committed in a previous existence; he should also request the deity to try its best in changing the demon's nature to the good and to bring him upon the path of the Buddhist religion.

After the *gtor ma* has been cast into the fire, the lamas clap their hands loudly to chase away all the evil forces which might be lingering around, and the two banners are lowered thrice by their bearers, which is said to be the sign for the war-hordes of *Kṣetrapāla*'s retinue to start an attack against all enemies of Buddhism.

7 98.

Then all those present turn their backs to the burning pyre, and the chief priest performs now a ceremony called *mnga' gsol*, in order to clean the iron pot previously used from all harmful influences, which might have remained attached to it. First he drops the reversed pan on the ground, and stepping on top of it with one foot he makes the "thunderbolt *mudrā*" (*rdo rje phyag rgya*) – a hand-posture in which both hands form at first the well-known *tarjanī-mudrā*, the small fingers and the index fingers of both hands being afterwards locked into each other in such a way that the resulting posture resembles the shape of a *rdo rje* – reciting simultaneously the names of thirteen *mudrās* (*phyag rgya bcu gsum*) and exclaiming that by the power of these magical hand-postures all the harmful forces which might have remained behind should be crushed and destroyed. The pan is then turned and lifted up again, while all those witnessing the ceremony shout "the gods are victorious!"

The procession then walks back to the monastery, where two well-dressed laymen will be waiting near the entrance to the shrine. One of them presents a ceremonial scarf to the chief lama as a sign of gratitude for having performed the ceremony. The second man holds a *phye mar*, and each priest as he passes the gate takes a little of the flour from the *phye mar* and then throws it up while saying a short invocation, as an offering to the ever-hungry *yi dvags*.

To conclude this chapter, at least a few words should be said about the Tibetan practices of love-magic. A popular belief claims that the easiest way in which a woman may gain the love of a man she desires is to burn one of her used monthly towels and to mix some of the ashes surreptitiously with the man's food or drink. Instead of the ashes she may also use a drop of her menstruation blood. Or the woman may try to smear a little of her menstruation blood on the man's head. The resulting pollution (*grib*) will cause the man to loose his will-power, so that he will readily comply with the wishes of the woman who charmed him.

A great deal of patience is required for another, more complicated method of love-magic, practised by both men and women. The person who wants to perform this kind of magic has to learn first one of the *mantras* specially used in such a case, which are said to be recorded in a compendium of magical formulas, shortly known as the *sNgags 'bum rdo rje rgya gram*; this book, a work of the *rNying ma pa*, is said to contain spells introduced from India as well as numerous invocations of Bon origin. Having obtained knowledge of all the minute details required for the correct and efficacious pronunciation of the magic formulas, one has

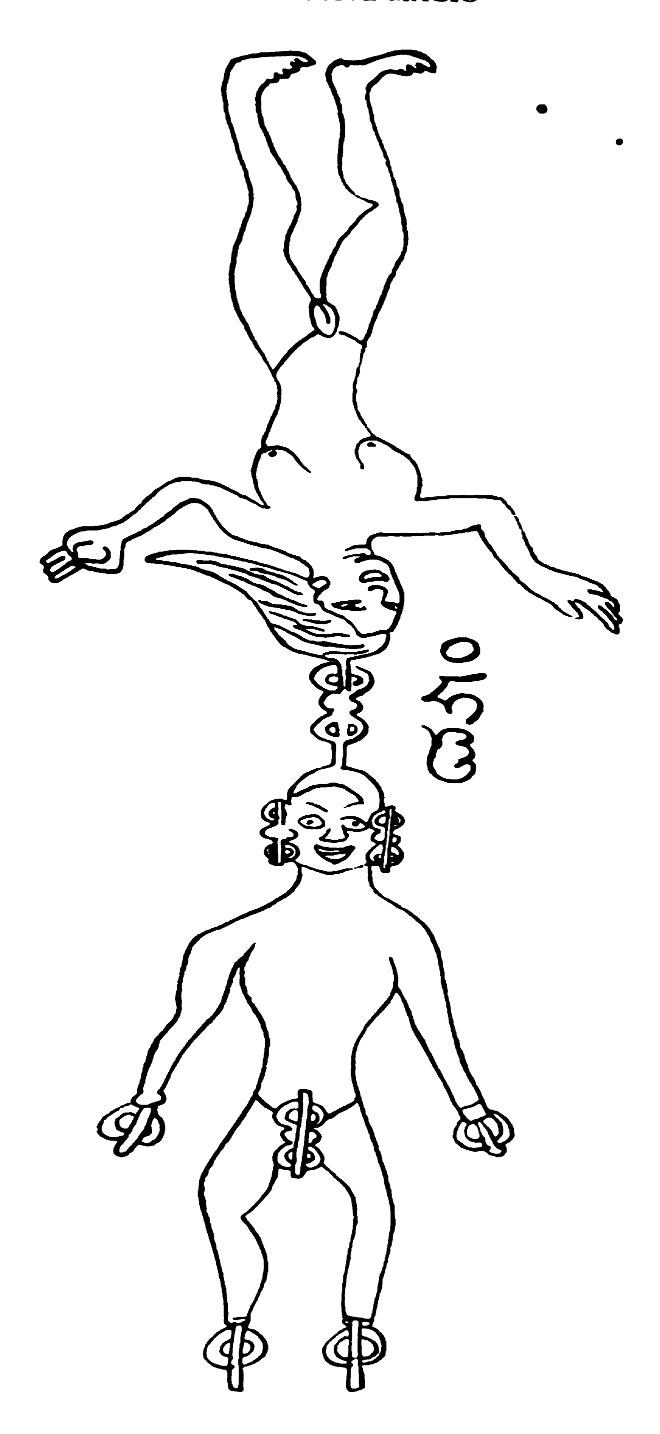


Fig. 23. Part of a Tibetan love-charm.

to fill a vessel with water and disolve in it a piece of the black concretion known as *ghi wang*,[8] found inside the head or entrails of some animals. The vessel is then thoroughly covered up, and the man or woman conducting this ritual has to recite with utmost concentration the necessary *mantra*, often up to a hundred thousand times. After this has been done the lid of the vessel is lifted, the person blows once on the water contained therein and then puts the cover quickly down again. The whole process is repeated, the liquid becoming more and more efficacious every time the prescribed number of *mantras* have been pronounced once more. Having completed this part of the ritual one has to approach the person whom one intends to charm and to sprinkle a few drops of the magical water into his or her eyes. The effect is claimed to become apparent instantly, as the man or woman who was brought into contact with the liquid will feel an irrepressible attraction towards the person who has cast the spell. One can also mix the magical water into the food or drink of the person one desires, but in this case the effects are said to be slower.

As an example of the great efficacy of this kind of love-philtre I was told the story of an old and rather unattractive-looking Tibetan physician from Lhasa. In spite of his age and ugliness he is said to have a great success among the ladies of the Tibetan capital, as he mixes secretly a few drops of the above described love-philtre into the medicines which he distributes to his lady-patients.

From a native of the Kham province I heard about a method of love-magic practised in this part of Tibet and claimed to be very efficacious. It consists mainly in the reciting of spells over some earth taken from the footprint made by the person on whom the ceremony centres. In this case the man or woman who intends to cast the spell cannot engage the services of a magician, but has to perform this ceremony personally. If one wants to leave later on the person on whom the spell had been cast a special ceremony has to be performed, as otherwise the deserted victim will soon become insane.

See page 345, note 3.

CHAPTER XXVI

PROTECTION AGAINST EVIL

Amulets and charms are the most important means by which Tibetans try to counteract harmful forces. The simplest amulets are slips of paper on which a prayer or spell has been written or printed, often together with the drawing of a magical emblem. These pieces of paper are often folded up, sealed, and then tied up with threads of different colours arranged to patterns. The collective term for amulets of the latter type is *srung skud*, and their patterns and names differ with the various sects. The following are the appellations of three important *srung skud* used by the *rNying ma pa*: *rus sbal khog chings*, *g.yung drung lte bsgyur*, and *mi 'dre kha 'ching*.[1] Other amulets are herbs, beads, etc., which have been blessed by some renowned priest, small images (*tsha tsha*) made of clay or of a dough consisting mainly of powdered herbs, rings which have been worn by oracles, the knotted ribbons distributed by an oracle in the course of a trance, etc. Most of these amulets are kept in special charm boxes (*ga'u*), the smaller ones being worn on the breast, suspended from the neck, while heavier specimens have to be carried at the hip or even tied to the back.[2] Apart from the various amulets destined to avert accidents, misfortune, and illnesses which might be caused by one or the other group of demoniacal beings, there are others which are supposed to avert bad dreams and evil omens, to protect from dog-bite or injury by wild animals,[3] from pollution, poison, theft, to prevent one being wounded by weapons, forestalling the attack of robbers, protecting the harvest – especially against hail and drought –, safeguarding against injury by lightning, guaranteeing a success in business, increasing the fortune, etc.

Even animals, especially beasts of burden, are being protected by special amulets. These are mostly slips of paper or pieces of cloth covered

[1] See the objects nos. 134 461 and 134 462, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien.

[2] On the various forms of charm-boxes see P. H. Pott, *Introduction to the Tibetan Collection of the National Museum of Ethnology*, Leiden 1951, p. 121 sq.

[3] See e.g. the charm against dog-bite published by Waddell in the *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 343.

with magic drawings and spells, which are tied to the neck, mane etc. of the animal they should protect. There are e.g. charms protecting the cattle from wolves or from birds of prey.[4]

To protect a whole household from harm a thread-cross or a sword which has been bent by an oracle in the course of a trance (*rdo rje mdud pa*) are fastened above the entrance, or thread-crosses are set up on the roof.[5] Various magical diagrams, drawn above the door or on a wall nearby, are supposed to fulfil the same purpose. A protection of this kind frequently to be seen is the picture of a scorpion who is devouring a figure wearing a broad-brimmed hat. This drawing is supposed to protect against all evil caused by the *rgyal po* demons.

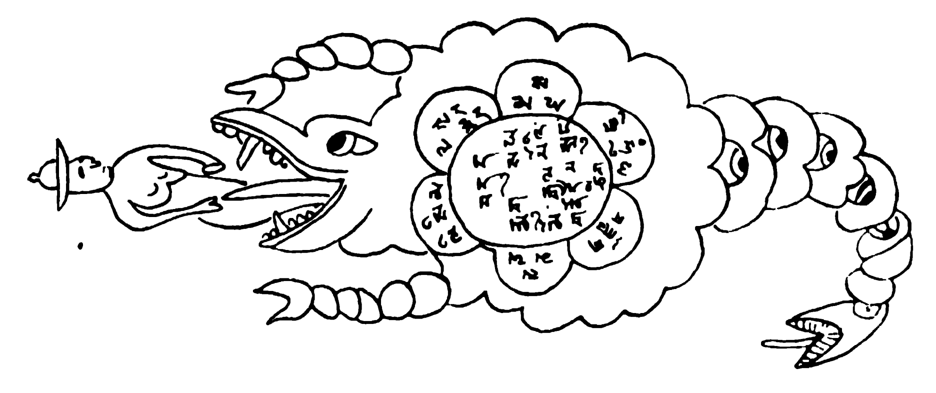


Fig. 24. A magic drawing which should be sketched on the wall next to the door of a house in order to protect its inhabitants against injury by *rgyal po* demons.

Some of the magical drawings, to whichever purpose they may serve, have essentially the same outer form and bear nearly the same inscriptions, the difference consisting only in a spell which has to be inserted in ornamental *Lañtsa* characters of different colours into a circle especially left free for this purpose.[6] The work quoted under no. 188 of the Tibetan Sources gives one hundred and eight different examples of symbols which have to be inserted into such diagrams.

Most of the magical drawings have the form of a circle, in which case they are called *srung 'khor*. Sometimes the *srung 'khor* is shown as being carried by an animal believed to be the characteristic mount of the particular class of deities against whom the charm is supposed to be active.

[4] *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, p. 343.

[5] Ribbach, *Drogpa Namgyal*, p. 126; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 180.

[6] *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, pp 340–342.

Thus a *srung 'khor* which counteracts the influence of the *gshin rje* is carried by an ox, a *srung 'khor* against the *bdud* rests upon a yak, etc., according to the following enumeration:

srung 'khor destined against	mount carrying the *srung 'khor*
gshin rje	ox
bdud	yak
rgyal po	monkey
ma mo	black bird
btsan	stag
gza'	goat
sa bdag	pig
klu	frog

A kind of amulet highly valued by the Tibetans are the so-called *gzi*,[7] beads of prehistoric origin, which have been made out of cornelian or, in most cases, from a glassy substance whose manufacture is not known to the Tibetans anymore. Those *gzi* which are nowadays in use, are being found since centuries in various provinces of the Land of Snows, especially in Eastern Tibet and also in Ladakh and Bhutan: the *gzi* found in Ladakh are said to be, however, of an inferior quality. No reports of such finds are yet available from Nepal and Sikkim, though *gzi* are also worn by the Lepchas, the aboriginal inhabitants of the latter state: these *gzi* are, however, said to be of Tibetan origin. According to reports of Tibetans the *gzi* are mostly unearthed during field-work - sometimes a whole hoard being found - or they are laid free by rain, in which case they might be swallowed accidentally by grazing cattle. Tibetan herdsmen are said to make therefore a point of searching the dung of cattle hoping to find one of these beads. In Northeastern Tibet *gzi* have been discovered together with arrow-heads when digging up some of the ancient graves to be found in this area.[8]

The Tibetans distinguish two main types of *gzi*:

a) Oval-shaped *gzi* up to three inches long, with alternating black (or brownish) and white stripes, and with circles in these two colours in between. These circles are called *mig*, "eyes". Tibetans claim that a *gzi* can bear up to twelve *mig* and that beads with five, seven, eight, or

[7] See also R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Prehistoric beads from Tibet,' *Man*, London 1952, art. 183.

[8] G. N. Roerich, 'Problems of Tibetan Archaeology,' *Journal of the Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute*, I (1931), pp. 27-34.

eleven "eyes" are less common than those with one, two, three, four, six, nine, ten, or twelve *mig*. Generally, a higher number of eyes as well as deep colours and a smooth, shiny surface increase the value of a *gzi*. *Especially beads with nine eyes – we may recall in this context that the nine is the most inportant number of the Bon – are in great demand since such a gzi is supposed to protect its owner from injury by weapons, to be able to counteract the evil influence of inauspicious days and to protect* against the danger of falling victim to fits of apoplexy, which the planetary deity *Rāhu* is supposed to cause.

b) Roundish *gzi*, generally valued higher than the oblong ones; there are said to exist three different kinds of such beads:

(1) *gzi stag ris can* – *gzi* bearing stripes like a tiger
(2) *gzi padma can* – beads with a design similar to a lotus
(3) *gzi tshe bum can* – *gzi* which bear a design similar to the *tshe bum* or "life vessel", the well known attribute of *Amitāyus* and an object frequently used by the Tibetan Buddhist clergy; *gzi* of this kind are said to fetch the highest price.

For a *gzi* of an average quality the Tibetans often pay the equivalent of some thirty English pounds. In more recent times crude imitation *gzi* have appeared on the Tibetan market. Imitations made of porcelain are imported from India and China, while the Tibetans themselves try to make *gzi*-like beads with the help of black and white sealing-wax. The *gzi* are mainly used to decorate the necklace holding a *ga'u* (*ga'u shal*), or several of them are strung up together with pearls and beads of red coral to form a separate necklace (*gzi shal*). Powdered *gzi* are mixed with silver and gold dust, officinal herbs, and powdered pearls, and formed into pills (*ril bu*). Pills of this kind are an expensive, but allegedly very efficacious medicine against numerous ailments.

Several legends trying to explain the origin of the *gzi* circulate among the Tibetans. Many Tibetans believe that the *gzi* were originally jewels of the gods (*lha'i rgyan cha*), who threw them away as soon as the bead had been damaged. This is said to be the reason why scarcely any of these beads are found in a really perfect condition. Others claim that the *gzi* are worms which got petrified. A hoard of *gzi* is therefore called a *gzi tshangs* or "*gzi* nest", and the Tibetans allege that when opening such a "nest" one might often be able to see some of the *gzi* still moving slowly about. Thus a legend which circulates among the population of Kham tells about a herdsman who was tending his herd of yak on a mountain meadow, where

his animals one day happened to uncover a big "nest" full of beautiful *gzi*. The *gzi* were, however, still moving, and after the herdsman had tried in vain for a while to collect all of them, he ran to a nearby village to fetch some help. But when he returned he found the "nest" empty except for two or three *gzi*, the rest having managed to slip away.

A West-Tibetan tradition alleges that the *gzi* took their origin from a mountain near the town Rudok (*Ru thog*), where they used to flow like a stream from one of the slopes of this mountain. One day, however, a woman cast the "evil eye" at the mountain, and the flow of precious beads immediately stopped. To this day one can recognize the spot, marked by characteristic black and white stripes, at which the *gzi* once issued. A fifth legend alleges that the *gzi* were precious stones which had been kept in the treasury of the king of *sTag gzig*. After this ruler had been defeated by king *Ge sar*, the *gzi* were carried away by the victorious troops to Tibet, where in the course of time they got scattered all over the country.

The ceremonies of the Tibetan clergy destined to avert evil are still more numerous than those performed by the magicians with the intention to cause harm. Of special importance are those ceremonies in the course of which the harmful forces are transfered upon a "scape goat" (*glud*).[9] We mentioned above that a *glud* can be either a living being or an effigy made of dough, and we may give here in this connection once more the names of at least the most important kinds of *glud*: the *glud* which stands for the man for whose benefit the ceremony is being performed (*sbyin bdag gi gzugs glud*), and especially the *glud* serving as a "scape goat" for a patient (*nad pa'i glud*), further the *pho glud*, the *mo glud*, and the *chung glud*, the "scape goats" for a man, a woman, and a child.

The *glud* is often a sheep, goat, horse, or a yak, which has been set free as the ransom for a patient. The animal destined as the *glud* is usually bought from a butcher in order to acquire religious merits by saving its life, and before being set free a few ribbons of silk or cloth are tied to its body. According to Hermanns an animal which has been set free in order that a patient's life might be saved is called *tshe dar*, while Asboe calls it *tshe thar*.[10] The latter author also mentions that in Western Tibet it is customary to burn a sheep in order to free a person from illness. The sheep is covered with a sheet just as if it were a corpse, it is addressed

[9] An interesting "scape-goat" ceremony performed by the Na khi is the ^{2}*Dto*-^{1}*na*-^{3}*k'ö* described by Rock, *Nāga Cult*, I. p. 29 sq.

[10] W. Asboe, 'The scape-goat in Western Tibet,' *Man*, London 1936, art. 96.

by the name of the patient, and under loud wailing it is led to a cremation-ground to be burned alive.[11]

The most remarkable of all the various "scape goat" customs practised in Tibet is the great *glud 'gong* ceremony, which takes place annually in Lhasa at the time of the New Year celebrations. This ceremony is said to have been established by the fifth Dalai Lama. Its purpose is to free the inhabitants of the Tibetan capital from the evil influence of the sins which have been committed by them in the course of the old year, and especially to avert the harmful power exercised by the "brotherhood of the seven *'gong po* demons" (*'Gong po mched dgu*), who are believed to be malicious enemies of the Tibetan state and the Buddhist church. All these harmful forces are transferred upon two men, who have to take the place of "scape goats" and who bear the name *glud 'gong*. At the time of the fifth Dalai Lama it was customary that one of the *glud 'gong* proceeded from Lhasa to Samye and then further on to Tshethang (*Tshe thang*), and the other to Phenyul. In the following centuries the custom of sending a "scape goat" to Phenyul was abandoned, and only after the thirteenth Dalai Lama had come across a note in the Tibetan state archive mentioning this ancient usage, did he order that henceforth two *glud 'gong* should be dispatched again.

The two men who take the part of the *glud 'gong* are usually selected from among the servants employed by an office lying at the foot of the Potala (*zhol*) and known therefore as the *Zhol las khung*, which administers the eighteen fortresses situated within the district of Lhasa. Dressed in rough fur-coats and wearing conical hats, one half of their faces being painted black, they roam at the time of the New Year through the streets of Lhasa, helping themselves freely to everything that attracts their attention, as it is an old-established custom that every smaller object on which the *glud 'gong* puts his hand becomes his property. He usually pays a compensation for the things he takes – but in worthless paper-currency.

On the twenty-fourth day of the first Tibetan month these liberties of the two "scape goats" find an end. On this day, having been symbolically loaded with all evil, they are chased out of the city. The driving out of the *glud 'gong* begins with a short ceremony held in honour of the local protective deity of the Tibetan capital, the goddess *Ma gcig dpal lha mo*. This service which both "scape goats" have to attend takes place on the upper floor of the great Lhasa cathedral (*Jo bo gtsug lag khang*), in a chapel dedicated to this goddess. After the ceremony has been concluded, the *glud 'gong* make their way dancing and singing to the open square

11 W. Asboe, 'Sacrifices in Western Tibet,' *Man*, London 1936, art. 97.

which lies in front of the temple, where they are met by a high ecclesiastical official dressed in the garments of the Dalai Lama. Great crowds collect in the square to witness this event, and sometimes even the Dalai Lama with members of the government watches the scene from the windows of a room lying above the temple entrance. A lama orchestra plays religious melodies, and while all the assembled priests pronounce *mantras*, the two *glud 'gong* and the official representing the Dalai Lama start a play of dice. The "scape goats" prove invariably the loosers, since they are given dice showing only one eye on each side, while their adversary uses dice bearing on every side six eyes. As soon as this unequal game is finished, a number of beggars and corpse-cutters appear from a side-street, carrying gifts presented to the *glud 'gong* by the government as well as by rich merchants.

The participants in this ceremony then arrange into a procession which proceeds in the following order: at the head of the procession walks a beggar, carrying a small image made of dough and butter; this is a *glud* representing the Dalai Lama. Should the Dalai Lama still be minor and a Regent lead the affairs of the Tibetan state, then his effigy will be carried at the head of the procession as well. Behind the *glud* follow the two *glud 'gong*, surrounded by the beggars and corpse-cutters with their loads. They are followed by eight masked priests known as the *ging*. Each of them holds a chopper in his right hand and a skull-cup in the left one. In accordance with a tradition, which had been established by the fifth Dalai Lama, the function of the *ging* – whose task it is to drive the *glud 'gong* forward and to prevent their return into the city – is assigned to the monks of the *Byang chub gling* monastery, an old *rNying ma pa* establishment which lies in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. Behind the eight *ging* is carried a huge thread-cross, to which a part of the evil endangering the Tibetan people and its rulers has been transfered. This thread-cross consists of three main parts, set on a central wooden axis: the upper star-shaped centre known as the *mdos zhal* or "thread-cross face", a basket-shaped centre (*'khor lo*, "wheel"), and a lower section which has the form of a "lucky knot" (Tib. *be'u*, Skt. *vatsa*). A great number of small thread-crosses and *gtor ma* are carried by the lamas who surround the great *mdos*. Then follows a group of monks carrying a big *gtor ma* dedicated to *Yama* and a smaller one destined for the goddess *Ma gcig dpal lha mo*, and behind these follow, marching in two files, about five hundred members of the two chief tantric schools of Lhasa. Each of them holds a drum, which he beats with a crooked stick in the rhythm of the step. The tantrics are followed by the Nechung oracle dressed in his ceremonial robes. The

chos rje, who remains in full trance for the time the procession and the following ceremony last, is accompanied by a few of his assistants. At the end of the procession walks one of the highest dignitaries of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy, the *Khri rin po che* of Ganden monastery.

The procession heads for the open field which lies close to the old Chinese yamen. Here the burning of the great thread-cross and the "casting" of the *gtor ma* takes place. At the beginning of this part of the ceremony the Nechung oracle approaches the *dGa' ldan khri rin po che* and offers him a ceremonial scarf; sometimes, he also makes a prophecy on this occasion. After this the *chos rje* shoots off a few arrows, in order to drive away the malevolent demons who might be lingering around. This action is known as *phyag mda' bskyes pa* or - by a more literary term – *rdo rje'i mda' 'phen pa*.

Next the two *glud 'gong* are send off. Each of them is given a white horse to ride and a white dog and a white bird to accompany him. One of the *glud 'gong* proceeds then past the monastery of Ramoche (*Ra mo che*) to Phenyul, while the other takes the so-called *Glu spug* (*Klu sbugs?*) road which leads to Samye. The latter *glud 'gong* carries with him the *glud* of the Dalai Lama and sometimes also that of the Regent.

As soon as this *glud 'gong* reaches Samye, the seal on the door leading into the room of *Tsi'u dmar po* on the lower floor of the *Tsi'u dmar po'i lcog dbug khang* is broken open by the authorities of this monastery. The *glud 'gong* is then led into the chamber, where he adds the effigy (or effigies) he brought from Lhasa to the numerous likenesses of the Dalai Lamas and Regents which have been carried to Samye by previous "scape goats". Formerly the *glud 'gong* was forced to spend seven days and seven nights in this room. Later on it was demanded only that he should not leave the building for the same period of time. The room of *Tsi'u dmar po* is sealed again as soon as the "scape goat" has left it. In more recent years it has become customary that the *glud 'gong* stays only one or two days at Samye. During this time he visits the various chapels of the monastery and prays there to the deities to spare him and to prevent the evil and sin, which has been transferred upon him, from destroying his life.

From Samye the *glud 'gong* proceeds to Tshethang, where he enjoys once more for a week the same liberties he was granted at Lhasa, taking away the property of the people he happens to meet in the streets and paying for it with worthless currency. Later he visits the surrounding countryside, selling the gifts and objects he has collected. After some three weeks time he is allowed to return to Lhasa. His function having ended he is not subject to any discrimination. Tradition claims, however,

that formerly most of the "scape goats" died shortly after carrying out the prescribed journey. In case a *glud 'gong* survived, he was not allowed to enter the capital until another *glud 'gong* had been dispatched at the time of the next New Year.

A "scape goat" ceremony performed if a man is gravely ill or if the danger of an early death has been divined for somebody is the preparation of a so-called *'Chi glud.*[12] The number of the participating priests depends solely on the means of the person upon whose order this ceremony is being carried out. It usually begins in the late afternoon and ends after darkness has fallen. First two *gtor ma* are made, one for the *yi dam* of the chief officiating priest and the other for the particular protective deity of the man for whose benefit the *'Chi glud* is prepared. Then a small effigy representing the patient is made out of some *rtsam pa* dough. For the hair of this likeness some real hair of the sick person is taken, while a few of its nail-clippings serve as the nails of the *glud.* The effigy is dressed in a garment made out of some piece of cloth which had been worn by the sick man. The ready image is then placed on the floor, close to the table on which the two *gtor ma* stand.

The next step is to make a second dough-effigy, representing the demoniacal *'Chi bdag bdud.* The body of the *'Chi bdag bdud* is black, his hands brandish a snare and a sword. His mount is a buffalo. This image, too, is placed on the floor. Then a man, who has been specially commissioned for this task, is fetched to act as a living *glud.* Many a beggar will be

[12] A similar ceremony called *'Chi bslu*, "ransoming from death", has been described recently by Lessing in his paper on 'Calling the Soul'. This ceremony stands under the auspices of the *'Chi bslu ba'i sgrol ma.* Two forms of this goddess are described in the *sādhanas 'Chi ba bslu ba* and *'Chi ba slu ba sgrol ma dkar mo'i sgrub thabs* of the *bsTan 'gyur*:

a) The yellow-green *dPal sgrol ma chen mo*, who is adorned with jewels. She sits on a "moon-lotus". Her hands rest in the posture of preaching and hold a blue lotus. She is invoked to counteract the evil caused by the *'chi bdag, ḍākinīs* and *rākṣasas.*
b) The *sGrol ma*, "who has the colour of the moon in autumn". She sits on a "moon-lotus", her hands are in the posture of blessing and they hold a lotus.

The Tibetan Collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden contains two blockprints regarding this type of ceremony: *Tshe dpag med gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha lag 'chi bslu'i gtor chen 'grigs chags su bkod pa 'chi bdag g.yul zlog ces bya ba bzhugs so* (fols. 18). The part of the text describing the setting up of the sacrificial objects bears the title *'Chi bdag zhags gcod pa*, "cutting the noose of the Lord of Death". The three deities who are said to cause an "untimely death" and whose malevolent influence should be counteracted by performing this ceremony are the black *'Chi bdag a wa glang mgo* – he holds a *khram shing* and a noose –, his companion on the right, the blue *Tshe bdag rākṣa phag mgo*, and the red *Srog bdag zhe sdang sbrul mgo* who stands on the left. The latter two acolytes hold the same attributes as the chief deity. – The second text on *'Chi bslu* bears the title *bZang spyod 'chi bslu thar lam gsal byed ces bya ba bzhugs so* (fols. 7).

Magic diagrams protecting against various kinds of evil

Rows 1 - 7 from left to right:

1. All kinds of evil caused by the eight classes of supernatural beings, the *lha*, *srin po* etc.
   Injury caused by the *'dre*.
   Epidemics and illnesses.
   Injury caused by weapons such as arrows, lances, swords, etc.

2. Wrath of the *lha*.
   Evil caused by the *klu*.
   Evil caused by the *sa bdag*.
   Sufferings caused by leprosy.

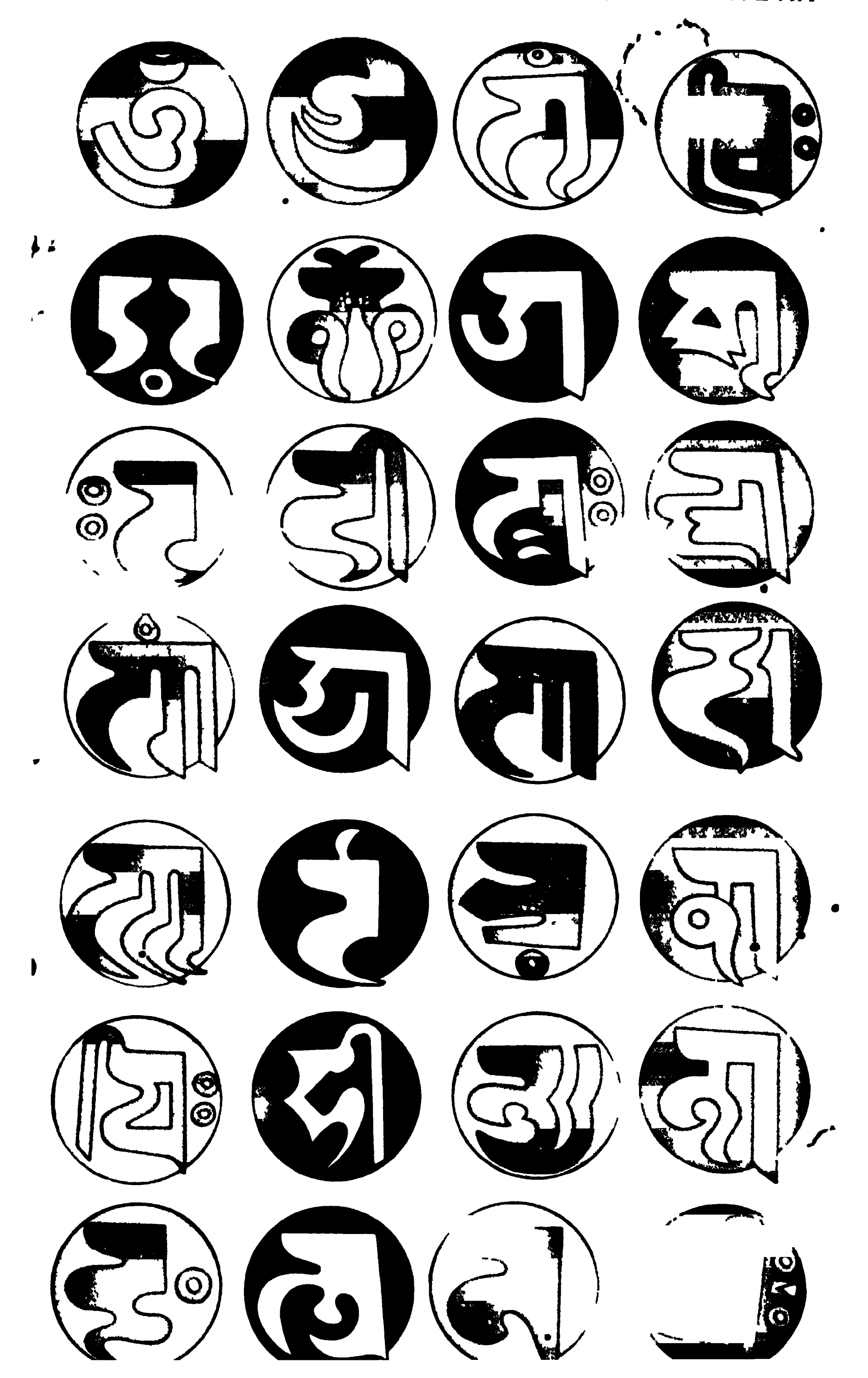
Evil caused by the *gnod sbyin*.
Evil caused by the *ma mo*.
Evil caused by the *srin po*.
Evil caused by the *gshin rje*.

4. Evil caused by the *the'u rang*.
   Evil caueed by the female *'dre*.
   Influence of the *sri*.
   lTe bsgyur(?)

The female *'dre* who cause injury to health.
The male *'dre* who cause injury to health.
The female demons of death.
The male demons of death.

6. Evil caused by the *'dre* who dwell on mountains
   The spirits who cause leprosy.
   Evil caused by the *'dre*.
   Evil caused by the *gza'*.

7. All evil caused by the *'byung po*.
   Protection against *rgyal* and *'gong*
   Protection against the *srin mo*.
   Protection against the *'dre* who cause hunger.



willing to play the part of the "scape goat" in the hope of receiving a rich reward. He usually gets a nearly new garment which had belonged to the man for whom the ceremony is performed - the specific smell of this dress should divert the demons from their actual victim –, further a cap, a pair of boots, a few blankets, and also some money. The "scape goat" has to be dressed in exactly the same way as the person whose place he takes, and even his hairdo has to be adjusted accordingly. Next the "scape goat" and the patient have to take their seats in front of the table bearing the two *gtor ma*.

The chief officiating priest now requests the various *srung ma* to come to this place. He reads then a special book containing the appropriate invocations, and by the power of his chant he transfers all the harmful influence from the patient to the living "scape goat" and to the *glud* of dough. Finally the casting-out of the evil forces is done. The man playing the part of the "scape goat" has to pick up the dough *glud* as well as the effigy of the *'Chi bdag bdud* and hold them in front of his breast. After it had been ascertained with the help of astrologic books in which direction the "scape goat" has to go, the man will be sent on his way, while all the people who witnessed the ceremony have to clap their hands loudly in order to scare all evil forces away and prevent their return into the house. This final part of the ceremony has to take place shortly after darkness has fallen, the time when the evil spirits begin to roam.

The effigies are either carried to a crossroad, or they are simply put down outside the boundary of a village to be eaten by dogs and birds. It augurs well if they are quickly destroyed by animals, the opposite case being regarded as an evil omen. Should the figures be too big to be carried by one man, a person belonging to a low social class will be asked to carry the effigy of the *'Chi bdag bdud*, while the dough *glud* has in any case to be borne by the "scape goat". The man who took the place of the living *glud* is then permitted to return to his own house, but it is prohibited to him to enter the dwelling of the person as whose substitute he has acted.

Later, the man for whose benefit the ceremony was held will have to change into a newly-bought dress, and he has also to adopt a new name, thus becoming symbolically a completely new person – "*ming bsgyur lus bsgyur*", verbatim "name change, body change", as a Tibetan saying goes. Should the man not be in the position to afford the purchase of new clothes, he should sew at least to the back of his garment, at the hight of the shoulder-blades, a design made of cloth and representing a swastika in its normal or reversed form, with the crescent of the moon and the disk of the sun above it. The sun and the swastika are made of red cloth, while

for the symbol of the moon white or yellow cloth is used. The custom of sewing such a design onto the back of a dress is especially prevalent among the inhabitants of the Tsang province.

The arrangement of *gtor ma* indicated above is customary if the ceremony is performed by priests of the *dGe lugs pa* order. Should it, however, be carried out by members of the *rNying ma pa* sect, then three more *gtor ma* will be placed in a row on the table: the *gtor ma* in the middle is dedicated to *Padmasambhava*, the *gtor ma* on the left stands for *Guru drag po*, a wrathful aspect of the same personality, and the sacrificial cake on the right side is offered to the goddess *Seng ge gdong ma*. The *gtor ma* for the *yi dam* of the officiating priest and that for the protective deity of the patient are set in this case more in the foreground.

According to a popular Tibetan belief there are fifteen kinds of demons who try to injure children; best known among them are the *chung sri*, whom we mentioned already above. These fifteen kinds of malevolent beings also often try to kill a yet unborn child as well as its mother. In order to avert this danger a *mdos*-ceremony has to be performed, for which the following arrangements have to be made; the figure of a *Nad bdag mo* is formed out of dough which has been coloured red. The goddess is shown naked except for a belt, with emaciated breasts and open genitals. Her right hand holds a lance, the left one wields a sack full of diseases. To her belt are fastened a pair of dice, and a notched stick is stuck into the belt. Back of this figure is set up a thread-cross made of strings of five different colours, flanked by six sticks bearing tufts of cotton (*ye tags*); all these objects are destined to absorb the evil whose destruction is being sought. In front of the *Nad bdag mo* are placed several small *gtor ma*, *chang bu*, a butter-lamp, offerings of various kinds of food, and pieces of silk.

The offering of the *Nag po mgo gsum*,[13] also called *gTor nag rgyab*, "the casting of the black *gtor ma*", is a peculiar *glud* ceremony performed by *rNying ma pa* priests in order to subdue the demons causing illnesses and misfortune by engaging the help of a demoniacal being called *Nag po mgo gsum*, "the black with the three heads". This figure seems to be regarded as an "emanation" of *Mañjuśrī*, since the ceremony is believed to stand under the influence of this Bodhisattva. It begins with preparing the image of the *Nag po mgo gsum* out of *rtsam pa* dough and reeds; sometimes mud is used instead of the expensive *rtsam pa*. The body of the figure is coloured black on its upper part, the lower half, which has the shape of the

[13] For some further details on this ceremony see Waddell in the *Gazeteer of Sikkim*, pp. 344–346 and Morris, *Living with Lepchas*, p. 130 sq.

coiled tail of a snake, is painted red. On the body are set three heads: the red head of an ox in the middle, a blue pig head on the left (occasionally the position of these two heads is reversed), and a yellow tiger head – in some cases the head of a snake – on the right side. The effigy has two hands; they are either stretched sideways, their fingers making the *tarjanī mudrā*, and the left, which bears a few mustard-seeds on its palm, holds a bow and an arrow made from the wood of a poisonous thorn-bush, or the hands are joined in front of the breast and hold a small *gtor ma*. A pair of wings is attached to the back of the figure, and as its navel the astrological sign called *sme ba* is drawn. A small butter-lamp is set on each of the three heads – sometimes, however, only on the central head –, a big thread-cross is stuck behind the central head, and a small thread-cross behind the heads on the sides, or a yellow *nam mkha'* is stuck behind the head on the left and a red *nam mkha'* behind the head on the right. Finally a *khram shing* together with the feather of an owl and of a raven are stuck into the back of the figure.

A huge flat iron pan is then filled with a layer of earth, and the image is set into its centre. To the right side of the *Nag po mgo gsum* is laid an arrow and to the left a spindle. The figure is surrounded by an enclosure of small wooden swords painted red, and sometimes also washed and inflated bowels are wound around the pan. Then a small bag containing black radishes, onions, garlic, tea of an inferior quality, and yeast for making beer – all these objects are called collectively the *mi dga'i rdzas* – is hung around the neck of the *Nag po mgo gsum*.

The various parts of the *Nag po mgo gsum* and the objects grouped around it are each believed to counteract one special kind of danger. Thus the ox-head counteracts the *zor* cast by the *sngags pa*[5] and by Buddhist priests, the snake-head on the left side defeats all the *gnyan*, the pig-head in the centre counteracts the evil influence sent by the *sa bdag* and *sa srin*. The upper black part of the figure's trunk defeats the *bdud*, and the lower red part averts all illnesses and epidemics caused by the *ma mo*. The wings defeat the *lha srin sde brgyad*, the coiled tail holds in check all *sa bdag*, *klu*, and *gnyan*, the seeds of white mustard resting on the left hand avert the *mi kha kham chu*, the bow and arrow which the left hand is lifting defeat the *the'u rang*, the arrow lying on the right side averts the *dal kha* of the male *bdud*, and the spindle on the left side counteracts the *dal kha* of the female *bdud*. The *khram shing* stuck into the back of the figure counteracts the *ma mo'i khram kha*, the feather of the owl, also stuck into the back, averts the evil omens, and the raven's feather prevents suffering; the enclosure consisting of swords is a pro-

tection against enemies, and also the nine fields of the *sme ba*, which have been drawn on the navel, have each a particular task to fulfil: the first white field defeats the *the'u rang*, the second black square counteracts all harm caused by revived corpses, the third azure-blue square pacifies sufferings, the fourth green square counteracts the evil influence exercised by the *klu srin*, the fifth yellow square counteracts the evil influence of the *sa bdag*, the sixth white field holds in check the *'gong pô*, the seventh red square defeats the evil force of the *phur kha*, the eighth white field acts against the *lha chen*, and the ninth red square insures lasting happiness.

The ceremony is continued by setting the pan containing the effigy on an iron tripod which stands on a piece of black cloth made of yak-hair. The officiating priest has then to carry out the following three actions:

a) Invoking the various protective deities and offering a sacrifice to them.
b) Reading the special book of the *Nag po mgo gsum* ceremony.
c) Casting out all evil. At the end of this part of the ceremony the image is carried to some lonely spot by a beggar, who will receive a few coins for his services. None of the restrictions to which the "scape goat" of the *'Chi glud* ceremony is subject are, however, imposed upon him.

A ceremony which it is obligatory to perform three days after a person has died is the *gShin rje'i kha bsgyur* or "turning away the mouth of the *gshin rje* demon", known also simply as the *Kha bsgyur*. Its purpose is to expel the *gshin rje* demons who caused the death and who might try to get another victim. The arrangement of objects for performing this ceremony is said to be very similar to that required for the *Nag po mgo gsum* sacrifice. In the present case, however, the image is supposed to be only one-headed.

In order to avert or to counteract the harm caused by the various classes of *sri* demons, the help of *Padmasambhava*'s wrathful form *rDo rje gro lod* (or *dPal chen rdo rje gro bo lod*) should be engaged;[14] the most efficacious method, however, to suppress the *sri* is to bury or set out the skulls of men and animals which have been filled with slips of paper inscribed with magic spells.[15] The kinds of skulls, the spells, and the nature of the place to which the skulls should be brought vary according to which particular class of *sri* should be defeated. The following list indicates the way in which the malignant influence exercised by some of the more important *sri* classes can be counteracted:

[14] 133.

[15] The suppressing of the *sri* was the task of a class of Bon priests called *dur gshen*: see Tucci, *Painted Scrolls*, II, p. 715.

pho sri – bury the skull of a yak
mo sri – bury the skull of a black bitch
chung sri – hide the skulls of a dog and a pig under the bed of the child whose life the *chung sri* threaten, or bury the skulls of a weasel, a puppy or a piglet
dur sri – set out or bury the skulls of a fox, a badger, and a marmot in a cemetery
btsan sri – bury the heads of a fish and otter
dgra sri – bury the heads of a wolf, horse, or yak at the border of an enemy's dwelling
dam sri – bury the skulls of a lynx, jackal, dog, goat, or pig in the centre of an inhabited place
rnal 'byor pa'i dam sri – their influence can be suppressed by hiding the skulls of a man, a dog, and a pig underneath a *stūpa*
med sri – their power can be counteracted by burying the skulls of wild dogs and mice
klu sri – they can be defeated by using the "skull of a *khyung*"
gri sri – bury the skull of a hybrid yak
god sri can be defeated by burying the skulls of a wild dog, monkey, or toad, or by placing the skulls of a goat or sheep halfway up a mountain
lha sri – their influence can be counteracted by using the skulls of vultures and eagles or the skull of a *khyung*
sdang ba'i sri – bury the skull of a wild dog[16]

Of special importance are the manifold ceremonies destined to defeat the various groups of *phung sri*. One of these ceremonies bears the name *Za 'dre phung sri kha bsgyur*. When performing it the following effigies have to be set up: a black man riding on a black camel, a white man riding on a white camel, a two-headed varicoloured woman whose mount is a varicoloured pig, a black three-headed snake resting on top of a red water-buffalo, and a tiger-headed black man riding on a yellow monkey. While for defeating the *phung sri* in general the skull of a camel should be used, the application of the following skulls containing paper slips covered with *mantras* is recommended on the other hand in order to suppress some special groups of *phung sri*:

rgyal po phung ba'i phung sri – the "long skull of a Monpa" and that of a man from the Hor country should be

[16] 44 and 129, fol. 5b.

	buried within the boundaries of a monastery
blon po phung ba'i phung sri	the skulls of a monkey, a parrot, or a bat should be buried at a place where people use to gather in order to hold a council
yul khams phung ba'i phung sri –	the skulls of a cross-breed yak and a mule have to be buried amidst the countryside
dme yis phung ba'i phung sri	the skulls of a lynx and a wolf have to be buried in a pit, which had been dug in the centre of a great town[17]

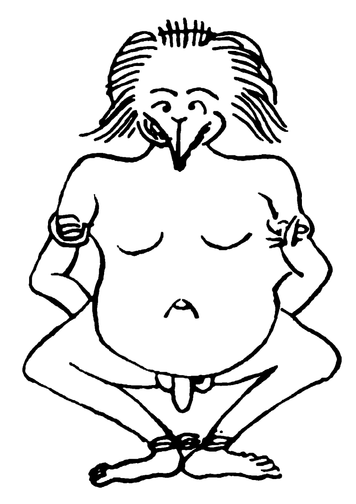


Fig. 25. The *linga* used in the rite of suppressing the *dam sri* (*Dam sri'i mnan ling.*)

The Tibetans believe that there are two main reoccurring periods of danger in the life of all men: firstly, all years of age which end with a nine (9, 19, 29, etc.) are years which bring grave threats to life. The inauspicious years are called *dgu mig*. Secondly, the reoccurrence of the name of that animal under whose sign a person had been born – an event which happens every twelve years in accordance with the rules of the Tibetan calendar – is a dangerous time as well. The inauspicious years of the latter kind are called *lo skag*.

In order to counteract the dangerous influence of the *dgu mig* and *lo skag*, the *dGu sgrol* ceremony or "salvation from the nine" has to be

performed. It begins by invoking all *dharmapālas* and their retinues and presenting to them a *gtor ma*, which has been placed into the centre of a low table. Then the following arrangements have to be made; with the help of some earth nine small hillocks are made on the floor, all lying in one row. Next, a thread-cross is stuck into each mound, and near it is placed the shoulder-bone of a sheep. A *gtor ma*, together with the image of a *chos skyong*, a set of new clothes, a bow, and also some fresh food are then laid down at one end of this row. If the person for whom the ceremony is performed is a man, he has to enter now the room dressed in an old garment, wearing an old cap and carrying a stick. He goes to that hillock which lies furthest away from the image and stops there, while a priest reads the appropriate passage from the *dGu sgrol* book, requesting the deities in the course of his chant to save the man from all dangers which the inauspicious year might bring to him. The man has to step then over the first mound and stop in front of the second hillock. While all those present shout "*Thar pa*" (salvation), an assistant flattens the mound which has been crossed, removes the thread-cross and the shoulder-bone, and places them into a huge bowl. This process is then repeated until the last hillock is crossed. The person has now to discard his old dress and exchange it for the new garment, which has previously been laid there in readiness. He takes a seat on a new cushion, discards the old cap. exchanges the stick for the bow, and eats some fresh food. Often, as in the case of the *'Chi glud* ceremony, he also changes his name. After this part of the ceremony has been concluded, all thread-crosses and shoulder-blades as well as the old garment, the cap, and the stick are taken out of the house and thrown away at some remote solitary place.

A similar *dGu sgrol* ceremony is practised by the Buddhist priests of the Lepchas in order to cure a patient. First the form of a huge tortoise which is lying on its back is outlined by means of some flour. and in the middle of the belly are drawn the nine *sme ba*. Into the central square, which bears the number five, six skulls of goats and two breastbones of sheep are placed. and on the border between the fields numbered two and five is set a wooden plate bearing a dough image representing the patient. Around this *glud* are grouped a few *'phyang bu*, the latter being used to absorb the "body smell" of the patient as well as to remove the evil powers which caused his illness. Into the back of the *glud* is stuck a thread-cross, made of red, yellow, black, and white thread and flanked by two *khram shing* and sticks bearing pieces of cotton. On those squares of the *sme ba* which are still free are laid various smaller objects, as *gtor ma*, each surmounted by a thread-cross, *chang bu*, leaves, a bamboo container filled with water

and adorned with a small flag, and a black thread-cross, which is stuck into the square bearing the number seven.

The ceremony starts by invoking the protective deities to whom then various kinds of food are offered. By reading the appropriate passages from the book on the performance of this ceremony, the evil powers are transferred from the patient to the *glud*, which is offered as a substitute. Then the head of the household has to enter the room, wearing a black cloth over his shoulders and carrying a stick. He steps on the central square of the *sme ba* and the skulls, which had been heaped up there, are pushed by an assistant against his heels. A black rope,[18] made of yak hair, is drawn – starting from the back – over his head and finally placed on the floor, so that it touches his ankles. The tray with the *glud* is held over his head and then placed in a basket held ready at the side and filled with leaves and grain. The man who stands on the central square has to take a drink of water from a cup which is handed to him, and he spits the liquid into the basket containing the *glud*. He now moves clockwise from square to square, and when reaching the field which bears the number seven, the black thread-cross previously placed there is exchanged for a white one, the black cloth is removed from his shoulders, and the stick he carries is exchanged for a bow. He sprinkles some beer over the patient, and lastly a few *chang bu* are waved over all those present to clean them from the evil powers which they might have absorbed while witnessing the ceremony. A path is made with the help of some flour, leading from the figure of the tortoise to the door, and then all the objects which had been placed on the *sme ba* are carried along this path out of the house to some lonely spot where they are abandoned, or they are destroyed by throwing them into a river.[19]

The purpose of carrying out the ceremony called *bDud kyi zhags pa dgu sgrol* is to avert the harm caused by a brotherhood of nine *klu bdud*, the *Jo bo klu bdud mched dgu*, who are believed to be malevolent deities causing various diseases. When performing the *bDud kyi zhags pa dgu sgrol*, effigies representing the nine *klu bdud* have to be prepared first. The nine *klu bdud* brothers may be depicted in two ways: either all figures bear scorpion-heads, though judging by their names which will presently be given not all of them seem to have the same appearance. Each of these figures is placed astride a black snake, and each *klu bdud* carries a banner with the head of a black snake stuck on its point.

18 A black rope, which is later exchanged for a white one, is also used in a scape-goat ceremony described by Asboe in his article on the scape-goat in Western Tibet.
19 Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer, 'Thread-crosses', pp. 76–78.

The second alternative of representing the *Jo bo klu bdud mched dgu* is to make first five effigies, each bearing one of the colours which the five *skandhas* are supposed to have. These five figures are set on a bull, a black snake, a frog, a scorpion, and a yak respectively The other four effigies should be varicoloured, and they are to be set on a bear, a *tsang pa*, a fish, and a tadpole. The attributes and the colours of the nine *klu bdud* and the various kinds of diseases which they are supposed to cause are as follows:

Colour of rider and mount	*right hand*	*left hand*	*disease*
white	*rgyal mtshan* with a frog's head	sack full of diseases	dropsy
yellow	*rgyal mtshan* with a snake's head	,,	bilious disease
red	*rgyal mtshan* with a scorpion's head	,,	vomiting of blood
blue	*makara*-snare	,,	dropsy
black	*rgyal mtshan* with the head of a tortoise	,,	leprosy
varicoloured	battle-lance with banner	,,	sudden pain
cherry brown	lance with banner	,,	insanity and madness
ngu?	sword	,,	*rgyal nad zar nad*
reng?	arrow of the *btsan*	,,	*btsan thabs gzer ba'i nad*

Around these nine figures one has to place nine *pho gdong* and nine *mo gdong*, nine black *nam mkha'* with a blue centre and a golden-coloured border, nine effigies of different birds, nine blue spindles with ornaments of gold, nine black arrows each with a golden-coloured notch, nine *rgyang bu* decorated with seeds of white mustard, nine pieces of the medicinal herb called "black *tha ram*", and nine kinds of *klu sel*.[20]

The ceremony called *Chags gsum gtang ba* is supposed to be a rather radical cure of those kinds of illnesses which have been caused by three *bdud* who have stirred up the three kinds of "mental poison", viz. the *nyon mongs* (Skt. *kleśa*), *zhe sdang* (Skt. *dveṣa*), and *nga rgyal* Skt. *māna*). Sometimes it happens, thus the Tibetans believe, that a man's span of life had already come to an end, but the three *bdud*, in order to be able

to torture the man, are still holding back his spirit which would have left the body already. The performance of the *Chags gsum gtang ba* is supposed to offer therefore only two possibilities: either the patient is completely cured or, should his end have already been predestined, he will die immediately as soon as the three *bdud* are forced to release his spirit. For carrying out this ceremony sixteen *gtor ma* are needed, which are placed in groups of four on a table. In front of each group a butter-lamp is set, and next to it are piled up some *chang bu*. After reading the appropriate book, the *gtor ma* and all the other objects are taken to a cross-road or some other lonely spot and abandoned there.

The various diseases sent by the *sa bdag* and their close relatives, the *klu* and the *gnyan*, can be counteracted by performing a ceremony called *Sa bdag klu gnyan gyi gdon sgrol*, "deliverance from the harm caused by the *sa bdag*, *klu*, and *gnyan*". The arrangements which have to be made in order to carry out the *Sa bdag klu gnyan gyi dgu sgrol* are as follows: a *ri rab* with three steps has to be built out of a dough which had been prepared by mixing flour obtained from five kinds of grain, with water. On top of this structure one places in the centre a snake-headed figure. Around it are to be distributed four other effigies, all of them having the body of a man but possessing different animal-heads: in the East comes a goat-headed figure, in the South a frog-headed one, an effigy with the head of a scorpion is placed into the western quarter, and a figure with a pig's head has its place in the North. On the step below are placed the figures of four oxen, called the *rje glang*, each of them having the colour of the direction in which he stands: a white ox in the East, a yellow one in the South, a red ox in the West, and a green one in the North. On the same step one has to set also the figures of five men, each riding on a pig, further the likenesses of fishes, snakes, scorpions, and tadpoles, four of each kind. They are to be distributed in equal numbers in the four main directions, and each of them has to bear again the colour of the particular quarter in which he is placed.

The lowest step bears the likenesses of the "nine kinds of animals which inhabit the water" (of these the text names only the fishes, frogs, scorpions and snakes) and effigies of nine kinds of cattle (oxen, goats, sheep, horses, yak, etc.). Around the *ri rab* are set: small *gtor ma*, the "mecidine of the water-spirits" (*klu sman*), cups containing the three sweet substances and the three white substances, meat, vessels with *chang* and sweet-tasting liquids, various kinds of poison, pieces of iron, garlic, and onions. On the topmost step, next to the snake-headed figure, a *nam mkha'* is set, which has a yellow centre and a rainbow-coloured brim. Four other *nam mkha'*

are stuck in the four cardinal points: in the East a white *nam mkha'*, in the South a yellow one, a red thread-cross in the West, and a green one in the North. Lastly a *glud* representing the patient is placed in front of the *ri rab*.[21]

One of the ceremonies most frequently performed in order to free a patient from his illness or to avert some impending danger bears the name *brGya bzhi*. A legend claims that the *brGya bzhi* ceremony was first performed to cure *Indra*, who had fallen ill; in order to defeat the four kinds of *bdud* who were found to be responsible for *Indra*'s illness, *Amitāyus* prepared four kinds of objects: one hundred "*ngar glud* of life" (*srog gi ngar glud*) in order to remove the *'Chi bdag gi bdud*, one hundred "brilliantly shining butter-lamps" (*snang gsal mar me*) defeating the *Nyon mongs pa'i bdud*, one hundred *lha bshos* counteracting the influence of the *lHa'i bu'i bdud*, and lastly one hundred *stūpas* which removed all evil sent by the *Phung po'i bdud*. As soon as this rite was performed, *Indra* was freed from his ailments.[22]

There are several ways in which the *brGya bzhi* ceremony can be carried out. One of these methods is as follows: the priest whose services have been engaged to officiate the ceremony will spread out on a table a square piece of cloth or a paper on which the outline of a hand has been drawn, bearing the design of a *maṇḍala* on the palm. This is supposed to be the "hand of *Gautama Buddha*". Into the middle of the *maṇḍala* a vessel is placed filled with barley or wheat. On top of this vessel the priest sets a flat plate bearing a *glud* of dough in its centre. This figure represents either the sick person or – in case the ceremony is performed for the benefit of the whole family – it symbolises the head of the household. The *glud* has to be wrapped in a piece of cloth, bearing the characteristic colour of that element which stands in connection with the year in which the person represented by the *glud* has been born. If the patient was born e.g. in a fire-year, the cloth has to be red, while blue stands for water, yellow for earth, white for iron, and green for the wood element. In some cases the *glud* is tied to the shaft of a divination arrow, which has been stuck with its point into the vessel filled with corn. If the *glud* rests on the plate, then a multicoloured *mdos* is stuck into its back, to the left and right sides are placed a spindle and an arrow, and in front is set a small butter-lamp. With the help of a *zan par* various figures representing human beings, animals, and sacrificial objects are prepared of *rtsam pa* dough: wild animals, domestic beasts, small male and female "scape goats" (*pho glud*,

21 169.
22 36, fol. 1b.

mo glud), effigies of the *bDud bzhi*, the eight *pa kwa* (*spar kha brgyad*) and the nine *sme ba* (*sme ba dgu*), the figure of *Rāhu*, etc. These are all placed around the chief *glud*, together with pieces of cloth, offerings of food, and a few coins. Lastly some powder of the five kinds of precious metals (*rin po che sna lnga*) is filed off from a metal-stick consisting of the alloy of gold, silver, copper, iron, and tin.

Subsequently one hundred small clay *stūpas* are placed in a circle around the vessel bearing the *glud*. Further to the outside is formed a circle consisting of one hundred butter-lamps (*mar me*), then comes a circle of one hundred *gtor ma*, and finally a circle of one hundred *'phyang bu*, all of them being concentric and having the *glud* in the middle. Then four *mdos* are set on four fingers of the drawing of the hand, each of these fingers corresponding to one world-direction: a white thread-cross is placed on the forefinger (= East), a yellow *mdos* on the second finger (= South), a red one on the third finger (= West), and a green *mdos* on the small finger (= North). A *gtor ma* and a butter-lamp are then placed into each corner of the table. Ultimately, the *mchod pa sna lnga*, "the five different kinds of offerings", are placed in a row on the wrist of the "hand of *Gautama Buddha*": water "for washing the feet (of the deities)" (*zhabs bsil*), flowers, incense, a butter-lamp, and perfumes. In addition to it the officiating priest has to please the deities with music (*rol mo*).

All these arrangements having been made, the multitude of the *dharmapālas* and their companions are invoked, the special *brGya bzhi* book is read, and lastly the casting out of all evil forces is done. The latter part of the ceremony starts by making a path with the help of some *rtsam pa*, leading from the table to the door, and then all *'phyang bu* are placed into one vessel and all the *gtor ma* into another. Thus only the two circles consisting of butter-lamps and small *stūpas* are left on the table. The *glud* is removed from the top of the vessel and replaced by an image of Buddha; should no such figure be at hand, then a butter-lamp and three small *stūpas* have to be used instead. Next the four thread-crosses are removed from the table, and they are set up anew, together with the *glud*, on the path consisting of flour. The various objects which were laid on this path are then arranged in the following order: closest to the table stand in a single file the four thread-crosses, then comes the *glud*, after this the vessel filled with the *gtor ma*, and lastly, closest to the door, is the bowl containing the *'phyang bu*. These four kinds of objects are picked up by four servants or by four beggars hired for this task and carried out of the house in a direction which has been divined with the help of an astrological book. After the procession has covered some distance, the *glud* is

set down on the earth, the four *mdos* and the other objects are arranged around it and then left there to be destroyed by animals.

Another way of performing the *brGya bzhi* ceremony is as follows: instead of the "hand of the Buddha" described before, an eight-petaled lotus is drawn. Its central section should be white-coloured, the eastern one sky-blue, the southern yellow, the western red, and the northern green. In the centre is set the vessel bearing all the objects previously described, and around it are arranged the four hundred clay-*stūpas*, butter-lamps, etc.

At the beginning of the ceremony, the priest has to invoke the five *Dhyāni Buddhas* (*rigs lnga*), their *śaktis* and the "maid servants" of the latter, the guardians of the four gates leading into the *maṇḍala*, and the four great *lokapālas*. To all of them various offerings, as incense, food, fragrant liquids, etc. are presented, and then the various deities occupying the *maṇḍala* are enumerated in all details, one by one, the names of the five Buddhas and their consorts being, however, in several cases different from their usual appellations: in the centre is supposed to dwell the white *rNam par snang mdzad*, in the East the blue *rDo rje sems dpa'*. the South is occupied by the yellow *Rin chen 'byung ldan*, the West is assigned to the red *sNang ba mtha' yas*, and the North to the green *Don yod grub pa*. Their *śaktis* are the white *dBu dgu gi gtso*, the *mTsho sman rgyal mo mkhro'i gtso* (her colour is not mentioned), the black *Ma mo klu yi gtso*, and the brown *dBu lnga sman phran gtso*; then follow the four gate-guards, carrying a hook, a snare, a chain, and a bell, and lastly the four chief *lokapālas* who are mentioned in their usual order.

Next, offerings are made to each of these groups: the group of the five Buddhas receives the objects which had been arranged in circles around the central vessel, to the *śaktis* the fire, water, wind, and the sky are symbolically offered, their "maid servants", the "four great sisters" (*sring mo chen mo bzhi*), receive flesh, blood, the "animal-heat", and breath, the limbs of the "scape goat" are given to the gate-guards, while the main continents of the Buddhist cosmology, together with the minor continents, are symbolically presented to the *lokapālas*.

This is followed by the enumeration of the various "substitute-offerings" (*glud*), and next the different dangers are mentioned which the deities should avert. In addition to the gods and goddesses residing in the *maṇḍala* a number of other spirits are exhorted to help defeat the supernatural or human foes threatening the life of the person for whose benefit the *rGya bzhi* ceremony is being performed. First, the priest invokes the goddess *Remati*, and after mentioning the attributes she carries and

presenting her with an offering of flesh, blood, and beer she is requested to lead against the enemies an assault by the war-hordes of the *ma mo*. Finally the *gshin rje*, *rgyal po*, *gnod sbyin*, *bdud*, *sa bdag*, and also the army of *Tshangs pa*, the planetary deities, the *btsan*, and the *the'u rang* are all called for assistance as well.[23]

The instructions for the performance of the *brGya bzhi* ceremony, given in Text no. 36 of the Tibetan Sources, differ, however, in several points from the above description. According to the latter work, first a *maṇḍula* in the form of an eight-petaled lotus has to be outlined, and in its centre the "right hand of a *tathāgathāḥ*" (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i phyag g.yas*) has to be drawn. Then the officiating priest should imagine that the white figure of a white *lHa bdud* stands on the small finger, a red figure of the *Nyon mongs pa'i bdud* on the ring finger, the black *'Chi bdag gi bdud* on the middle finger, and on the fore-finger the yellow figure of a *Phung po'i bdud*. Into the middle of the palm the substitute-offering for the patient (*nad pa'i glud*) is set, carrying pieces of his clothes, and around it one hundred small clay *stūpas* are arranged in a circle. Then follows another circle, again with the *nad pa'i glud* in the centre, consisting of one hundred butter-lamps. The third circle is formed of one hundred *ngar glud*, and the outmost circle is made out of one hundred *lha bshos*. In addition to it cups with the usual offerings of water, food, etc. are arranged in a row in front of the officiating priest.

While the middle part of the ceremony is carried out nearly in the same way as in the case described before, the end differs considerably; the text here discussed directs the officiating priest to throw first twenty *ngar glud* and twenty *lha bshos* towards the East as an offering to the white *lHa bdud*, and then to cast the same number of *ngar glud* and *lha bshos* towards the South for the yellow *Phung po'i bdud*. Also the black *'Chi bdag gi bdud* in the North and the red *Nyon mongs pa'i bdud* in the West receive each twenty *ngar glud* and twenty *lha bshos*. Finally, the great "substitute offering" together with the remaining twenty *ngar glud* and *lha bshos* should be thrown away at a place haunted by evil spirits.

According to the instructions contained in Text no. 37, actual small effigies which are made of clay should be set on the four fingers of the hand drawn for the *brGya bzhi* ceremony: on the small finger one has to place the white figure of a *Phung po'i bdud* holding a wheel, on the ring-finger the yellow effigy of a *Nyon mongs pa'i bdud* clutching a jewel, on the middle finger has to be placed the red figure of a *lHa'i bu'i bdud* holding a lotus, and on the forefinger is to be set the black effigy of a *'Chi bdag gi bdud*

[23] 125.

carrying a sword; each of these figures should be dressed in clothes of the same colour as their bodies. In the middle of the palm the officiating priest should place the substitute-offering for the person who ordered the ceremony to be performed (*sbyin bdag gi gzugs glud*); this figure should be prepared either from rice-porridge or from stalks and flour. Then a circle of one hundred *stūpas* and another of one hundred butter-lamps are arranged around the substitute-offering, but instead of the *ngar glud*, which form otherwise the third circle, this book directs the priest to place there one hundred *gtor ma* made of grain pulp, while the fourth circle should consist according to this prescription of one hundred *ngar mi* prepared from a pulp made by mixing ground rice with water.

A fifth way of carrying out the *brGya bzhi* ceremony is indicated in Text no. 35. This source states that the effigy of the white *lHa bdud*, which is to be placed on the small finger, should hold a wheel. On the ring-finger is set the red effigy of a *Nyon mongs pa'i bdud* lifting a lotus, on the middle-finger comes the black form of a *'Chi bdag gi bdud* holding a sword, and on the fore-finger is placed the yellow effigy of a *Phung po'i bdud*. The *glud* of the person for whom the ceremony is being performed should be prepared either from rice or from flour-pulp. The hair should be made of *gze mong*, the eyes of *lung thang*, a pearl is inserted as the brain of the *glud*, and the teeth are represented by cowrie shells. Into the right hand is inserted a piece of gold, a piece of silver should be placed into the left hand, some copper comes into the right foot, and iron into the left one.

Besides the four circles of butter-lamps, *lha bshos*, etc., also a great *gtor ma* should be made "adorned with flesh and blood" and surrounded by hundred and eight *mtheb (s)kyu*. Next to it are to be placed two white *gtor ma*, one dedicated to *Bla ma dkon mchog* (*Padmasambhava*) and the other to the local *gzhi bdag*, while a third red-coloured *gtor ma* is made for all *dharmapālas*. Around the *glud* is spread out the "scape-goat dowry" (*glud rdzong*) consisting of gems, pieces of cloth, various medicines, foodstuff, etc.

Not only men, but also domestic animals can be protected from diseases and all other kinds of misfortune by performing appropriate ceremonies. One of the simplest ways of guarding cattle from falling ill is to pronounce a *mantra* with protective qualities over the fresh fodder. A more elaborate, but allegedly also more effective method of guarding cattle against diseases is to perform a ceremony in honour of the brotherhood of the seven cattle-gods, the *Phyugs lha spun bdun*, and their ancestors.

The ceremony has to be carried out at a ritually clean spot. First a structure is erected – called the "castle" (*mkhar*) – and on top of it a

likeness of a white horse is set. Next to it one has to place a white *nam mkha'*, a blue *rgyang bu*, an arrow and a spindle, a miniature bridle with reins – representing a "bridle of gold and reins of turquoise" (*gser srab g.yu mthur*) –, green fodder, a woollen rope, a white cover, and a white *gtor ma*. These preparations having been made, milk, *chang*, the "light shed by a butter-lamp", and burning incense are offered to the *Phyugs lha spun bdun* and their progenitors, who are all asked to descend to the various objects which have been prepared before: the grandfather of the seven cattle-gods, *Zla ba'i phyug po*, is asked to descend to the white horse, his wife *Nye pha'i btsun mo* should take her place on the *mkhar* itself. The father of the *Phyugs lha spun bdun*, *Phyugs rje btsan po*, is requested to descend to the white thread-cross, and their mother, *Phyugs bdag btsun mo*, to the blue *rgyang bu*. Next, to each of the seven *Phyugs lha* a particular object is assigned as a symbolical offering: a golden bridle with turquoise-reins to the *rTa lha*, a yellow nose-ring (?) to the *g.Yag lha*, a silken rope to the *'Bri lha*, and green fodder to the *mDzo lha*. The *Ba glang lha* receives an indigo-coloured tassel, the *Lug lha* a wollen rope, and the *Ra lha* a covering white like a conch-shell. At the end of the ceremony the seven cattle-gods are requested to protect that particular kind of animals whose name each of them bears.[24]

Finally we may give here some additional information on the so-called *sByin sreg* ceremonies. There are two main types of *sByin sreg*: firstly, the burning of offerings in a ritually pure fire (Skt. *homa*), a type of *sByin sreg* which may be performed in honour of any deity. Such a ceremony is called accordingly a *lHa mo'i sbyin sreg*, *rDo rje phur pa'i sbyin sreg*, etc. The second type of *sByin sreg* is the burning of an evil spirit, mostly done after all efforts to subdue the evil-doer and to bring him on the path of virtue have failed. We mentioned this type of *sByin sreg* already in the legends told about the origin of the protective deities *rDo rje shugs ldan* and *gTsod rva can*. The *sByin sreg* may be performed in four different ways, which are known as

Zhi ba'i sbyin sreg
rGyas pa'i sbyin sreg
dBang gi sbyin sreg
Kun 'dus mchog gi sbyin sreg or *Drag pa'i sbyin sreg*[25]

Details about the performance of these forms of *sByin sreg* have already been published by Lessing and Schröder.[26] As an addition to their obser-

24 124.

25 Regarding these actions see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III/2, p. 95 sq.

26 Regarding the *sByin sreg* see Lessing, *Yung-Ho Kung*, pp. 150-161; Schröder, 'Religion der Tujen,' p. 860 sq.

vations we may mention, that in the course of all these ceremonies the various forms of *Me lha*,[27] the divine ruler of fire, and his companions are invoked, offerings are made to them, and litanies are recited in their honour; since only very little had been known so far on the various forms of *Me lha* and his companions, we may give here a few notes on these interesting figures.

The *Me lha* was certainly one of the members of the pre-Buddhist Tibetan pantheon, but his figure later lost its original character, having been identified with the *Agni* of India whose cult was introduced into Tibet by the Buddhists. In Tibetan works *Me lha* is occasionally addressed as the *Drang srong chen po*, "the great holy hermit", or, with his full title, as the *Me lha'i drang srong bram ze'i mchog*.

The main forms of *Me lha* invoked in the course of the various *sByin sreg* ceremonies are as follows:

a) A white *Me lha* with one face and four arms, who wears the garment of a mendicant. The two right hands hold a stick and a rosary, the upper left hand lifts a roundish annointing vessel, and the lower left hand makes the *mudrā* of protection.[28]

b) A white *Me lha* with one face and four hands, holding a white lotus, a rosary of crystal, a globular vessel, and a conch-shell.

c) A white tantric form of *Me lha* – mentioned on fol. 8a of Text no. 106 – shown in union with a *śakti*. The fire-god is three-faced, the colours of the countenances are white, black, and red respectively. He has six hands, the upper pair clasps the body of the *yum*; one of the lower two right hands makes the *abhaya mudrā*, the other holds a rosary. The left hands hold a staff and a roundish vessel. This *Me lha* wears the diadem of *rNam par snang mdzod*, his hair and eyebrows are ablaze. He is short-limbed and stout.

d) A red, tantric form of *Me lha*. Also in this case the fire-god has three faces, a red, a blue, and a white one, and six hands. They hold a rosary, a chopper, a trident, an annointing vessel, a skull-cup, and one hand makes the *abhaya mudrā*. Two of the hands are clasped around the body of the *śakti* shown in sexual union with the fire-god. Both figures wear the ornaments of the wrathful deities, viz. a crown of skulls, ornaments made of human bone, etc.[29]

27 Concerning the *Me lha* see further Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III/2, pp. 36, 120; *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, pp. 101 sq., 268.

28 165, fol. 5b.

29 191, fol. 3b.

e) A black, three-headed, and six-handed form of *Me lha*. In this case the faces are black, white, and red respectively, but otherwise the whole appearance of the deity is the same as in the case just described.[30]

f) A *Me lha* of an undefined colour, since his body may assume any hue. His appearance is being described in the following way: in the middle of a flaming triangular *maṇḍala* rides on a brown billy-goat the "great holy hermit", the god of fire. His body is covered with a coat of fire, he has three faces, six hands, and shows a ferocious expression. The hands hold a bell, a hearth (*me thab*), a rosary, annointing vessel, a magic dagger, and one hand is set in the *mudrā* of protection.

He is accompanied by ten other fire-gods – his own emanations – who guard the main and intermediary quarters of the world, the nadir, and also the zenith. They bear no specific names, and from the left hand of all of them a fire-cloud issues; the colours of their bodies, however, and the attributes in their right hand differ:

Direction	*Colour*	*Right hand*
Zenith	white with a bluish tinge	bow and arrow
East	white	white wheel
Southeast	blue-red	axe
South	blue	axe
Southwest	blue-green	sword
West	red	knife
Northwest	pale red	fan
North	dark green	crossed thunderbolts
Northeast	yellow-green	trident
Nadir	smoke-coloured	hammer[31]

g) The four *Me lha* who rule the *Zhi ba'i sbyin sreg*, *rGyas pa'i sbyin sreg*, *dBang gi sbyin sreg*, and the *Kun 'dus mchog gi sbyin sreg*, and who are known accordingly as the *Zhi ba'i me lha*, *rGyas pa'i me lha*, *dBang gi me lha*, and *mChog gi me lha*. The *Zhi ba'i me lha* is white, and his right hand holds a wheel of white fire, while his left hand brandishes a *phur bu* made of silver. He rides on a white goat. The *rGyas pa'i me lha* is yellow, and he has the form of a proud *yakṣa*. His attributes are a wheel of yellow fire, a *phur bu* of gold, and his mount is a yellow billy-goat. The *dBang gi me lha* is red, and he bears the expression of passion. In his right hand he holds a red fire-wheel, the left hand brandishes a *phur bu* of

30 139 and 194, fol. 6a.
31 87, fol. 3b.

copper. The billy goat on which he rides is red-coloured. The *mChog gi me lha* is varicoloured. He has the features of a proud *yakṣa*. His right hand holds a wheel of dark-blue flames, his left hand brandishes a *phur bu* made of meteoric iron, and his mount is a dark-blue goat.[32]

h) In some cases the four *Me lha* invoked in the course of the four kinds of *sByin sreg* ceremonies are supposed to have bodies differing in colour, but to carry identical attributes and to ride mounts of one and the same colour. Each of these *Me lha* is one-headed and two-handed. Their bodies are white, yellow, red, and green respectively. All of them hold a fire-wheel and a fire-brand, and they ride on fox-brown billy-goats. Their female companions[33] are being described in the following way: "From the eastern quarter appears the white *Me len ma* ("she who takes fire"), belonging to the "thunderbolt-order"; take fire from the hands of the *dri za* and let burn the pacifying fire. From the southern direction comes forth the yellow *Me len ma*, belonging to the "jewel-order"; take fire from the hands of the *gshin rje* and let burn the gloriously-extending fire. From the western quarter comes the red *Me len ma*, belonging to the lotus-order; take fire from the hands of the powerful *klu* and let burn the fire of might. From the northern direction approaches the green *Me len ma*, belonging to the "*karma*-order"; take fire from the hands of the *gnod sbyin* and let burn the fierce fire.

From the southeastern direction comes forth the *Shing thun ma* ("she who gathers wood"); bring fire-wood from the country of the fire-god and let burn the pacifying fire. You who are moving the wind-fan, make wind. From the southwestern direction appears the *Shing thun ma;* bring fire-wood from the land of the *Srin po* and let burn the gloriously-extending fire. You who are moving the wind-fan, etc. From the northwestern direction appears the *Shing thun ma;* bring fire-wood from the country of the wind-god (*Rlung lha*) and let burn the fire of might. You who etc. From the northeastern quarter approaches the *Shing thun ma;* bring fire-wood from the country of *dBang ldan* (Skt. *Īśa*) and let burn the fierce fire. You who etc."[34]

A description of the fire-goddesses is also contained in Text no. 42, which gives instructions about performing a *sByin sreg* on a cemetery. First five goddesses, all bearing the name *Shing thu ma*, are mentioned.

[32] 108, subchapter a.
[33] These are apparently the four "fire-virgins" (Feuerjungfrauen) described by N. Poppe, 'Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen,' *Asia Major*, II 1, Leipzig 1925, p. 134.
[34] 136

Their distribution, colour, and the order to which they belong are given as follows:

Direction	*Colour*	*Order*
Southeast	white	thunderbolt-order
Southwest	yellow	jewel ,,
Northwest	red	lotus ,,
Northeast	green	*karma* ,,
Centre	blue	Buddha ,,

Each of them is supposed to bring the kinds of wood, needed for the different fire-sacrifices; the names of the various kinds of wood and the localities from which they are to be procured are given below:

Name of the wood	*Locality*
white sandal-wood (wood of pacification)	the country of holy hermits
turmeric wood (wood of extension)	land of the *rākṣasas*
red sandal-wood (wood of might)	land of *Marut*
sandal-wood and black thorns (wood of ferocity)	country of *Īśa*
the wood of the Boddhi tree and the wood of the wish-granting tree	the top of *Mt. Meru*

Apart from the five *Shing thu ma*, this text mentions also five other goddesses whose task it is to set the bellows in motion. Their distribution, colour, and the characteristic attibutes which each of them holds are:

Direction	*Colour*	*Attribute*
East	white	flaming thunderbolt
South	yellow	flaming jewel
West	red	flaming lotus
North	green	flaming crossed thunderbolts
Centre	blue	flaming wheel

Finally we may mention a god who is apparently assumed to be a subduer of the various *Me lha*;[35] this is the *Me lha 'dul byed kyi khro bo*, a yellow-red figure holding a flaming *dbal* in the right hand and a club (*dbyug tho*) in the left one.[36]

[35] In all his forms the *Me lha* is supposed to have a tongue in the shape of a thunderbolt, with the syllable *ram* written on it.
[36] 198.

To dispel the forces of evil and to purify those places which they have infested is also one of the tasks of a personage known with a composite Sanskrit-Tibetan name as *Mahā skad gtong ba*, "the great caller". The few reports which have so far become available about the functions of the *Mahā skad gtong ba* were met with scepticism and incredulity. The reports, however, which I received from reliable Tibetan informants corroborated in several essential points the first short account which had been given by David-Neel.[37] Even if we view the material supplied by the Tibetan informants with all necessary caution and postpone a decision on this interesting phenomenon until more thorough investigations have been carried out, it may nevertheless be useful to present already here the material gathered so far from my Tibetan informants.

According to their claim there are several *bKa' brgyud pa* monasteries in the Tsang province which place great stress on yogic training. Best known among them is the *Nags stod skyid phug* monastery, which lies to the northwest of Shigatse. This monastery is inhabited by some two hundred monks, with an incarnate lama at their head. The present *sprul sku* is a member of the *Phung khang* family. In accordance with the rules of this shrine all novices who desire a training in the arts of *yoga* have to spend the first three years of their stay at *Nags stod skyid phug* engaged in the kinds of work as assigned to young monks in any Tibetan religious establishment. After this initial period they receive for three years, three months, and three days instructions in three special religious disciplines, the main part of the course being devoted to practicing *yoga*. This second period is known therefore as the *lo gsum chos gsum*, which means verbatim "three years – three doctrines". Those of the monks who desire to receive further training are placed under the guidance of experienced religious masters for periods lasting six, seven, or twelve years. The same course of tuition is being observed at *Thal mchog gling*, a monastery half-way between Shigatse and Pena, which, too, possesses a famous yogic school.

The two most experienced yogis of both monasteries bear the title *Mahā skad gtong ba*. Apart from their actual yogic capabilities their nomination depends on the advice of oracle-priests who have to be consulted in this matter. Also the Tibetan Government has to be informed in writing about the choice which has been made, and it has to confirm the *Mahā skad gtong ba* in his office. The consent of the government is usually received without any further investigations being carried out by the Lhasa authorities. Both monasteries take turns in dispatching in every bird-year of the Tibetan twelve-year cycle its *Mahā skad gtong ba*

[37] David-Neel, *Mystics and Magicians*, p. 205 sq.

together with two other experienced yogis for a journey which is known as the *g.Yul drug bar bskor*. It starts at *Zhva lu dgon pa* in Tsang and leads via Shigatse to Lhasa, from there to Samye, and then through Lhoka to Nethang (*gNas thang*), Gyantse, and back to *Zhva lu*. While a caravan would normally take several weeks to cover this distance, the three yogis are supposed to carry out this long and arduous journey within a fortnight, proceeding untiringly with a quick, rhythmic gait and taking scarcely any rest.

According to David-Neel the purpose of this journey is to summon *gShin rje* and various demoniacal beings for a religious ceremony to be held in their honour. My Tibetan informants, however, were ignorant of this alleged purpose of the *Mahā skad gtong ba*'s journey, though they agreed that some religious ceremony takes place in connection with this event. In their opinion the main purpose of the journey is to test the forces of the chief Tibetan yogis, in order to keep up the high level of their training, and also to purify all places which they have to pass by means of the powers over which the yogis are supposed to have command.

In order to acquire these powers the three yogis whose turn it is to perform the *g.Yul drug bar bskor* have to spend the eleven years before the start of the journey in rigorous training. Each of them enters on an auspicious day a separate cell, which he leaves again only a few days before the *g.Yul drug bar bskor* is due to begin. The entrance to each cell is walled up, only a small fissure being left open, which can be closed from the inside by a shutter. Through this opening the yogi receives his food. Only the highest authorities of the monastery are allowed to converse with him during the time of his retreat.

While in seclusion, the yogi has to practise *thu mo*[38] the breathing-

[38] On *thu mo* see Evans Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga*, p. 156 sq. According to my informants the final test for those who mastered the technique of the *thu mo* is as follows: the anchorite retreats to some lonely, snow-covered spot, bringing with him twelve huge linen sheets and some half-boiled pulp made of wheat flour. Having undressed, he will dip the first sheet into icy water, wrap it around his body, and then swallow one cup of dough. The heat which the yogi is able to produce will dry the wet cover within a short time, while the heavy dough, which would cause great internal pains to any other person, becomes digestible at the same time. This process is then repeated until all twelve sheets have been dried, the yogi swallowing again a cup of dough every time he puts on another cover. Those who have reached this stage of training claim that, their aim once achieved, they experience a feeling of extreme happiness and lightness.

One of the best-know Tibetan yogis in the Indo-Tibetan borderland, who had mastered the art of *thu mo* (he bears therefore the title *rlung gi nyams len rtags thon pa*), is the so-called *mTshams pa rin po che* of the *bKa' brgyud dgon pa* in *Gro smad*, who was in 1950 already some 90 years old. He received his training at a religious establishment in the Tsang province, known as the *Shang 'ba' ra dgon*, *Shang* being the name of the district in which it is situated.

technique which allows him to increase the heat of his body – and especially a method designed to achieve the power of levitation. For acquiring the latter capacity he has to practise leaping up cross-legged, without using the hands in support. Year-long exercises of this kind are supposed to lead to the result that the body of the yogi becomes extremely pliable and light, and, as the Tibetans claim, the yogi will eventually be able to float in the air for a short time at a hight of several feet above the ground.

When the time comes to dispatch the *Mahā skad gtong ba* for his journey to Lhasa and Samye, the three cells are broken open and the three yogis are conducted to *Zhva lu*[39] monastery, in order that the *Mahā skad gtong ba* may pass there an official test which is held in public. At *Zhva lu* the chief yogi has to enter a completely bare subterranean room, about double the hight of an average man. The ceiling of this room, which bears a small square opening in its centre, is level with the surface of the earth. The *Mahā skad gtong ba* has to spend a week in this room, dressed only in a loin-cloth, without food and drink, absorbed in deep meditation.

The day on which the test is traditionally held is according to David-Neel the eleventh day of the tenth Tibetan month. My Tibetan informants were not certain whether this date was correct. In their opinion the test could be held on any auspicious day in the eleventh Tibetan month. In the morning of the day on which the test is due to take place the two governors of Shigatse arrive at *Zhva lu* as the official representatives of the Tibetan Government. Great crowds of spectators collect at the monastery to witness this event. The governors take seats near the square opening in the ceiling of the subterranean cell. Upon their sign the *Mahā skad gtong ba*, applying the power of levitation, has to rise to the ceiling and come up into the open by squeezing through the narrow opening. Immediately afterwards he has to wrap himself into a freshly-drawn yak skin – according to some informants into a yak-skin which had been soaked in ice-cold water – which he has to dry completely by increasing the heat of his body. The result of this procedure having been investigated by the two officials, the skin is handed on to the crowd of spectators to be examined by them as well.

After passing successfully these two examinations the *Mahā skad gtong ba* will dress for the journey. He dons the usual garments worn by a monk; in addition to it a broad sash is wound around his body. A rosary is hung around his neck, and a *phur bu* is stuck into the sash. A part of his long hair is bound into a tuft, which is then decorated with a thunderbolt,

39 Regarding *Zhva lu* monastery see Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV/1, p. 15 sq.

while the remaining hair is allowed to hang loosely down upon his shoulders. His ears are adorned with a pair of huge white earrings made from a conch-shell, and his eyes are hidden behind a magical screen of strings made from the hair of a bear. The *Mahā skad gtong ba* carries in his right hand a trident, to which pendants of silk and various other ornaments have been attached, and his left hand holds a thighbone trumpet. The two yogis who accompany the *Mahā skad gtoṅ ba* wear ordinary lama-dresses and caps. Their long hair hangs down to the shoulders, the ears are decorated with conch-shell earrings, and each of them carries a long stick of cane.

Before the departure of the three yogis the governors attach several seals to the sash worn by the *Mahā skad gtong ba*, in order to insure that he will not take off his garments to have a longer rest while undergoing the last and most difficult part of the test. Accompanied by several officials and servants on horseback, the three yogis then set out on their journey, while the two governors draw up a report informing the Lhasa Government about the first results of the test.

According to eye-witnesses the gait in which the three yogis walk is not different from the usual quick walk of an ordinary man. Most of the informants claimed that the yogis are during the journey neither in a trance nor do they act under the influence of an intoxicant; their extraordinary performance is simply attributed to the fact that by years of meditation and hard training they achieved an unusual mastery over the body. A few expressed, however, the opinion, that the yogis are in a trance or that they possess the knowledge of certain secret *mantras* insuring quick footedness (*rkang 'gyogs*). Their step does not appear very fast to a casual observer, and there are always a few enterprising young men who try to accompany the yogis, but sooner or later they have to give up, being unable to walk with the same endurance. Only at night the yogis are allowed to rest for three or four hours and to take some food and drink. They are not permitted to lie down, but have to spend most of the time sitting in meditation, the accompanying officials maintaining a close watch that none of them falls asleep.

Ahead of this little group proceed a few riders, dispatched by the local authorities, whose task it is to announce to the population the impending arrival of the *Mahā skad gtong ba*. People in festive dress line the route and burn juniper in open censers. Many offer a ceremonial scarf to the chief yogi as a sign of respect and ask for his blessings, which he dispenses by touching the person with his trident and scattering some rice or barley seeds, an act through which the place is supposed to become ritually purified.

When reaching the Tibetan capital the *Mahā skad gtong ba* heads for the flight of steps which lead up to the Potala. When arriving at the first of the two memorial stones which stand at the foot of the Dalai Lama's residence, he has to blow his thighbone trumpet. Upon this sign the servants employed in the household of the Dalai Lama have to open all doors of the palace and light some incense in each room. This work has to be finished in a moment's time, not later than when the yogi lets the trumpet sound once more while beginning to ascend the stairs. When passing through the gate of the palace, he has to blow the trumpet for a third time, and then he rushes through the rooms which have been opened for him, scattering sacrificial rice all along his way.

Finally the *Mahā skad gtong ba* is ushered into the presence of the Dalai Lama. After making obeisance to Tibet's spiritual ruler, he is allowed to sit down and drink two cups of tea. The time for this short audience having passed, the *Mahā skad gtong ba* will rise and after making a deep bow will leave the palace, without having spoken a single word. Accompanied again by the two other yogis, he proceeds now into the town. There the yogis are usually invited to visit the houses of the nobility and to purify the rooms by passing through them and scattering rice. In each house the *Mahā skad gtong ba* is asked to sit on a specially prepared throne, the two other yogis being offered lower seats next to him. After the traditional presenting of scarfs and drinking of tea, the *Mahā skad gtong ba* will bless the head of the family by leaning forward and touching the man's forehead with his own head. He blesses then the other members of the household by placing both hands on their bowed heads.

Upon conclusion of their long journey the *Mahā skad gtong ba* and his two companions take a rest of several months and then resume their meditations and yogic exercises; according to David-Neel,[40] however, the *Mahā skad gtong ba* undertakes another tour to Shigatse and through Upper Tsang (*gTsang stod*) lasting one month.

[40] *Mystics and magicians*, p. 209.

CHAPTER XXVII

SOME NOTES ON TIBETAN SHAMANISM

The occurrence of shamanistic elements in Tibetan Buddhism and especially in the Bon religion has often been pointed out, but the first attempts to investigate this rather difficult question were made only recently by Hoffmann and Eliade.[1] The material presented in this book contains a number of traditions and rites which appear to be survivals of an early Tibetan shamanism; we shall deal therefore, too, with these points, and shall refer in this connection also to some other observations, though they may stand already outside the scope of the questions discussed in the foregoing chapters.

When describing various groups of early Tibetan deities we observed frequently that many of these form so-called "brotherhoods" and "sisterhoods", comprising mostly thirteen, seven, and especially nine members. Such characteristic classifications of divine beings are, however, also found in the mythology of many shamanistic peoples. Thus the Siberian Tatars speak of the nine Erlik Chans who rule the lower regions,[2] or the nine daughters of a single Erlik Chan;[3] Solboni – the god of dawn of the Buriats – is supposed to have nine daughters;[4] some of the peoples living in the Altai mountains speak of the nine daughters and the seven (or nine) sons of the god Ulgen;[5] and the Mongolian mythology knows "the nine *tengri*, the protectors and brothers", who act as guardian-deities (*sulde tengri*) and whose description reminds us strongly of the way in which the "nine *dgra lha* brothers" (*dGra lha spun dgu*) are represented: these Mongolian *tengri* are warriors wearing harnesses and helmets, they are armed with swords, flags, lances, and horse-whips, and they are accompanied by

[1] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, 'Bon-Religion und Schamanismus', pp. 197–210; M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, Paris 1951.

[2] G. Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern*, Stuttgart 1925, p. 17.

[3] U. Harwa, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen bei den sibirischen Völkern*, Helsinki 1938, p. 352.

[4] L. Sternberg, 'Divine election in primitive religion,' *XXIe Congrès International des Américanistes*, Göteborg 1925, pp. 472–512; p. 485.

[5] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

various animals.[6] The Chuvashes classify their gods into groups comprising nine members;[7] some shamanistic peoples speak of the nine sisters of the spirit of syphilis[8] and the nine brothers of nine different kinds of fire;[9] the Buriats know a group of thirteen Ada (spirits who attack especially children and who are therefore similar to the Tibetan *chung sri*)[10] and they worship Boshintoi, the god of the blacksmiths, and his nine sons;[11] the latter figure reminds us strongly of *mGar ba nag po*, the divine protector of the Tibetan blacksmiths, who is accompanied by his nine brothers. Some of these spirits are supposed to dwell on nine hills; this has a certain similarity to the Tibetan custom of erecting nine miniature hills when carrying out the *dGu sgrol* ceremony, and also to the belief that one or the other of the old Tibetan deities dwells in a castle with nine pinnacles. It should be mentioned in this context that the numbers seven and nine, which occur so frequently in the traditions and rites of the Bon, are the numbers used most frequently by the shamans.[12]

Also the appearance of many deities venerated by the shamans is very similar to that of the early gods and goddesses of Tibet. The Golds speak of a spirit whose face is half black and half red[13] - this reminds us of the characteristic appearance of some of the Tibetan *ging* - and the nine daughters of Erlik, who are described as dark-skinned and black-haired women with large sexual organs,[14] are similar to the Tibetan *ma mo*. The fire is often represented as a woman (the Woguls e.g. speak of the so-called fire-girls);[15] we may remember in this context that in the retinue of *Me lha* appear numerous fire-goddesses whose task it is to fetch and fan the fire. The descriptions of Anakhai, a one-eyed demon of the Buriats,[16] a demoness who has only one eye, one arm, and a single leg, is supposed to initiate the shamans of the Yakuts,[17] and the Arsari of

[6] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[7] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[8] W. Sieroszewski, 'Du chamanisme d'après les croyances des Yakoutes,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XLVI, Paris 1902, p. 229.

[9] Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[10] N. N. Agapitow and M. N. Changalow, 'Das Schamanentum unter den Burjäten,' *Globus* 1887, 52, p. 253; G. Sandschejew, 'Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten,' *Anthropos*, 22 23, Posieux 1927–1928, p. 593.

[11] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 405; Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

[12] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[13] Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

[14] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[15] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

[16] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

[17] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

the Chuvashes, who has only one hand, one leg, and one eye,[18] reminds us strongly of the way in which the goddess *Ral gcig ma*, the gods *Li byin ha ra*, *sPrel nag mig gcig*, etc. are represented.[19] The Kisagan Tengri, the god of war of the Mongols, carries out the same functions as attributed to the *dgra lha* of the Tibetans, and his appearance is the same as that of a typical *btsan*: a red figure brandishing a red stick and riding on a red horse.[20] A trace of shamanism is perhaps also to be found in the Tibetan tradition alleging that Padmasambhava subdued the twenty-eight *rgyu skar*, the lunar mansions which are represented in the shape of twenty-eight goddesses. It seems to me that in this case a pre-Buddhist Tibetan personification of stars is hidden behind the Buddhist term *rgyu skar*. This would correspond to the belief of many shamanistic peoples who regard the stars as living beings; the Yakuts e.g. believe that the stars live, love, and suffer.[21]

When discussing the origin of various *srung ma* we mentioned, that most of these were originally the spirits of people who had died an unnatural death, or who for one or another reason felt reluctant to leave the world. The same story is being told about the origin of many spirits worshiped by the shamans. The Buriats believe that the soul of a man who had been murdered changes into a malevolent spirit, who at first is only venerated by the population living close to the locality where this spirit is supposed to dwell (compare with the legends told about the origin of the *Drung yig chen mo*, *Brag dmar btsan*, etc.), and that the souls of shamans and famous men change into spirits (*sajans*) known to the whole population.[22] Other Siberian peoples believe, just like the Tibetans, that the souls of people who were murdered or who committed suicide become harmful spirits (*üör*) who reside at the spot where the deed was committed, and also that an injustice done to some person during his lifetime may cause that after death the spirit of this man will be able to harm the living.[23] From the legends told by Tibetans about the origin of some of the local protective deities we learned that such a deity might inflict the people living close to its legendary abode with the same illnesses, wounds, or physical disabilities from which the man suffered whose spirit turned later into a demon; thus e.g. the *dGon gsar bla ma dkon mchog*, the spirit of a

[18] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
[19] See p. 122.
[20] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
[21] Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
[22] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 590 sq.
[23] Sieroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

lama who had died in a fire, causes burn-like scars, and the spirit of *Slob dpon* makes his medium limp. Similarly the Buriats believe that e.g. one of the *ezin* – a local deity corresponding to the *gzhi bdag* of the Tibetans –, who is supposed to be lame, causes that many of the people living within the area of his influence suffer from lameness.[24] A further resemblance is the belief of the Golds, Teleuts, and Altai-Tatars, that a person whose soul has "suffered a damage" will be stricken with a corresponding physical disability.[25]

A shamanistic element is apparently also the Tibetan *bla*-belief. Just like the Tibetans, who assume that the *bla* of a nobly-born man may be hidden in a bear, tiger, lion, etc., the Yakuts claim that the "souls" of their strongest shamans dwell in the bodies of bears, and eagles,[26] etc. When describing the dance held in honour of *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* we mentioned, that according to a popular belief the saddled mounts dedicated to the mountain-gods, which have to stand close to the place where the dance is held, sometimes start to tremble as soon as the dancers representing *Gangs chen mdzod lnga* and *Yab bdud* approach. Also the Buriats believe that a horse may indicate the presence of a spirit or of some other force invisible to men: thus, when calling back a soul which had left the body of a patient, a saddled horse of good breed has to stand at the place where the ceremony is held. It is believed that, as soon as the soul returns, the horse will start trembling.[27] Another similarity is that the shamans of the Dolgans are said to dispatch wolves and foxes as their messengers, whom they charge with the task of carrying out some work on their behalf.[28] This reminds us strongly of the custom practised by Tibetan priests and magicians who dispatch deities as their helpmates, as done e.g. in some of the *mdos*-ceremonies and the *Kṣetrapāla'i gtor rgyab*.

According to Sandshejew it is very difficult to persuade the shamans to recite the invocations of spirits at other times than those of performing a ceremony; in their opinion a spirit when called by his name will appear immediately, and in this case it would be necessary to present him with offerings.[29] I encountered the same belief among the Tibetans. A Tibetan priest whom I had asked to sing the invocations of a guardian-deity – usually recited when requesting this divinity to assume possession of

[24] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 597.
[25] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
[26] T. Lehtisalo, 'Der Tod und die Wiedergeburt des künftigen Schamanen. *Journal de la société finno-ougrienne*, XLVIII, Helsinki 1934, p. 32.
[27] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 581.
[28] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 476.
[29] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 549.

a medium – in order that I record it, first prepared on a table a number of offerings for the *chos skyong* he was about to invoke. The priest explained that by singing the prayer he would summon the deity into his presence. If the *chos skyong* would, however, find that he had been called in vain, and that not even offerings had been prepared for him, he would become angry and cause a disaster.

Among the most important objects used by the shamans are the so-called *lekan*, simple effigies representing spirits (*ongons*; sometimes the effigies dedicated to them are called *ongons* as well) and made of wood, pieces of cloth, and furs. These effigies are regarded as the receptacle or prison of an *ongon*, and in case the latter causes some harm, his representation will be beaten or even destroyed.[30] When discussing the traditions concerning *Pe har* we mentioned a peculiar representation of this god called *Kye phang pa*. Judging from the description which Jäschke gives of this object, it has the characteristic appearance of a *lekan* as used by the Sibirian shamans. Further, according to the tradition about *Pe har*'s transfer from *Tshal gung thang* to Samye, communicated by Waddell, the effigy of this *dharmapāla* – after the latter had caused some calamity in the temple – was placed into a box and thrown as a punishment into a river. The effigy was therefore treated in the same way in which the shamans sometimes treat their *ongons*.

Both Hoffmann and Eliade have already pointed to the close resemblance between the shaman drum and the *rnga chen*, the lama drum which is being beaten by means of a stick curved far back.[31] Just like the shamans, also Bon magicians are supposed to have used drums as vehicles for flying. A detailed account of the best-known of such legends, which tells about the flight of the Bonpo *Na ro bon chung*, has only recently been published by Hofmann.[32] A remnant of a similar tradition may be the legend which claims that *gShen rab mi bo* used to fly on a huge wheel, on which he occupied the central position, while his eight disciples sat on the eight spokes. It seems probable that the original vehicle of *gSnen rab mi bo* and his disciples is supposed to have been a drum, which in the teachings of the *Bon dkar* was substituted by the eight-spoked wheel, a symbol introduced by the Buddhists.[33] As regards the resemblance between the drums of the shamans and those used by the Tibetans we find, that the

30 E. Lot-Falck, *Les rites de chasse chez les peuples sibériens*, Paris 1953, p. 37; W. Heissig, 'A Mongolian source to the lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century,' *Anthropos*, 48, Posieux 1953, p. 511.

31 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 202 sq.; Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

32 *Quellen*, p. 267 sq.

33 Quoted in Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Bon-Religion,' p. 38; see also p. 32.

tambourine of the Bonpos, the so-called *phyed rnga* or "half-drum", shows the closest resemblance to the drums of the former type. Thus e.g. the drum of the Buriat shamans has also only one drum-skin. A legend tells that originally this drum had two drum-skins, but after one of the shamans had carried away a soul which the heavenly Tengri had taken, the latter diminished the power of the shamans by dividing their drums in half.[31] Two other resemblances are that both the magicians of the "black Bon" and the shamans when chanting invocations and beating the drum hold the instrument with the drum-skin close to their face – as e.g. the Jenisseians[35] – and that they lead the drum-stick upward, and further that the Tibetans use their drums for divination, just like the shamans of the Laps.[36]

When describing the ceremony of worshiping *rMa chen spom ra* we mentioned that some of the substances used in this case have to be spread out on a piece of felt. According to Schröder the oracle-priests of the Tu jen when performing some of their ceremonies have to kneel on a piece of felt, and the stuffed goat used in the rites of weather-making is, too, placed on a felt-mat.[37] Further, when discussing the outfit worn by the mediums of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba* we mentioned the *phying zhva*, the felt-hat of these oracle-priests. Felt is, however, also used extensively by the shamans. Thus e.g. the Buriats carried their new shamans on mats of felt;[38] such a mat had also to be held in readiness when a shaman "ascended to heaven" by climbing on a birch;[39] and when recalling the soul of a man the patient had to be laid on a piece of white unused felt.[40]

The arrow, especially the so-called *mda' dar* or "divination-arrow", is used frequently in the rites of the Bon magicians and Buddhist priests. The arrow is also one of the most important ritual objects of the shamans. Especially the shamans of the Buriats use an arrow in many of their ceremonies: when worshiping the deities of the fire an arrow is used decorated with ribbons of varicoloured silk and three buttons of copper[41] (similar therefore to the *Me lha 'bod pa'i mda' dar*, the arrow dedicated

31 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

35 A. Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus*, Lund-Kopenhagen 1939, p. 183.

36 E. Manker, *Die lappische Zaubertrommel*, Stockholm 1938.

37 Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

38 Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

39 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

40 Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 580. The work of L. Olschki, *The Myth of the Felt*, Berkeley 1949, which most probably would have provided further parallels, was unfortunately not accessible to me.

41 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Poppe, 'Feuerkultus', p. 140.

to the Tibetan god of fire); further, when "recalling the soul" of a patient an arrow is stuck into a container filled with the food which the patient likes best[42] (this reminds us of the Tibetan and Sherpa custom described on p. 367), or a special arrow "for obtaining wordly and divine favours" is used.[43] According to Harwa, most of the Siberian peoples use the arrow as an offering, but also as means of protection or for driving out evil.[44] In the latter sense some of the shamans when singing invocations mention that they "shoot off an arrow".[45] Such an action – as we mentioned on p. 510 – is carried out, too, by the Tibetan state oracle, who shoots off arrows on the occasion of the Tibetan New Year feast in order to dispell or destroy malignant forces. A typical shamanistic feature is also the Tibetan custom to suck an illness out of the body of a patient by means of an arrow;[46] the Tibetan magician, like e.g. the shaman of the Chukchi,[47] afterwards shows a worm or some other object which he had "sucked out" of the body of the patient. Another instrument which we mentioned frequently when describing ceremonies of pre-Buddhist origin is the so-called *khram shing*, a wooden board in the form of a hexagon covered with notches in the form of leaning crosses. Similar to this object is the symbol of the world-axis used by the Yurak tribe, a stick with a quadratic cross section and seven leaning crosses carved into each of the four sides.[48]

A certain similarity exists also between the *phur bu*, which is mostly decorated with a demoniacal head bearing a small horse-head on top according to Buddhist tradition the head of *rTa mgrin* – and the sticks used e.g. by the Buriat shamans in the Baikal area which bear a small horse-head on one end.[49]

When comparing the outfits and instruments used by Tibetan oracle-priests with those of the shamans, we notice several remarkable similarities. Many of the Siberian shamans (e.g. those of the Telengites in the Altai,[50] the Dolgans, Yakuts, and Tungus[51]) wear a coat and a headdress

42 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 580.
Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 555.
Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
W. Bogoras, *Chukchee Mythology, The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, VIII, p. 465.
Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 78; Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 145. See also S. Hummel, 'Der lamaistische Ritualdolch (phur bu) und die alt-vorderorientalischen "Nagelmenschen", ,*Asiatische Studien*, VI, 1–4, Bern 1952, pp. 42–51.
50 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 503 sq.
51 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 509; Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

decorated with feathers; this outfit should give to the shaman the appearance of a huge bird. It seems to me that the so-called *stod le* of the oracle-priests – worn also by lamas when performing a religious dance or when carrying out a *sByin sreg* ceremony – is a reduced shaman coat. Apart from a certain similarity in the shape also the *stod le*, just like the shaman coat, is decorated on the shoulders with feathers; while in the case of shamanistic peoples the feathers of the eagle-owl are used for this purpose, the lamas fasten to the *stod le* feathers of the vulture, the biggest of all Tibetan birds. Vulture-feathers adorn also the helmet carried by the chief oracle-priest, another parallel to the custom of the shamans who, too, wear feathers on their headdress. Further, as we mentioned on p. 416, the Tibetans believe that some unusual powers are inherent to the ceremonial dress worn by an oracle-priest. Similarly some of the Siberian peoples believe that the power of the shamans rests in the coat worn when performing a ceremony.[52] This power can be enlarged by attaching long ribbons of cloth to the shaman costume.[53] A survival of the same idea are apparently the long broad ribbons of silk and brocade attached to the hats and helmets worn by Tibetan oracle-priests and black-hat dancers (*zhva nag*). Further similarities between the headdress worn by the Buddhist mediums and that of the shamans are: the *gurtums* of the Tu jen wear on their head a red cloth bearing a number of little bells and a five-lobed crown of wood or cardboard of the types called *khro bo rigs lnga* and *zhi ba'i rigs lnga* on top.[54] Also some of the lower-ranking Tibetan mediums wear such crowns. They are similar to the bands of leather or paper which the Jenisseian shamans have to tie around the head when performing a ceremony.[55] On the other hand the shamans of the Telengites cover their heads with a piece of red cloth adorned with shells, pearls, and also with buttons of metal.[56] Some of the shamans wear a crown of metal bearing prongs which represent horns or – more frequently – the antlers of a stag.[57] This crown shows a certain similarity to the peculiar headdress of metal which was borne by Bon priests[58] and by priests of the Na khi tribe.[59] It seems probable that this headdress of metal, too, represented originally the antlers of a stag. – That the dress worn by the

[52] Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
[53] K. Donner, 'Ornements de la tête et de la chevelure,' *Journal de la société finno-ougrienne*, XXXVII, Helsinki 1916–1920.
[54] Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
[55] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[56] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 503.
[57] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 514.
[58] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, plate 10.
[59] Rock. *Nāga Cult*, I!, plate XL.

Tibetan skeleton-dancers appearing in the *'cham* is similar to the attire of some of the shamans has already been pointed out by Eliade.[60]

It is a characteristic custom of the shamans to cover their faces when performing a ceremony. The shamans of the Samoyeds hide their faces behind a piece of cloth,[61] those of the Soyots and of the peoples living in the Altai wear a band with long fringes which cover the countenance to the greater part,[62] and some of the Buriats use masks made of wood, metal, or leather.[63] Such a custom is also observed by lamas and Tibetan oracle-priests: when performing a *sByin sreg* ceremony the officiating priests wear a head-band with long black fringes of bear-hair which screen their eyes. Such fringes hang also from the front-part of the hat worn by mediums of the *dge bsnyen Phying dkar ba*. The *srid pa'i smug chung* or *bse 'bag smug po*, the ancient leather-mask which had allegedly been brought to Samye after a Tibetan military expedition to *Bhata Hor*, is to all appearances a shaman mask representing – as in the case of the masks used by the Tungus, Telengites, and Eskimos of Alaska[64] - the face of the divinity who took possession of the medium to whom the mask originally belonged. An important part of the outfit worn by the shamans of the Golds and Buriats is the so-called *toli*,[65] a mirror-like polished plate of copper carried on the breast or on the back and said to have been originally a shield protecting against evil forces.[66] To this *toli* corresponds the so-called *me long* or "mirror" of the Tibetan oracle-priest worn on the breast, a circular shield of copper bearing the "seed-syllable" of the deity who takes possession of the medium.

The sword is the most important weapon of the Tibetan oracle-priest: it is used in divination-ceremonies, to heal people who have fallen ill, and swords which have been bent by a medium in the course of a trance are regarded as an efficacious protection against demons. But the sword is also used extensively by the shamans. Some of them are presented with a sword at the time of initiation, and they use it during their journey to the "upper world" as a weapon feared by evil spirits.[67]

The close relation between the Tibetan oracle-priests and the Siberian shamans has already been pointed out by Hoffmann, who also questioned the claim of Ohlmarks that the shamans of the so-called "subarctic peoples

60 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 383.
61 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 66
62 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 508.
63 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 525; Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
64 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
65 Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
66 Nioradze, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
67 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

- to whom, according to this classification, also the Tibetans belong – do not reach in their seances the wild ecstatic power of the "arctic" shamans, and that they merely try in their ceremonies to imitate the characteristic behaviour of the latter.[68] The description of the trances of Tibetan oracle-priests, however, recorded in chapter XXI, shows distinctly that the trances of the Tibetan mediums reach the same intensity as those of the "arctic" shamans. Ohlmarks claims that the "subarctic" shamans in order to carry out their "small shamanizing" – in contrast to the "great shamanizing", the trance of the "artic" shamans – have to use alcohol and tobacco as stimulants.[69] This claim has, however, no validity as far as the Tibetans are concerned: we mentioned above that the Tibetan oracle-priests are forbidden to use tobacco and alcohol, and those who apply intoxicants in order to fall into a trance-like state are regarded as impostors who may be punished if their fraud is discovered. The poison which such impostors usually apply is hashish, the same intoxicant which the prophetic seers of ancient Iran used.[70] In order to induce a Tibetan medium to fall into a trance, the assistants burn twigs of juniper, just as done – according to Ohlmarks – by the shamans of many of the Siberian peoples.[71] Ohlmarks claims further that the playing of music causing the shaman to fall into the trance, the belief that an "auxiliary spirit" assumes control of the shaman and speaks through his mouth, and also the circumstance that some of the shamans wound themselves with their weapons when possessed, are characteristic elements of genuine shamanism;[72] all these points were, however, also mentioned above when describing the beliefs and ceremonies of Tibetan oracle-priests: various instruments are played, and special prayers have to be chanted in a peculiar quick rhythm in order to induce a deity to take possession of the medium and to speak through his mouth. After the deity has assumed full control of the priest, the latter will sometimes try to prove his alleged supernatural powers by piercing his body with weapons without suffering any harm. In this context Schröder's observation should be mentioned, that the oracle-priests of the Tu jen have to wound themselves in order to "purify" themselves after intercourse and the use of intoxicants.[73] A further proof that the trances of the Tibetan oracle-priests correspond in their intensity and main features to those of the so-called "arctic" shamans becomes apparent especially when

68 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 85; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 204.
69 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
70 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
71 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 119.
72 Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 227.
73 Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

comparing the course of the Tibetan seances recorded in chapter XXI with the classical seance of a Yakut shaman described by Ohlmarks, who divides this ceremony into the following three main sections:

a) the quiet introductory period of calling the spirit;
b) the shaman becomes possessed by the spirit; he dances wildly, his face is contorted, and the lips are covered with froth;
c) the shaman becomes quieter, he speaks and sings prayers.[74]

These characteristic features of the shaman trance correspond exactly to the main stages of the seance of a Tibetan oracle priest as described on p. 431. Another similarity is the heat felt at the beginning of the trance both by Siberian shamans and Tibetan mediums.[75] Also the characteristic position which the Tibetan mediums assume at the beginning of a trance corresponds to that of the shamans: a Buriat shaman e.g. when entering a trance sits with his feet apart, and he lowers his head and cries out aloud as soon as the spirit enters his body.[76] The shamanistic peoples claim that the shaman receives from the spirit who inspires him during the seance certain unusual qualities and powers.[77] The same is believed by the Tibetans: an oracle-priest is supposed to assume in the trance the characteristic hue, facial expression, and behaviour of the deity who had taken possession of his body. The deity also grants him unusual physical powers, which he usually manifests by bending swords or by jumping high into the air in spite of his heavy dress and helmet; also the shamans have at the height of the trance a feeling of extreme lightness, and they jump and dance wildly in spite of the shaman-coat which has a considerable weight on account of its heavy iron ornaments.[78] At the height of a shamanistic seance a spirit speaks through the mouth of the shaman, who is not conscious of the sense of the words which he utters. These words are later interpreted by a third person.[79] This is exactly the custom observed in the case of the prophetic seances of the Tibetan mediums. The esteem which a Tibetan oracle enjoys depends on the number and the rank of the deities who take possession of him; similarly the Eskimos of Alaska believe that the greater the number of the auxiliary spirits of the shaman, the greater is his power.[80]

[74] Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[75] Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[76] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[77] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
[78] S. Shirokogorov, *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*, Shanghai-London 1935, p. 364.
[79] Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 540.
[80] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

Knoll-Greiling in her paper on shamanism[81] differentiates the following four main periods in the life of the shaman:

a) his predisposition,
b) the call to become a shaman and his reaction,
c) preparation for his office,
d) experiences recorded in the course of shamanistic actions (exceptional conditions: initial stage, ecstasy, lethargy).

We shall try now to ascertain, whether and how far these points can be regarded as typical also for the main stages in the life of a Tibetan oracle-priest.

Just as in the case of the Siberian shamans, not every Tibetan man or woman can become a prophetic medium, since certain predispositions are required. Thus, according to the claim of my Tibetan informants, many of the Tibetan oracles are people of a highly excitable nature; *Blo bzang phun tshogs* e.g. told me that his father, the state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin*, became irritable for the slightest reason. Only those of the Tibetans who were "selected" by a divinity as a medium can become an oracle. This circumstance corresponds to the "divine selection" of the shamans, while the acquisition of the shaman power by purchase – regarded as a sign of an already corrupted shamanism[82] – is not customary among the Tibetans. Many of the shamans claim that their selection to the office of a shaman was announced to them by the spirit of an ancestor or by a divine being, figures which appeared in their dreams; similarly the state oracle *rGyal mtshan mthar phyin* claimed that he saw *Pe har* in a dream, who informed him that he, the chief *'Jig rten pa'i srung ma*, had chosen him as his future mouthpiece. The same was claimed by the state-oracle whom the German Schäfer-Expedition met in Lhasa in 1939.[83] When selected by a divinity the future shaman is stricken by the characteristic "shaman illness", which starts to subside as soon as an elder shaman begins to initiate him into the traditions and rites of his new profession. Also the newly-chosen Tibetan mediums suffer from fits, the symptoms are similar to those of the "shaman illness", and they, too, have to pass a period of initiation which they mostly spend in a monastery. Just like the shamans also many of the Tibetans do not welcome at all the call of the deity to become a medium, since they fear the sufferings and the strain of the seances. Among numerous of the

[81] U. Knoll-Greiling, 'Berufung und Berufungserlebnis bei den Schamanen,' *Tribus, Jahrbuch des Linden-Museums*, Stuttgart 1952–1953, pp. 227–238.

[82] Knoll-Greiling, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[83] Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 206.

Siberian peoples the office of the shaman is being inherited; this is also the case with the so-called *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* of the South Tibetan borderland and, according to Bell, with some of the lower-ranking female mediums, where the office of the mother is inherited by the daughter,[84] while in the case of the highest oracle-priest no rules of heritage exist on account of the Buddhist laws enforcing celibacy of the monks.

Most of the future shamans are stricken by the "shaman illness" at the time of puberty. The same applies to the Tibetan mediums, since most of them, as my informants claimed, become possessed for the first time when reaching sexual maturity. Among the Siberian peoples circulate stories about shamans who were initiated at a juvenile age by spirits. Such a tradition is also found in one of the Bon works: it tells about a young Tibetan who was abducted by spirits and who roamed with them for thirteen years. During this time he acquired supernatural powers, which enabled him to communicate with spirits after his return among men. The shamanistic nature of this story has already been pointed out by Hoffmann.[85] Of shamanistic origin is perhaps also a type of Tibetan Buddhist literature which describes the experiences of people who visited after death the Buddhist hells, but were later sent back among the living to tell about the torments to which sinners are subject there.[86] Works of this kind, called *'das log*, form an important part of popular Tibetan literature, and a number of them have been translated also into Lepcha.[87]

Before becoming a shaman, the novice stricken by the "shaman illness" experiences his death and subsequent rebirth: he sees himself being cut up and then boiled in a huge cauldron. He receives later a "new body", which he requires in order to be able to carry out the duties of his new office. This belief is extremely similar to the so-called *gcod* rite of the Tibetans, as has already been recognized by Eliade.[88] A priest who practices *gcod* sees his body being cut up and the flesh, blood, and bones fed to deities and demons. A Tibetan who gave me a description of the feelings he experienced while performing the *gcod* claimed that after carrying out this rite he had the impression of having a "new" body.[89] His account

84 See p. 409, note no. 1.
85 *Quellen*, p. 198.
86 Regarding the account of a shaman who died, but later returned among the living and reported about his experiences in the other world see Ohlmarks, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
87 The titles of these Lepcha works are: *Núng yúng mún de luk*, *Kar ma óng jün să cho*, *Kham kón nun tă ju să nam thar*, and *Thung sal grám mo nam thar*.
88 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
89 On the *gcod* see also David-Neel, *Mystics*, pp. 148 ff.; R. Bleichsteiner, *Die Gelbe Kirche*, Wien, 1937, p. 178.

sounded just like that told by a Yakut and recorded by Lehtisalo.[90] The Yakut claimed that formerly the shamans of his people used to retreat into the solitude in order to live there through the experience of having the body cut to pieces. The shaman rested in a tent specially set up for this purpose. He saw himself being cut up and later, after his bones had been placed together again, he regained his senses as a man awakening from a dream,

In the course of the initiation ceremony of the Tungus shamans two trees are set up whose bigger branches have been cut off, but whose tops are left untouched.[91] A similar custom is observed by the Buddhists of the sub-Himalayan area: when setting up a prayer-flag, the cloth is fastened to the stem of a young tree, whose branches had been cut off except those on the very top.

The fact that a Tibetan oracle-priest passes through the characteristic stages of a shaman's trance – corresponding to the three points mentioned under letter d) of the above list – has already been stated before. One of the main actions of a shaman carried out in the state of ecstasy is the so-called "flight of the soul": the soul of the shaman leaves the body in order to visit other worlds, to free the soul of a man from the power of demons who had carried it away, etc. A remnant of such practices is apparently the custom of the *dpa' bo* and *bsnyen jo mo* to recall the soul of a deceased, mentioned on p. 425, and a ceremony performed by a Bonpo in connection with the funerary rites observed by the Bon. In the course of this ceremony a Bonpo dispatches his soul to the other world, in order to ascertain the fate which the soul of the deceased met and if necessary to free it from the power of malignant spirits.[92] It is remarkable that sometimes, when carrying out such a rite, a string is tied with one end to one hand of the medium and with the other end to the severed leg of a sacrificed animal. The string should apparently serve as a kind of "path" through which the spirit enters the body of the medium. Such a belief is also in vogue among shamanistic peoples: with the Buriats when recalling the soul of a patient a long red string is tied with one end to an arrow and then led through the door to the outside and tied there with the other end to a small birch, which has been set up in the courtyard of the house in which the ceremony is held.[93] In order to conduct the soul of a man who drowned to the hut which has been built for him according to a funeral custom – observed

[90] Lehtisalo, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[91] Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
[92] Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Bon-Religion,' p. 59.
[93] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 581.

with Giljaks, Golds, Orochons, and Olches – a string is stretched from this hut across the river to a tree standing on the other bank; the soul is supposed to find its way by following the string.[94] Especially the Golds and the eastern section of the Tungus speak about paths used by the souls of the dead, which they represent in ceremonies by strings.[95]

The Buriats believe that their shamans travel in rainbows to heaven. In the rites of initiation these rainbows are represented by two ribbons of silk, one red and the other blue.[96] Similar ideas are encountered in Tibetan Buddhism: the two yellow and red ribbons hanging at the sides of Tibetan paintings (*thang ka*) are called the "yellow" and the "red rainbows" (*'ja' ser, 'ja' dmar*), and they are supposed to be a link to the heavenly spheres which the paintings depict. On Tibetan paintings one sometimes sees also representations showing the deceased walking upwards towards heaven on rainbows, and in the case of some of the ceremonies described in chapter XXVI a path of flour has to be made, apparently to be used by the deities who were attracted upon the *mdos* and *gtor ma*. The shamanistic ideas underlying the ancient Tibetan tradition claiming that the early Tibetan kings were linked to the heavenly sphere by means of the "*dmu*-rope" (*dmu thag*) have already been discussed by Eliade.[97]

A trace of shamanism is also to be found in Tibetan thread-cross ceremonies. We mentioned already that the base with three or four steps on which a *mdos* stands represents the so-called *ri rab lhun po*, the "world-mountain". This legendary mountain plays an important part in the mythology of most shamanistic peoples,[98] who believe that the "world-mountain" has three, four, or seven steps.[99] On this mountain is supposed to grow the "world-tree", which e.g. the Yakuts imagine as a tree without branches but covered with whorls from which the shamans are supposed to originate out of eggs;[100] the birth from eggs is another parallel to Tibetan (and Na khi) traditions, which allege that various groups of aboriginal deities were hatched from eggs. It seems probable to me that at least in some cases a high Tibetan *mdos* set up on the base symbolic of the *ri rab lhun po* represented this legendary "world-tree", which, according to the belief of the shamans[101], grows on the "world-mountain". From the wood of this tree the shamans are supposed

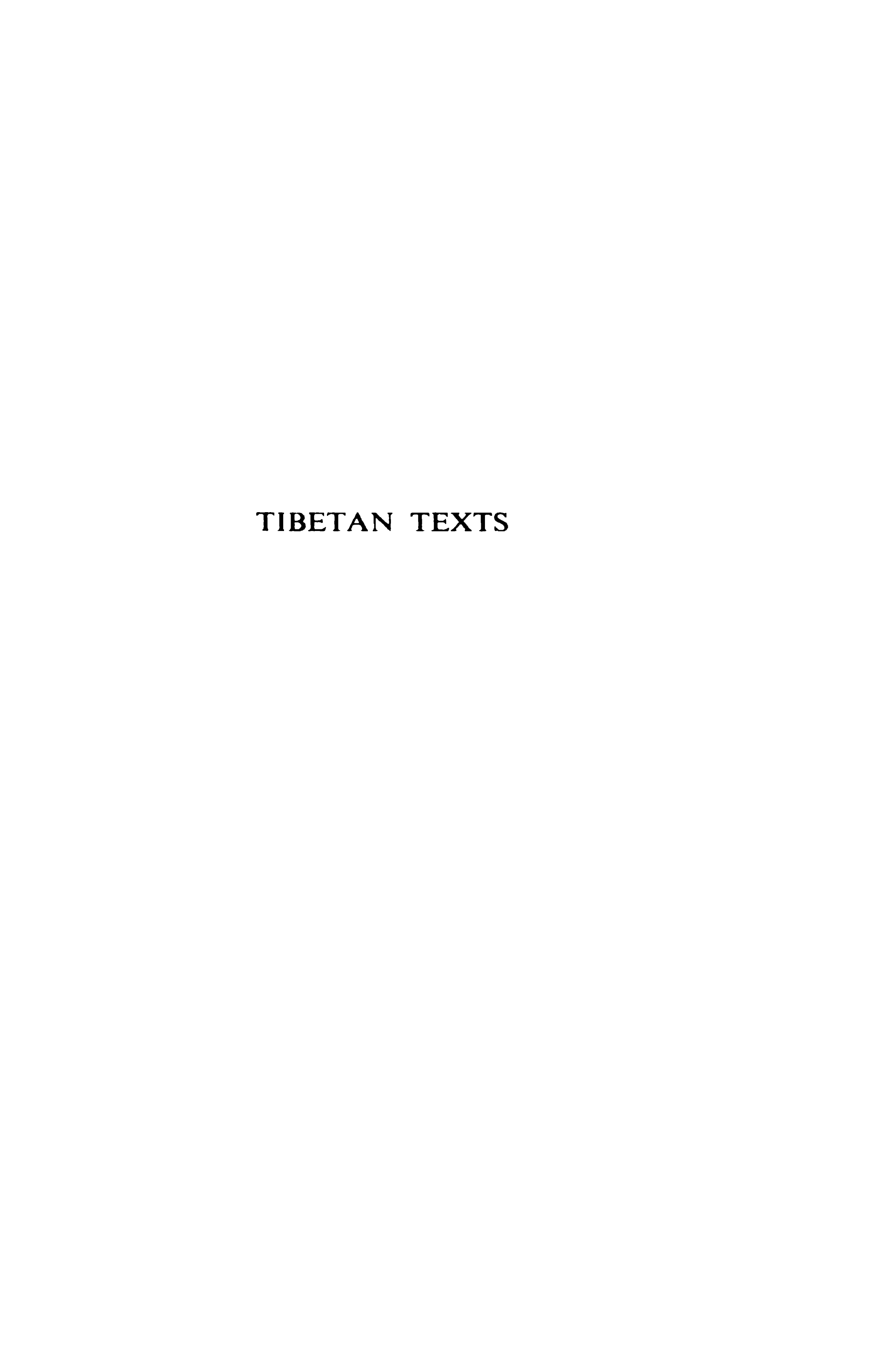
94 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
95 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
96 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
97 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
98 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 241 sq.
99 Lehtisalo, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
100 Lehtisalo, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
101 Concerning the shaman-tree see also Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 199.

make their drums;[102] also the wood of the *mdos* is supposed to possess unusual qualities, since it is customary to preserve pieces of a destroyed thread-cross. The "world-tree" is regarded by the shamans as the tree of life and immortality,[103] like the tree growing on the *ri rab lhun po* and mentioned in the legend about the influence of the seven *dgra lha* on 336. It is also interesting that the central vertical wooden axis of a great *mdos* is called the *srog shing*, the "life wood" or "life-tree."

Thread-crosses are used by lamas, *sngags pa*, and Bon priests for weather-making – an activity carried out also by the shamans[104] –, and a particular kind of *mdos* dedicated to the *sa bdag* is applied in order to "close the door of the earth", a ceremony brought into connection with a divine figure called the "old mother *Khon ma*".[105] This ceremony is very similar to a custom observed by the Ostjaks: the shamans of this tribe present offerings to the old goddess of the earth in order to close the hole which leads from down below into the world inhabited by men, through which illnesses might penetrate upon the surface of the earth.[106]

Finally we may enumerate a number of other traditions and customs of the Tibetans which, too, find a parallel in Siberian shamanism. In the foregoing chapters we spoke frequently about effigies called *glud*, on which the Tibetans transfer illnesses, misfortune, etc. The same custom is being observed by the Golds, who make an effigy of hay into which they lure the spirit who caused an illness; this effigy is later, just like the *glud*, thrown away.[107] The Buriat shamans, too, used to banish evil spirits into an effigy or into a live scape-goat, and they divined future happenings from the scapula of a sheep, as still done by the Tibetans.[108] Some of the Tibetan ceremonies of destructive magic find a parallel in the custom of the Yakuts to harm a person by damaging a figure which represents the victim and in the Buriat custom to hang up in the yourta a drawing of the enemy with his head down.[109] Various supernatural qualities which the shamans are alleged to possess are attributed, too, by the Tibetans to their mediums and priests. Just like the shamans, some of the lamas and Bon magicians are said to be able to pierce their bodies with weapons or to lick hot objects without suffering any harm, or even to fly through the air and to cut iron by means of feathers.

102 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
103 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
104 Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
105 Waddell, *Buddhism*, p. 484.
106 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
107 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 544.
108 Heissig, 'Mongolian source,' p. 508.
109 Harwa, *op. cit.*, p. 254.



TIBETAN TEXTS

TEXT A

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 109

Fol. 8a

Khrag zhag 'khrug pa'i rgya mtsho chen po'i dbus su rlung nag 'tshub ma'i gung gyi nang du dre'u rkyang ser gva pa srin po'i thod pa'i ske dang pags pas g.yogs shing/ gong rmed dang srab mthur gdug pa'i sbrul las byas pa/ de'i steng du bhyo las dpal ldan dmag zor gyi rgyal mo re ma tī/ sku mdog mthing nag zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma/ phyag g.yas rdo rjes mtshan pa'i be con dam nyams kyi klad la 'phyar zhing/ g.yon thun dang khrag gis gang ba'i nal thod thugs kar 'dzin pa/ zhal rab tu gdangs shing mche ba rnon po bzhi gtsigs nas mi ro rangs po za zhing a la'i gad mo 'brug ltar sgrog ba spyan gsum dmar zhing zlu ba glog ltar 'khyug cing khro gnyer shin tu bsdus pa/ dbu skra kham ser gyen du brdzes shing smin ma dang sma ra dus mtha'i me ltar 'bar ba, snyan g.yas la sengge dang/ g.yon la sbrul gyis brgyan pa/ mi mgo skam po lngas dbu la brgyan cing khrag 'dzag pa'i mgo bo rlon pa lnga bcu'i do shal can sku la khrag gi thig le dang zhag gi sor ris dang/ thal chen gyi tshom pas byugs shing/ spyi bor zla ba dang lte bar nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor 'char ba dar nag gi lhab lhub dang mi lpags kyi g.yang gzhi dang/ re ba nag pos stod g.yogs shing/ stag gi pags pa rlon pa'i sham thabs la sbrul nyis gshibs kyi ska rags khyas pa/ sga'i rnga sha la nad rkyal dang/ mtshon gyi gru gu phyi sha la 'phyang zhing/ khram shing sked la gzer ba/ byang dmar gyi khres po dang/ shvo rde dkar nag snga sha la 'phyang shing/ dbu la rma bya'i gdugs phub pa/ gtso mo'i rgyab tu/ rin po che'i sga srab kyis spras pa'i dre'u dkar po'i steng du bhyo dkar po las zhi ba'i lha mo sku mdog dkar mo zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma zhi zhing 'dzum pa cung zad khros pa'i rnam pa can spyan gsum dang ldan pa/ dbu skra mthon mthing thur du nyil ba'i rtse mo gcig tu bsgril ba gser skud kyis bsngams pa/ g.yas snang srid gsal ba'i dngul dkar gyi me long dang/ g.yon dngul dkar gyi snod zur drug yu ba nas bzung ba'i nang sman sna tshogs kyis phyur bur gtams pa/ dbu rgyan/ snyan cha/ mgul rgyan/ se mo do/ do shal/ 'og pag/ phyag zhabs kyi gdu bu rnams rin po che las grub pa/ dar dkar po'i na bza' 'jag sngon po/ sha dar ser pos byas pa lhab lhub tu gsol ba dar sngon gyi ska rag bcings ba/ phyed skyil gyi tshul du bzhugs pa/ sku las 'od zer dkar po

'phro zhing zhi ba'i las sgrubs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor ba/ gtso mo'i g.yas su rin po che'i sga srab kyis spras pa'i dre'u ser po'i steng du bhyo ser po las rgyas pa'i lha mo sku mdog ser mo zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma/ rgyas shing chags pa'i nyams dang ldan zhing spyan gsum pa/ dbu skra mthon mthing thor tshugs su bcings pa cung zad g.yon du yo zhing lhag ma'i rtse mo gcig tu bsgril ba gser skud kyis bsdams pa/ g.yas bdud rtsis gang ba'i gser gyi bum pa dang/ g.yon gser gyi zhong pa yid bzhin nor bus phyur bur gtams pa/ dbu rgyan/ snyan cha/ mgul rgyan/ se mo do/ do shal/ 'og pa/ phyag zhabs kyi gdu bu rnams rin po che las grub pa/ dar ser po'i na bza' 'jag sngon po sha dar rgya khas byas pa lhab lhub gsol ba/ dar sngon gyi ska rags bcings/ phyed skyil gyis bzhugs pa/ sku las 'od zer ser po 'phro zhing rgyas pa'i las sgrubs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor ba/ gtso mo'i g.yon du rin po che'i sga srab kyis spras pa'i dre'u dmar po'i steng du bhyo dmar po las dbang gi lha mo sku mdog dmar mo zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma yid tsam khros shing chags pa'i nyams dang ldan pa spyan gsum ma/ dbu skra mthon mthing thor tshugs su bcings pa g.yas su yo zhing lhag ma'i rtse mo gcig tu bsgril ba gser skud kyis bsdams pa/ g.yas lcags kyu dang g.yon zhags pa 'phen pa/ dbu rgyan/ snyan cha/ mgul rgyan/ se mo do/ do shal/ 'og pag/ phyag zhabs kyi gdu bu rnams rin po che las grub pa/ dar dmar po'i na bza' 'jag ljang gu sha dar sngon pos byas pa lhab lhub tu gsol ba dar ljang gu'i ska rags bcings pa/ phyed skyil gyi tshul du bzhugs pa/ sku las 'od zer dmar po 'phro zhing dbang gi las sgrubs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor ba/ gtso mo'i mdun du zhing lpags kyi spu len g.yogs pa'i drel nag gi steng du bhyo mthing nag gsal drag po'i lha mo sku mdog nag mo zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma/ spyan gsum gdangs mig gzigs pa khro zhing gtum pa/ zhal gdangs shing mche ba ring por gtsigs pa/ smin ma dang sma ra me ltar 'bar zhing ral pa kham nag mun ltar gtibs pa/ nu ma ring du 'phyang ba g.yas khram shing dang g.yon ro dbyug dang bcas pa'i zhags pa 'dzin pa/ re ba nag po'i gos gyon pa'i steng du mi lpags kyi g.yang gzhi lding stabs dang stag lpags kyi sham thabs gsol ba/ rus pa'i rgyan lngas spras pa/ bzhon pa la chibs pa'i tshul can sku las 'od zer nag po 'phro zhing drag po'i las sgrubs pa'i 'khor gyis bskor ba/ drag po'i lha mo'i mdun du bam ro gan rkyal bsgyel ba'i steng du bhyo mthing nag yongs su gyur pa las/ lha mo re ma tī gsang sgrub zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma shin tu khro zhing gtum pa/ spyan gsum dmar la zlum zhing smin ma dang sma ra 'bar ba ral pa kham nag thur du nyil ba rting par 'phyang ba/ dpral bar thod skam rdog gcig gis dbu brgyan pa/ gcer mo re lde'i smad g.yogs can g.yas ral gri rno ngar dang ldan pa nam mkha' la 'phyar zhing/ g.yon mi mgo rlon pa khrag rdzar re ba'i skra nas nu ma g.yon pa'i thad du 'dzin pa/ 'o rgyal ring du 'phyang ba/ zhabs gnyis g.yas phyogs su 'byon 'phrol tshom

pa lta bus bzhengs nas 'gying bag dang bcas me 'bar ba'i dbus na bzhugs pa/ mdun du ma las srog bdud ma nag mo phyag gnyis nyi ma dang zla ba cha lang du brdeb cing/ bya nag la zhon nas stong gsum myul ba/ g.yas su ma las snying bzan ma nag mo g.yas mi snying za zhing g.yon lcags kyu 'dzin pa dar sngon gyi ang rag gyon pa ro gdan gyi steng nas rgyug pa'i tshul can/ rgyab tu ma las thog 'phen ma drag mo dmar smug phyag gnyis thog ser gyis bkang ba'i rkyal pa bzung nas dgral 'byo ba/ zhabs g.yas nyi ma dang g.yon zla bar brten nas mkha' la rgyu ba/ gsum ka'ang zhal gdangs shing mche ba gtsigs pa/ spyan gsum glog ltar 'khyug pa smin ma dang sma ra 'bar ba/ ral pa kham ser brla la slebs pa thur du nyil ba/ thod skam gsum sgrom gyis dbu brgyan pa/ g.yon du ma las nad gtong ma nag mo sdig pa'i mgo can g.yas sbar ba bgrad cing g.yon nad rkyal 'dzin pa/ rnga mo zhon pa/ bzhi ka'ang nu ma 'phyang zhing dug sbrul gyi ga shal can/ nad gtong ma gtogs bha ga bgrad pa/ shar lhor ra las khyab 'jug chen po rmug nag dbu dgu pa g.yas gsum dkar la g.yon gsum dmar ba/ dbus gsum smug nag/ steng zhal bya rog gi mgo can ral pa dmar ser gyen du brdzes shing/ spyan gsum bgrad cing mche ba gtsigs pa/ phyag dang po gnyis kyi mda' gzhu 'gengs shing 'og ma gnyis kyis chu srin gyi rgyal mtshan dang sbrul zhags 'dzin pa/ sku smad sbrul mjug ljang gur 'khyil zhing lus la mig stong dang lto zhal can/ thos skam gyi dbu rgyan/ mi lpags kyi stod g.yogs/ rin po che/ rus pa/ sbrul gyis brgyan pa/ lho nub tu tsa las btsan rgod dmar po spyan gsum pa/ ya sos ma mchu mnan nas am gtsigs bsdams pa/ g.yas mdung dmar dang g.yon zhags pa 'phen pa/ bse khrab dang bse rmog rgyon zhing zhabs la sag lham dmar po gsol ba/ sga srab gong rmed kyis spras pa'i btsan rta dmar po la chibs nas rgyug pa/ nub byang du du las bdud mgon nag po sengge'i gdong pa can g.yu ral gyen du brdzes pa/ g.yas ru mtshon 'phyar zhing g.yon dmar gtor dgra la 'phen pa/ 'jag dmar pos byas pa'i dar nag gi 'jol ber gsol zhing rus pa'i rgyan drug gis spras pa/ sga srab gong rmed dang ldan pa'i rta nag la chibs pa/ byang shar du tsa las rgyal po li byin ha ra sku mdog dkar la dmar ba'i mdangs chags pa zhi ma khro'i rnam pa can spyan gsum pa/ dbu skra dmar ser gyi steng du sag zhu gsol ba/ g.yas rdo rje 'phyar zhing g.yon thod pa thugs kar 'dzin pa/ tse ber lu khra'i steng 'jol ber dmar po mtha' 'jag sngon po con gsol ba/ zhabs la hor lham mthil gsum brtsegs gyon pa/ rgyal po rol ba'i 'dug stangs kyis glang chen sna ring la chibs pa/ dre'u'i sngon du bhyo las chu srin gdong can mthing nag g.yas zhags pa dang g.yon thur sna 'dzin pa/ mi lpags kyi na bza' gsol ba/ slad kyi rjes 'breng sengge'i gdong can dmar nag gri gug dang thod khrag 'dzin pa/ gtso mo'i phyogs bzhi'i mdun du bdud mo re ma tī mthing nag g.yas ral gri dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin pa/ mi lpags dang dar nag gi gos gyon

zhing bong bu gva pa la bcibs pa/ g.yas su nad kyi bdag mo mthing nag g.yas shvo rde dang/ g.yon byang dmar 'dzin pa/ dar nag dang re ba'i gos gyon zhing dre'u la bcibs pa/ rgyab tu skye mthing ma nag mo g.yas mi snying dang g.yon sdigs mdzub mdzad pa/ mi lpags dang stag lpags gyon zhing sha ba la bcibs pa/ g.yon du khri sman sa le ma dkar mo phyag gnyis kyis chu srin gyi lpags pa nam mkha' la 'phyar zhing/ dar dkar gyi thod dang gos gyon pa/ bya nag la bcibs pa/ mdun gyi g.yas zur du bhyo las dpyid kyi rgyal mo mthing nag g.yas spu gri dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin cing/ mi lpags gyon pa dre'u la bcibs pa/ rgyab kyi g.yas zur du bhyo las dbyar gyi rgyal mo dmar nag g.yas lcags kyu dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin pa chu dar gyon zhing chu glang la bcibs pa/ rgyab kyi g.yon zur du bhyo las ston gyi rgyal mo ser mo g.yas zor ba dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin pa/ rma bya'i sgro thul gyon zhing sha ba la bcibs pa/ mdun gyi g.yon zur du bhyo las dgun gyi rgyal mo mthing nag g.yas khram shing dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin pa/ rnga mo gva pa la bcibs pa/ mdun du mam las bkra shis tshe ring ma dkar mo rdo rje dang bum pa 'dzin pa sengge la bcibs pa/ mam las mthing gi zhal bzang ma sngon mo ba dan dang me long 'dzin cing rkyang la bcibs pa/ mam las mi g.yo blo bzang ma ser mo zas kyi zhong pa ne'u le 'dzin pa/ stag la bcibs pa/ mam las cod pan mgrin bzang ma dmar mo nor bu dang gter gyi sgrom bu 'dzin pa/ sha ba la bcibs pa/ mam las gtad dkar 'gro bzang ma ljang gu/ dūrva dang sbrul zhags 'dzin pa/ 'brug la bcibs pa/ lnga ka'ang khro chags sgeg pa'i nyams ldan/ dar gyi na bza' dang rin po che'i rgyan gyis spras pa/ g.yas su ma las rdo rje kun grags ma sngon mo sbrul nag stong gi thul pa dang g.yag lpags rlon pa'i sham thabs can bya rgod kyi phur bu 'dzin pa/ g.yu 'brug la bcibs pa/ ma las rdo rje g.ya' ma skyong sngon mo g.yag lpags pa'i na bza' dang/ khyung gshog stong gi sham thabs can/ zangs kyi phur bu 'dzin pa drel rta rkang gsum la bcibs pa/ me las rdo rje kun bzang ma dkar mo sengge'i g.yang gzhi gsol zhing/ rdo rje rtse lnga bsnams pa sengge la bcibs pa/ me las rdo rje bgegs kyi gtso sngon mo glang nag stong gi na bza' dang khyung gshog stong gi sham thabs can lcags phur 'dzin cing gser sha yu mo la bcibs pa/ rgyab tu la las rdo rje spyan gcig ma dkar mo dung gi 'khu phang gi na bza' la g.yu'i ska rags bcings pa/ khrag gi rkyal pa 'dzin cing dung sha dkar po la bcibs pa/ la las rdo rje dpal gyi yum ser mo mi lpags kyi na bza' dang mi snying khug pa'i sham thabs can dug mda' ltong nag 'dzin cing khyung la bcibs pa/ le las rdo rje klu mo dkar mo mi mgo brtsegs pa'i thul pa gyon zhing zhing dbyug 'dzin pa/ phag rgod nag po la bcibs pa/ le las rdo rje drag mo rgyal ljang gu g.yag lpags stong gi rlog pa dang khyung shog stong gi sham thabs can mchog phur 'dzin cing 'brong rva dgu la bcibs pa/ g.yon du ta las rdo rje dpal mo che nag mo seng lpags stong gi

klog pa dang sbrul nag gtams pa'i sham thabs can khrag gi bum pa 'dzin cing kong rta dkar po la bcibs pa/ ta las rdo rje sman gcig ma dmar mo gyi ling dkar po'i stod g.yogs dang stag lpags stong gi sham thabs can bse'i phur pa 'dzin cing/ drel nag kha ser la bcibs pa/ te las rdo rje g.ya' mo sil dmar nag sbrul nag gtams pa'i g.yang gzhi gsol zhing/ seng ldeng gi phur pa 'dzin pa/ rna ba yu mo la bcibs pa/ ta las rdo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma sngon mo spyang ki'i klog pa dang mi rtsibs rgyus pa'i sham thabs can cang te'u dang gling bu 'dzin pa/ g.yu'i sengge la bcibs pa/ gtso 'khor de dag gi phyi rol du ma mo dang bdud dang gshin rje dang srin po dang zhing skyong la sogs pa'i tshogs dpag tu med pa dang/ gzhan yang lha dang klu dang gnod sbyin dang dri za dang grul bum dang mi'am ci dang lto 'phye chen po la sogs pa'i tshogs pa'i tshogs dpag tu med pa phyag g.yas na rdo rje dang gri gug dang ral gri dang dgra sta dang/ mdung dang/ lcags kyu dang/ lcags kyi gsal shing me rab tu 'bar ba la sogs pa mtshon cha sna tshogs pa 'phyar zhing/ g.yon thams cad thod pa gdug pa'i khrag gis gang ba 'dzin pa.

TEXT B
List of Tibetan sources, work no. 157
Fol. 112*b*

rGyal po chen po sku mdog mthing nag zhal gcig phyag gnyis/ dmar la zlum pa'i spyan gnyis dgra bgegs la sdang mig tu blta ba/ mche ba gtsigs shing khro bnyer bsdus pa/ phyag g.yas ral gri me 'bar ba 'phyar ba/ g.yon mda' dar le brgan gyi mdog can phrag pa la bkal ba/ sku la dar nag gi ber chen bse khrab smug po dang bcas pa gsol ba/ dbu la lcags kyi rmog zhu gser gyi thig le can bsnams pa/ sma ra smin ma me ltar 'bar ba/ zhabs la sag lham g.yu ris can gsol ba/ vaiḍūrya'i mdog can gyi rta mchog lus nyams rtsal dang ldan pa/ gser gyi sga dang phra men gyi yob can chibs pa/ shin tu 'jigs su rung ba srin po'i cha lugs can/ me rlung 'tshub ma'i dbus na bzhugs pa'o/ phyogs kyi mtsho bzhi'i dbus su shar du traka las bdud mo gshin rje mgo dgu ma nag mo/ phyag g.yas dung gi spu gri dang g.yon thod khrag 'dzin pa/ thod skam lnga'i dbu rgyan dang/ rin po ches brgyan pa/ ber dkar gsol zhing ba men ru yon la chibs pa/ lhor rag las bdud mo gshin rje lag brgya ma ser mo/ g.yas lnga bcu ral gri dang/ g.yon lnga bcu bdud zhags 'phyar ba/ sku stod la mi lpags dang dku smad la stag lpags gsol ba/ ma he la chibs pa/ nub tu sha las bdud mo phung khrol ma dmar nag/ g.yas lcags kyu dang g.yon dgra snying 'dzin pa/ stag lpags kyi sham thabs can/ zhal nas khrag gi zor 'phen pa/ g.yag rgod nag po la chibs pa/ byang du bhyo las bdud mo gsod byed ma ljang nag/ g.yas lnga na

khram shing/ g.yon lnga na bdud zhags glo snying dang bcas pa 'dzin pa/ sku stod la mi lpags dang sku smad la dred lpags gsol ba/ rkyang ba khu dkar la chibs pa/ thams cad kyang mi mgo'i do shal dang rin po ches brgyan pa/ rang mdog dang mtshungs pa'i bud med 'bum 'bum gyis bskor ba/ 'khor lo'i rtsibs tshan bzhi la/ shar lhor nghrī las yul 'khor bsrung dkar po pi wang 'dzin pa glang po che la zhon pa/ lhor nub tu be las 'phags skyes po sngon po ral gri 'dzin pa ma he la zhon pa/ nub byang du bi las mig mi bzang dmar po sbrul zhags dang mchod rten 'dzin pa chu srin la zhon pa/ byang shar du be las ngal bsos po ljang nag dbyug to dang ne'u le 'dzin pa seng ge la zhon pa/ thams cad kyang go cha gsol zhing che khros pa'o.

TEXT C

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 12*a*
Fols. 1*b*–3*b*

Tshur 'dus yongs su gyur pa las thugs kyi rgyal po brgya byin sku mdog mthing nag zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa/ zhal gdangs shing mche ba gtsigs pa/ smin ma dang sma ra dmar ser 'khyug pa/ phyag g.yas bdud kyi zhags pa dgra la 'dabs shing/ g.yon spu gris dgra bgegs kyi srog rtsa gcod pa/ sku la dom gyi slog pa dang dar nag gi 'jol ber/ dbu la dar nag gi theb zhu mdzes pa gsol ba rin po ches brgyan pa/ gar dgu'i nyams can/ gangs ri'i dum bu chad 'dra'i glang chen sna ring la bcibs pa'i sna mon bu pu tras khrid pa/ glog dang me lce rol tu khrid cing thog ser pho nyar gtong ba bskal pa'i me dpung 'bar ba'i dbus na bzhugs pa de'i mdun du gnod sbyin chen po srog bdag yang le ber sku mdog dmar po nyi ma stong gi gzi ldan drag tu khros pa/ sha khrag srog dbugs zhal du gsol zhing/ res dga' ya sos ma mchu mnan te khro gnyer smin sprag tu bsdus pa/ bse khrab dang bse rmog gyon pa/ g.yas mdung dmar dang g.yon btsan zhags dgra la 'phen pa/ rin po che'i sga srab dang dar gyi cod pan gyis spras pa'i rta mchog rlung gi shugs can la bcibs pa/ yum shanti ro zan dmar mo dar gyi ang·rig gyon pa/ khrag dang zhag gis brgyan pa lcags kyu dang bandha snying 'dzin pa/ sprul pa dge bsnyen gzhon nu'i cha byad can/ dar dmar gyi ber gyon zhing zhel gyi 'phreng bas mgul rgyan byas pa/ g.yas sdig mdzub nam mkhar la 'phyar zhing/ g.yon zangs gri brdeg tshul mdzad pa/ blon po srog bdag bka'i bya ra ba ber smug gyon zhing/ dar nag ru mtshon phyar ba/ seng ge dkar mo la bcibs pa// shar phyogs dung gi gzhal yas khang gi dbus su pad nyi dgra bgegs bsnol ba'i gdan la/ tri las sku'i rgyal po mon bu pu tra sku mdog nag po zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa/ g.yas gser gyi rdo rje dang g.yon sher shing gi bseg shang 'dzin pa/ sku la men tri nag

po'i na bza' dang/ dbu la dar nag gi theb zhu gsol ba/ seng ge dkar mo la bcibs shing/ dom nag smyon pa rol du khrid pa/ stag gzig dom dred pho nyar gtong ba/ yum bdud mo ro langs ma dkar mo dar dkar gyi na bza' gsol ba/ dam shing dang bandha snying 'dzin pa/ sprul pa dge slong dgra bcom gzhon nu chos gos dur smrig gsol ba/ sher shing gi bseg shang dang spu gri bsnams pa/ ka pa li rgyab tu khur ba/ spyi blug mdun du 'chang ba/ blon po bya khrid mig gcig po gcer bu sprul gyi thod can shel gyi rdo rje 'phen pa/ rta mchog sngon po sgab nag la bcibs pa// lho phyogs gser gyi gzhal yas khang gi dbus su tri las yon tan gyi rgyal po shing bya can sku mdog nag po zhal gcig phyag gnyis pa/ g.yas dgra sta dang g.yon zhags pa 'dzin pa/ sku la sprul dang stag gi g.yang gzhi dang/ dbu la smyug ma'i tshag zhu gsol ba/ steng na khyung gi khog phub pa/ rta nag rting dkar la bcibs pa/ srid pa'i g.yu 'brug rol du 'khrid pa/ spra sprel byi la pho nyar 'gyed pa/ yum gser gyi spu gri ma nag mo zhal cig phyag bzhi/ g.yas ral gri dang mdung dmar/ g.yon shag ti dang tri shu la bsnams pa/ dar nag gi cod pan bcings pa/ re lde ser po'i smad g.yogs la sprul gyi ska rags can/ snyan g.yas la seng ge dang g.yon la sbrul gyis brgyan pa/ mgul la dril bu 'khrol ba/ zhabs gnyis lcags sgrog gis brgyan pa/ bong bu ga dmar zhon nas mtshan mo rgyu ba/ sprul pa sku mdog sngo skya men tri dmar po'i ga sha can spa khug mchu rings bsnams pa/ blon po bya rgod thang nag dge bsnyen gzhon nu'i chad byad can/ rdo rje dang tho ba thog pa// nub phyogs byu ru dmar po'i gzhal yas khang na/ tri las gsung gi rgyal po dgra lha skyes gcig dmar po zhal gcig phyag gnyis kyi g.yas sba'i 'ging 'khor dang/ g.yon tsan dan gyi beng chen bsnams pa/ dar nag gi 'jol ber can dbu la smyug zhu 'kher ma gsol ba/ drel nag rkang dkar la bcibs pa'i sna gzung mon bu pu tras byas pa/ spyang ki rol du khrid cing lcags kyi bya khra pho nyar gtong ba/ yum mdzes byed padma can dmar mo dam shing dang bandha 'dzin pa/ mdzes pa'i rgyan cha dang ldan pa/ sprul pa mthing nag ral pa gyen du brdzes shing/ ag tshom ser nag 'bar ba stag lpags gyon shing/ zhing dbyug dang spyang ki'i rgyal mtshan 'phyar ba/ blon po rdo rje grags ldan dar dmar gyi chos gos sogs dge slong gzhon nu'i cha byad can·sher shing gi bseg shang bsnams shing rnga mo ga pa la bcibs pa// byang phyogs g.yu'i gzhal yas khang sngon po na/ tri las 'phrin las kyi rgyal po zhal gsum stod kyi mi bo che dbu gsum phyag drug pa/ dkar mthing dmar ba'i zhal can/ g.yas gsum lcags kyu mda' dang ral gri/ g.yon gsum spu gri gzhu ber ka bsnams pa/ dar dkar gyis stod g.yogs shing zhing lpags dang stag sham gyon pa/ dbu la tshag zhu gdugs thabs su gsol ba/ seng ge dkar mo la bcibs pa'i sna gzung mon bu pu tras byas pa/ 'chub ma rol du khrid cing skyud ka pho nyar gtong ba/ yum bdud gza' smin dkar ma mthing nag bdud kyi slog pa gyon pa/ dam shing dang bandha bsnams

pa/ sprul pa nag po zhing lpags gsol zhing sbrul gyis brgyan pa/ stag dang spyang ki'i rgyal mtshan 'phyar ba/ blon po pu tra nag po dar nag gi ral ka gsol zhing gri gug 'dzin pa/ drel rta nag po la bcibs pa/ de dag gi phyi rel gyi phyogs dang phyogs mtshams rnams su blon po sha grol 'khol pa 'dzin bsngom po// skyongs 'bag dang seng ge /mon bu a tsa ra dang spre'u/ dge slong 'khar gsil thogs pa brgya/ sngags pa phur bu thogs pa brgya/ bud med ral pa sprug pa brgya/ skyes pa gri phub thogs pa brgya/ la sogs pa 'khor dpag tu med pas bskor ba.

TEXT D
List of Tibetan sources, work no. 31
Fol. 26*b*

De'i shar du shel gyi lha khang/ lhor gser gyi lha khang/ nub tu byi ru'i lha khang/ byang du g.yu'i lha khang/ de rnams kyi mtshams su dung gi mchod rten dang/ g.yu'i chu mig dang/ me tog gi ldum ra dang/ dar dang rin po che'i rgyan sna tshogs pas spras pa'i dbus su/ rgyal po chen po pe ha ra sku mdog dkar po zhal gcig phyag gnyis g.yas pa rdo rje dang g.yon pas 'phreng ba bsgrangs shing glang chen la bcibs pa/ dbu la sag zhu dang sked la gri sag btsug pa/ za 'og phod dang me dri'i chos gos dang dar dmar gyi ber chen gsol ba/ de yi g.yas su 'brog bza' lha lcam ma mda' dar dang me long bsnams nas drel la zhon pa/ g.yon du pho gyong bza' mda' dar dang dngul gyi me long bsnams nas ma he la zhon pa/ rgyab tu gnam lha byang chub seng ge la bcibs nas gdugs dang rgyal mtshan spreng ba/ mdun du phyi blon bha dra dkar po lde mig thog shing rta nag la bcibs pa/ nang blon pu tra dkar po sho khram thogs nas sa 'jag la gnas pa/ gsol dpon ga be dgu brtsegs gsol ja thogs pa/ rdo rje sna yon ma shel phreng dang zangs gling thogs nas bad skyal zhon pa/ de'i shar du bya dkar 'tsher ba/ lho ru ra dkar ru dmar 'bab pa/ nub tu khyi dkar sna dmar zug pa/ byang du rta dkar rngog dmar 'tsher ba/ de'i phyi rol du dge slong chos gos rgyon pa/ gar mkhan phyag rgya bsgyur ba/ btsun pa ka li khur ba/ sngags pa rnga nag bsdung ba/ mo btsun rgyang glu len pa/ nyan thos dung dkar 'bud pa/ byis spa 'ur rdo g.yug pa/ btsun chung gling 'phen pa/ gzhan yang dar phyar mi/ dung 'bud mi/ phaṭ brdab mi/ gshang 'khrol mi/ la sogs pas bskor ba'i shar gyi gtsug lag khang du rgyal po nyi sang pad sku mdog dkar po rdo rje dang lhung bzed thogs nas stag la zhon pa/ yum chen 'bar ma glog 'phreng ma dkar mo padma dang rgyal mtshan thogs nas dung gi spyang mo la zhon pa/ lho'i gtsug lag khang du rgyal po kye te re sku mdog dkar gsal rin po che'i lhung bzed thogs nas 'brug la zhon pa/ yum g.yu phreng ma dkar mo me long dang rgyal mtshan thogs nas gser

gyi 'phar ba zhon pa/ nub kyi gtsug lag khang du rgyal po bse te re sku mdog dkar dmar 'khor lo dang lhung bzed thogs nas ma he la zhon pa/ yum zangs phreng ma dmar mo mda' dar dang rgyal mtshan thogs nas lcags kyi wa mo la zhon pa/ byang gi gtsug lag khang du rgyal po sbyi ring khrid sku mdog dkar po lcags kyu dang lhung bzed thogs nas dom nag po zhon pa/ yum pad phreng ma dkar mo ba dan dang rgyal mtshan thogs nas bse yi dred mong la zhon pa/ de'i shar sgor dkar mo spyan gcig lcags kyu thogs nas rta dkar la zhon pa/ lho sgor bye ba rkang ring bse mdung thogs nas gser sha la zhon pa/ nub sgor yam shud dmar po zhags pa 'dzin cing zangs drel la zhon pa/ byang sgor khu le lad dgu ral gri thogs shing glang la zhon pa/ mdun du shan pa pu tra nag po chu gri thogs nas gzig la zhon pa/ mtshams bzhir mi dkar thod dmar bzhi/ log bzhir sprel dkar ngo dmar bzhi sgo bzhir skyes bu zhub chen bzhi/ bar mtshams rnams su 'gong po lcags kyi sna 'zer can/ 'gong po g.yu'i smin ma can/ the'u rang sbrul gyi rkang pa can/ mon pa shing brtseg che ba/ sog po spre'u khrid pa/ a mchod sna skya/ chu mig chos 'bar/ sprang po ban log la sogs pas bskor ba'i phyi rol du/ g.yas su btsan mda' ra ba dmar po bsve zhu thogs shing btsan rta la zhon pa/ g.yon du bdud mdung khyim nag po lcags mdung thogs nas bdud rta la zhon pa/ mdun du zhang po klu rgyal ghi ha sngon po sbrul zhags dang nad rkyal thogs nas chu srin la zhon pa/ de'i phyi rol du sring mo dmar mo bzhi /dam sri nag mo dgu/ 'gong po spun dgu/ the'u rang mched dgu la sogs pa snang srid lha 'dres bskor ba'i phyi rol du/ rta/ mdzo/ glang/ drel la sogs srid pa'i khal bzhi sha sprel ra khyi la sogs ma srid pa'i khal pa bzhi/ gnam la 'phur dgu/ sa la 'dzum bcus bskor ba'i phyi rol du/ g.yas su skyes pa stag chas su zhags pa brgya/ g.yon du dge slong khrims chas su zhags pa brgya/ mdun du bud med bag chas su zhags pa brgya/ rgyab tu sngags pa zor chas su zhags pa brgya/ sngon du a tsa ra spos dud khur ba brgya.

TEXT E

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 53
Fols. 2*a*-6*a*

gNam lcags kyi rdo rje'i gur khang shin tu drag cing tsub pa'i me dang rlung nag 'tshub ma gsum gyi rim par bskor ba'i yangs shing rgya che ba'i nang du/ shugs drag rba rlabs phyogs bcur gyo ba'i khrag gi rgya mtsho rab tu 'khrug cing/ 'jig pa'i srog chags sna tshogs kyis gang ba'i dbus su 'byung bzhi rim brtsegs kyi steng du keng rus kyi ri rab lhun po dang bcas pa'i rtse mor dur khrod chen po 'jigs su rung ba'i gnas/ shin tu 'jigs shing gtum pa'i ljongs/ khro gtum mi zad pa'i rnam 'gyur dang ldan pa'i rgyal btsan/ gza' bdud/ ru 'dren sde bzhi/ ma mo gshin rje/ bdud sogs dregs pa

sde brgyad rnams kyi yul/ dug gi chu mig dpag tu med pa sngo dmar 'khyil zhing/ tsan dan dkar dmar dang/ a ka la sogs pa rngam zil dang ldan pa'i dpag bsam gyi ljon pa khor yug tu bskor ba/ dug gi rlangs pa'i na bun 'thul ba'i klong nas drag po'i glog stong 'khyug cing/ rgyob gsod kyi 'jigs pa'i 'brug sgra sgrog pa/ gnam lcags kyi thog ser dang/ mtshon cha sna tshogs kyi char drag tu 'bebs pa/ snang srid dregs pa sde brgyad/ ma mo srog bdag ru 'dren sde bzhi 'du ba'i gnas/ rab tu 'jigs pa/ mtshan mo me 'bar zhing/ nyin mo rlung nag 'tshub pa/ na bun rnag zhag tu 'bab pa/ bya rog 'ug srin kha ta sogs 'dre bya sna tshogs dgra bgegs kyi klad la sding zhing than skad sgrog pa/ mi ro skam rlon ras gsum sna tshogs bcal du bkram zhing/ khrag zhag gi rba klong drag tu 'khrug pa/ seng ge stag gzig dom dred sogs gcan gzan gtum po sna tshogs dgra la 'phyong zhing dang skad 'bod pa'i dbus na rmang gzhi nag po gnam lcags las grub pa'i steng du/ shar du bdud kyi thod pa brtsegs pa/ lhor gshin rje'i thod pa btshegs pa/ nub tu srin po'i thod pa brtsegs pa/ byang du gnod sbyin gyi thod pa brtsegs pa'i pho brang chen po/ phyi rin po che vaiḍūrya sngon po las grub pa'i gzhal yas khang rta babs dang bcas pa/ nang thod pa'i mkhar du yod pa gru bzhi sgo bzhi pa/ shin tu 'jigs shing rab tu brjid pa/ zur bzhi dmar po pad rag las byas pa/ sgo bzhi ljang khu mar gad las byas pa/ gser gyi re cha gsal ba/ byi ru'i 'phrul gyi g.yag shing can/ rta babs mu tig las byas pa/ keng rus khrag gi bad yod pa/ nang keng rus kyi ka gdud rnams kyis yongs su phub pa/ rus pa'i dra ba dang dra phyed/ rgyu ma'i lnga ldi/ keng rus kyi mda' g.yab/ thod skam gyi spu shu/ srin po drag tu khros pa'i keng rus las grub pa'i rgya phib 'jigs su rung bas mdzes pa/ snying dang mi mgo'i tog gis mdzas pa'i stag seng dang/ zhing chen gyi rgyal mtshan rnams kyi steng du/ 'dre sna tshogs babs nas dgra la ngar skad sgrog pa/ 'jam mgon rgyal bstan dar ba'i gdugs dang/ rgyal mtshan/ ba dan/ ru dar ser po sna tshogs kyi rtse mor nor bus mtshan pa/ ngos rnams la khrag gi gzar chu 'bab pa/ de'i nang du mi ro rta ro bcal du ba bkram pa/ mi khrag rta khrag mtsho ru bkyil ba/ mi lpags stag lpags yol bar bres pa/ bsur chen gyi dud pa phyogs bcur 'thul ba/ phyi rol rmad gzhi'i steng bu la ro langs dang srin po rnams kyis shon byed pa/ ru 'dren sde bzhi dang keng rus du mas gar mkhan khrab pa/ phyogs thams cad du glang chen gyi lpags rlon dang/ zhing chen gyi bla bre/ mi ro'i rgyal mtshan dang/ seng ge'i ba den/ rgyu rlon gyi sda sdi/ mgo bo sna tshogs kyi do shal/ dbang po sna lnga'i dra phyed/ skra rnga yab la sogs pas nyam nga zhing/ bag tsha ba dang ya nga ba'i rgyan dang ldan pa'i gzhal yas khang gi nang du me rlung drag tu khrug pa'i dbus su/ hūm yig dmar nag de las 'od zer 'phros 'jam mgon rgyal ba'i bstan la gnod pa'i gnod byed sdang dgra gdon bgegs thams cad tshar bcad/ tshur 'dus yongs su gyur pa las/

'jam mgon rgyal ba'i bstan srung dgra lha'i rgyal chen thugs kyi rgyal po rdo rje shugs ldan drag po rtsal sku mdog dmar nag srin po drag tu khros pa las kyang cher khros pa ltar shin tu gtum la 'jigs su rung ba'i zhal gnams lta bur rab tu gdangs shing/ gangs ri lta bu'i mche ba rnon po bzhi gtsigs pa'i bar na ljags kyi glog 'phreng 'khyug cing sa gsum g.yo ba/ gnod byed dam nyams dgra bgegs thams cad ma rā ya phaṭ kyi 'jigs pa gad rgyangs sgrog pa/ drag po'i khro gnyer dpral ba'i dbyings su bsdus shing/ dmar la zlum pa'i spyan gsum dgra bgegs rnams kyi bla srog la sdang mig tu bgrad nas blta ba/ smin ma dang sma ra dmar ser me ltar 'bar bas bdud bzhi ma lus sreg par byed pa/ dbu skra kham ser gyen du 'jir... dbus na nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor la 'jam mgon chos kyi rgyal po tsong kha pa chen po dgyes pa'i tshul gyi bzhugs pa/ snyan gnyis rab tu g.yo ba'i bdud kyi 'thor rlung drag pos gnod byed dam nyams drga bgegs kyi yul khams thams cad lhag med du stor ba/ shangs bug gnyis nas char sprin spros pas 'brug glog drag pos dgra bgegs kyi yul du thog ser 'bebs pa/ zhal gcig phyag gnyis kyi/ phyag g.yas gnam lcags kyi ral gri me rab tu 'bar ba nam mkha' la 'phyar bas gnod byed dam nyams dgra bgegs rnams kyi srog rtsa gcod pa/ phyag g.yon gnod byed dam nyams dgra bgegs rnams kyi don snying klad khrag dron pos gang ba'i thod pa thugs kar 'dzin cing zhal du gsol ba/ mtshan khung g.yon na dgos 'dod lhug par stsol ba'i gter gyi ne'u le dang/ khams gsum dbang du bsdu ba'i gser lcags kyu bsnams pa/ dbu la thod pa skam po lnga'i dbu rgyan dang/ khrag 'jag pa'i mgo bo rlon pa lnga bcu'i do shal can/ sbrul dang mi rus kyi 'khor lo'i rna cha dang/ rin po che la sogs pa'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa/ mi lpags kyi g.yang gzhi dang/ glang po che'i ko ba rlon pas stod g.yogs shing/ stag gi lpags pa'i sham thabs te du khrod kyi chas kyis rab tu 'jigs pa/ steng 'og bar gsum gyi gdon bgegs thams cad brgyal zhing nges la 'dar bar byed pa'i gnam lcags kyi bya khyung gshog pa sding zhing rdo rje'i thog gi tshva tshva 'bum phrag 'phro ba'i steng na rgyal po rol pa'i stabs kyis/ khams gsum zil gyis gnon cing/ dregs pa thams cad dbang du bsdus te/ 'jigs pa thams cad shin tu 'jigs par byed pa'i tshul gyi bzhugs pa// shar du sku yi sprul pa zhi ba'i rgyal chen sku mdog dkar po zhi ba'i nyams ldan/ phyag g.yas mda' dar me long gi brgyan pa 'phyar zhing g.yon thod bum 'dzin cing/ glang chen dmar po mche ba drug ldan la chibs pa/ lhor yon tan gyi sprul pa rgyas pa'i rgyal chen khro 'dzum sgeg pa'i nyams ldan/ phyag g.yas gser gyi tshe bum 'chi med bdud rtsis gang ba/ dpag bsam gyi shing ring po'i kha rgyan byas pa nam mkhar 'phyar zhing/ g.yon nor gzhong 'dzin cing lha rta dang ser la chibs pa/ nub tu gsung gi sprul pa dbang 'dus rgyal chen sku mdog dmar po cung zad khro nyams phyag g.yas khams gsum dbang du bsdu ba'i lcags kyu dar dmar gyis brgyan pa nam mkhar 'phyar zhing g.yon rin po che'i zhags pa 'dzin

cing seng ge dmar skya la chibs pa/ byang du 'phrin las kyi sprul pa drag po'i rgyal chen sku mdog ljang khu gtum pa'i nyams ldan/ g.yas dgra srog gcod pa'i chu gri nam mkhar 'phyar zhing/ g.yon pa snying khrag gis gang ba'i thod pa 'dzin cing rab tu 'jigs pa'i stag la chibs pa rnams kyang gtso bo ltar thod pa skam po lnga'i dbu rgyan/ mgo rlon lnga bcu'i do shal can sogs dur khrod skyis brgyan cing 'jigs pa/ gzhan yang shar du zhi ba'i las mdzad dmar po bye ba 'bum/ lhor rgyas pa'i las mdzad ser po bye ba 'bum/ nub tu dbang gi las mdzad dmar po bye ba 'bum/ byang du drag po'i las mdzad shin tu khro zhing gtum pa ljang khu bye ba 'bum la sogs pa rnams kyang rgyan dang na bza' cha lugs phyag mtshan sna tshogs dang/ gzhon pa ma nges pa la chibs pa'i mtha' bskor du/ dpe har/ gza' bdud/ rtsi dmar/ rgyal btsan/ ma mo gshin rje/ lha klu/ gnod sbyin/ nor bdag/ sha za/ srin po/ dri za/ grul bum/ bdud dang/ the'u rang/ 'byung po/ dregs pa sde brgyad/ ru 'dren sde bzhi/ srog bdag las mkhan bshan pa sogs 'jigs shing rngams pa nyi zer rngul gyi grangs ldan la co 'dri ba'i 'khor tshogs bsam gyis mi khyab pas dang bar snang nam mkha'i khyon thams cad gang ba.

TEXT F
List of Tibetan sources, work no. 80
Fols. 1*b*–2*b*

Rakta'i rgya mtsho rba klong 'khrugs pa'i dbus su ya lbang klong bu'i sku mkhar 'ja' tshon sna lnga'i 'od zer 'phro ba/ steng na dug gi sprin 'krigs shing 'brug sgra drag po dang bcas pa'i gnam lcags thog gi bu yug 'tshub pa/ phyi nas rlung nag 'tshub ma 'khyil zhing/ mtha' lcags ri nag pos bskor ba'i dbus su pad nyi dang ra skyes kham pa'am/ seng ge dkar po brjid pa'i steng du tri las skyes mchog rdo rje legs pa sku mdog dmar nag zhal gcig spyan gsum pa/ zhal gdangs shing mche ba grtsigs pa/ dug gi kha rlangs 'thul zhing/ dbu skra dang smin ma sma ra rnams me ltar 'bar ba/ phyag g.yas gnam lcags kyi rdo rjes dgra mgo gzir zhing/ g.yon mi snying dron mo khrag 'jag pa bzung nas zhal du gsol ba/ sku la dar dmar gyi ber gsol ba/ brjid pa'i chas can khro gtum rngams pa'i tshul du gnas pa/ de'i mdun du pad nyi dang ra skyes kham pa'i steng du tri las las mkhan pa'i mtshan can sku mdog mthing nag zhal gcig phyag gnyis kyi g.yas pas khro chu'i tho ba me 'bar ba 'phyar zhing/ g.yon pas sbud pa nag po thogs pa/ dbu la 'o bas zhva mthing nag gsol zhing/ dar nag gi 'jol ber dgu brtsegs sku la gsol ba/ dpa' bo'i chas can/ gtum drag khro bo'i tshul du gnas pa/ gzhan yang 'khor ging chen sde bzhi/ lha btsan bdud kyi dge bsnyen sum brgya drug cu/ dgyes sde mo bcu gnyis rnams dang / klad na bya khra

lding zhing/ mdun na 'phar ba rgyug pa/ g.yas na dred mo lag rdeb/ g.yon na dom bu ngar ba /rgyab na lcags spyang 'greng ba ste phyed mche ba can sogs dregs pa'i tshogs kyis bskor ba.

TEXT G

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 197
Fols. 2*a*–4*a*

g.Yu yi dre'u rta rlung gi gshog pa can rin po che'i rgyan dang sga srab kyis spras pa'i steng du/ dpal ldan lha mo rdo rje g.yu sgron ma sku mdog ston gyi lang tsho dar la babs pa'i zla ba ltar dkar ba/ lang tsho bcu drug lon pa'i zhi ma khro'i rnam pa can/ phyag g.yas khams gsum dbang du byed pa'i mda' dar phyogs bcur g.yob cing/ g.yon pa dgos 'dod thams cad 'byung ba'i gter gyi bum bzang bsnams rin po che'i dbu rgyan la sogs pa'i rgyan brgyad dang sar gyi na bzas mdzes par gsol ba/ dbu skra ral pa spyi bor bcings shing lhag ma sku stod kyi g.yon phyogs su gsil bur babs pa' dre'u rta'i steng na rdzu 'phrul dpag tu med pa'i rol pas skyil krung phyed pa'i stabs kyis bzhugs pa/ de'i g.yas su rdo rje chos kyi sgron ma dkar mo' phyag g.yas thod pa'i rnga'u chung 'khrol zhing/ g.yon pa mdzes pa'i gar stabs bsgyur ba/ dar dang rin po ches brgyan cing dre'u rta'i steng du rnam par rol ba/ g.yon du rdo rje sna yon ma sku mdog mig sman ltar gnag cing/ g.yon pa gser gyi zor bas dam nyams rtsad nas gcod pa' dar nag dang rin po ches brgyan cing skra dmar ser rab tu 'bar ba sha ba rva ba bcu la chibs pa/ mdun gyi phyogs su rdo rje ne ne gnam sman sgron dmar smug zhi ma kho/ me tog gi 'phreng ba dar rus pas brgyan cing dar gyi smad g.yogs gsol ba'i ske rags la mi rkang gi gling bu gzer ba/ g.yas seng ldeng gi ḍa ma ru 'khrol zhing/ g.yon gri gug bzungs nas rgyan dang sga srab spangs pa'i seng ge dkar mo la chibs pa'i mtha' skor du mi dang lha'i dbyibs can gyi char sprin 'brug sgra can sna tshogs pas bskor ba/ gtso 'khor de rnams kyi mtha' skor du mdun nas g.yas skor gyis/ dpal ldan bkra shis tshe ring ma dkar mo g.yas rdo rje dang g.yon bum pa 'dzin pa seng ge dkar mo la chibs pa/ snang gsal spra ston ma ston mo g.yas ba dan dang g.yon me long 'dzin pa rkyang rgod la chibs pa/ mi g.yo blo bzang ma ser mo g.yas zas kyi gang ba'i gzhong pa dang/ g.yon ne'u le 'dzin pa stag chen grus ma la chibs pa/ cod pan mgrin bzang ma dmar mo g.yas dgos 'dod 'byung ba'i nor bu dang g.yon gter gyi sgrom bu 'dzin pa sha ba yu mo la chibs pa/ gtad dkar 'gro bzang ma sngo ljang g.yas dur pa dang/ g.yon sbrul gyi zhags pa 'dzin pa g.yu sbrug sngon mo la chibs pa de rnams kyi phyi rol gyi shar du rdo rje kun grags ma sngon mo g.yas chu srin rgyal mtshan dang g.yon me long 'dzin pa 'brug la chibs pa/ lhor

rdo rje g.ya' ma skyong gser gyi mdog can g.yas gshang lang dang/ g.yon zhags pa 'dzin pa rkyang la chibs pa/ nub tu rdo rje kun bzang dmar mo g.yas rdo rje dang g.yon bum pa 'dzin pa seng ge dkar mo la chibs pa/ byang du rdo rje bgegs kyi gtso sngon mo g.yas ru mtshon rtse lnga dang/ g.yon zhags pa 'dzin pa dre'u rta la chibs pa ste bdud mo chen mo bzhi/ de'i phyi rol gyi shar du rdo rje spyan gcig dkar mo g.yas gser gyi zor ba dang g.yon bum pa 'dzin pa sha ba rva bcu la chibs pa/ lhor rdo rje dpal gyi yum ser mo g.yas ḍa ma ru dang g.yon me long 'dzin pa mkha' lding la chibs pa/ nub tu rdo rje glu dmar mo g.yas par bu dang g.yon sbrul zhags 'dzin pa gyer gling la chibs pa/ byang du rdo rje grags mo rgyal ljang khu g.yas be con dang g.yon 'khar gzhong 'dzin pa 'phar ba la chibs pa ste gnod sbyin chen mo bzhi/ de'i phyi rol kyi shar du rdo rje bod khams skyong dkar mo g.yas mda' dar dang g.yon sgrom bu 'dzin pa rlung gis bskyod pa'i sprin dang bcas pa'i rta mchog la chibs pa/ lhor rdo rje sman gcig ma ser mo g.yas dar gyi lhab lhub dang g.yon 'brang rgyal 'dzin pa 'o rgyan dang bcas pa'i mdzo mo la chibs pa/ nub tu rdo rje g.ya' mo bsil dmar mo g.yas rin po che 'bar ba dang/ g.yon ting shag 'dzin pa sha ba yu mo la chibs pa/ byang du rdo rje dril bu gzugs legs ma sngon mo g.yas padma dang g.yon dril bu 'dzin pa stag la chibs pa ste sman mo chen mo bzhi/ de thams cad kyang rin po che'i rgyan dang dar gyi na bzas mdzes pa.

TEXT H

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 117
Fol. 2a

sKu lha'i yab smos pa
'O de gung rgyal lags
sKu lha'i yum smos pa
g.Yu bya gshog gcig lags
sKu lha'i nyid smos pa
Yar zhur gnyan gyi lha
bZhugs yul mtshan gsol ba
'Dam shod snar mo lags
Khri rgod g.yu ljang 'khril
dByar sngo dgun yang sngo
bZhugs yul nyams re dga'
dGyes so lha yi yul
Mi chos mtshan gsol ba
Thang lha ya zhur lags
lHa chos mtshan gsol ba

Dri za'i rgyal po ni
Zur phud lnga pa lags
gSang ba'i mtshan gsol ba
rDo rje 'bar ba rtsal
sKu la ci gsol ba
Dar dkar ras dkar gsol
Chibs šu ci chibs na
lHa rta rkang dkar chibs
Khams gsum kun du rgyu
mDog dkar 'od zer 'bar
g.Yas na spa cags 'phyar
Ma kun las la 'gye
g.Yon pa shel 'phreng 'dren
Thugs dam dbyings ṣu zlo
sPrul pa ci 'gyed na
rTa dmag 'bum sde 'gyed
Bran g.yog 'khor dang bcas
'Dir byon 'phrin las mdzod

TEXT 1

List of Tibetan sources, work no. 98

Chos sku yangs pa'i pho brang nas
Kṣe tra pā la 'khor bcas kyis
mThun pa'i dam rdzas 'di bzhes la
rNal 'byor dpon slob 'khor bcas la
gZhan gyi bsam sbyor ngan pa dang
Tsher zor yungs zor 'phen pa bzlog
dByung po'i thod zor 'phen pa +
gShin rje'i 'khor lo bskor ba +
bDud kyi khram kha bstan pa +
Ma mo khrag zor 'phen pa +
Zhang zhung btso dmar 'phen pa +
Sum pa glang zor 'phen pa +
Bandhe sngags zor 'phen pa +
Bon po gtor zor 'phen pa +
sNgags pa sgong zor 'phen pa +
sKyes pa mda' zor 'phen pa +
Bud med dmod zor 'phen pa +
Mu stegs bar chad byed pa +
Ngan sngags gdug pa'i rbod gtong +

Klu yi byad du bcug pa +
The'u rang sri la bskug pa +
rGyal pos smyo 'bog gtong ba +
Drang srong gza' yi ki kang +
lTas ngan brgyad cu rtsa bzhi +
Ye 'brog sum brgya drug cu +
rMi lam ngan dang mtshan ma ngan
Lo skegs zla skegs zhag skegs dang
Nad rigs bzhi brgya rtsa bzhi bzlog
mKha' 'gro ma dang ro langs dang
rGyal srin bar chad byed pa bzlog.



TIBETAN SOURCES

1 *Kun mkhyen rgyal dbang mchog gi mkhrung lha rnams la gsol mchod bya ba'i cho ga dregs pa'i sde dpon dpal du 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 3
From the Collection of Tibetan Blockprints and Manuscripts of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (RvV)

2 *Klu 'bum dkar po bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 114

3 *Klong chen snying gi thig le las/ bka' srung ma mgon lcam dral bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 25

4 *Klong chen snying gi thig le las/ bka' srung sman btsun mched lnga'i phrin las dpag bsam yangs 'du bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

5 *bKa' rgyud lugs kyi lha bsangs rgyas pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 78 RvV

6 *bKa' brgyad kyi mngon par dregs pa'i dbu phyogs bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 23

7 *bKa' brgyad zor las cha dgu ma'i don bsdus pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 3 RvV

8 *bKa' gdams pa dang dge lugs bla ma rag rim gyi gsung 'bum mtshan tho bzhugs so*
Blockprint

Fols. 65 Tohoku Catalogue no. 6555
Vol. *ra* of the collected works of *Klong rdol bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang*
An index to the most important works composed by prominent members of the *bKa' gdams pa* and *dGe lugs pa* sects. It gives, among others, the contents of the following works:

Bu ston thams cad mkhyen pa rin chen grub kyi gsung 'bum
Chos kyi rgyal po shar ba tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyi gsung 'bum
rGyal tshab dar ma rin chen gyi gsung 'bum
mKhas grub smra ba'i nyi ma dge legs dpal bzang po'i gsung 'bum
'Dul ba 'dzin pa grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum
rGyal ba dge 'dun grub kyi gsung 'bum
rGyal ba dge 'dun rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum
rGyal ba bsod nams rgya mtsho'i bka' 'bum
rGyal ba sku bdun pa phyag na padma blo bzang bskal bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum
Paṇ chen bsod nams grags pa'i gsung 'bum
rJe 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje'i mtshan gzhan rje ngag dbang brtson 'grus kyi gsung 'bum
lCang skya rin po che sku gong ma ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan dpal bzang po'i gsung 'bum
rGyal ba'i yongs 'dzin pa khri chen ngag dbang mchog ldan gyi gsung 'bum
'Jam dbyangs gcang ba bdun rgyud kyi drug pa rje blo gros brtan pa'i slob ma dvags po ngag dbang grags pa'i gsung 'bum
Nyi thang bla ma thor god 'jam dbyangs shes rab sbyin pa'i yig cha
Ser smad rgyal rong smra ba'i dbang phyug nam mkha' lhun grub kyi stag tshang lotsāva
rGyal ba btsong kha pa'i 'khor bdag pa rnam brgyad kyi nang tshan 'ol kha nyi ma gling gi bla ma bzang skyong ba dang gtsang chung ba chos grags rgya mtsho
mKhas grub dge legs dpal bzang gi dngos slob spyan snga blo gros rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum
Paṇ chen sku 'phreng dben sa pa blo bzang don grub kyi bka' 'bum
Paṇ chen blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum

sNgags chen rdo rje 'dzin pa dkon mchog rgyal mtshan gyi gsung 'bum
Paṇ chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang ye shes kyi bka' 'bum
sKyid shod zhabs drung bstan 'dzin blo bzang rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum
sKyid shod sprul sku ngag dbang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las kyi gsung 'bum
rJe ngag dbang byams pa'i gsung 'bum
dGa' ldan byang rtse ba zhog pa don yod mkhas grub kyi gsung 'bum
bKra shis lhun po'i paṇ chen sku 'phreng bzhi pa dpal ldaṇ ye shes kyi gsung 'bum
Bla ma ye shes rgyal mtshaṇ gyi gsung 'bum
lCang skya ye shes bstan sgron nam rol pa'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum
'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sprul sku dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i gsung 'bum
mKhar rdo bzod pa rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum
Bra ti dge bshes rin chen don grub kyi gsung 'bum
Slob dpon 'jam dpal rgya mtsho'am/ mtshan gzhan 'jam dbyangs bde ba'i rdo rje'i gsung 'bum
rJe 'jam dpal rgya mtsho'i gsung zin bris
dKyil khang grva tshang gi yig cha
Shar rtse grva tshang gi yig cha
sTag tshang ra ba stod pa'i yig cha
'Bras spungs bde yangs pa'i yig cha
Dvags po grva tshang gi yig cha

bKa' rdzogs pa chen yang zab dkon mchog spyi 'dus las byang kyi/ bka' bsrung mchod thabs bzhugs so
Blockprint
Fols. 12

10 *bKa' srung sman btsun mched lnga'i phrin las dpag bsam yongs 'du dang 'brel ba'i tshogs cod pan bde'i rna cha zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5

11 *bKa' bsrungs khro mo ra(g) gdong ma bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 13 RvV

12 *sKu lnga'i gsol mchod rdo rje'i sgra dbyangs dang rdo rje grags ldan gnod sbyin tsi'u dmar po dang bse khrab pa tshangs pa bcas kyi gsol mchod rgyas pa rnams bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 30
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz
Subchapters:

a) *sKu lnga'i gsol mchod* (fols. 1b–10b)
This work was composed by the second Dalai Lama (*thams cad mkhyen pa*) *dGe 'dun rgya mtsho* (1475–1542), using the material contained in the book *Bla ma'i las byang thugs sgrub yang snying 'dus pa* and upon the request of the treasurer (*phyag mdzod pa*) *bSod nams rab brtan.* It remained unpublished and came into use only at the time of the fifth Dalai Lama, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho* (1617–1682), who made some additions. The complete text was then written down by the clerk *Ngag dbang dge legs.*

b) *sKu lnga'i gser skyems* (fols. 10b-11b)

c) *sNang srid dregs pa'i sde dpon gnas chung chos skyong rdo rje grags ldan la mchod gtor 'bul ba'i cho ga 'dod dgu'i mchog sbyin zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (fols 11b–16b)
This text was composed upon the order of the Dalai Lama *'Jam dpal rgya mtsho* by the *dge slong Ye shes rgyal mtshan.* The work was written down in the Potala Palace in Lhasa.

d) *gNod sbyin dgra lha'i rgyal po rtsi'u dmar po gsol mchod bya ba'i rim brdzogs ldan dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (fols. 16b–21a)
The author of this work is the third Panchen Lama *Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes* (1738–1780).

e) *gNod sbyin chen po bse khrab can la mchod gtor sogs 'bul tshul bzhugs so* (fols. 21a–23b)
This work was composed by the fifth Dalai Lama, *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho.*

f) *lHa mchog srid gsum gyi bdag po tshangs pa chen po'i gsol mchod*

gyi rim pa don yod 'phrul gyi zhags pa zhes bya ba (fols. 23b–30b) *Tshangs pa dkar po* himself is supposed to have ordered this work to be composed: speaking through the mouth of an oracle-priest, he gave to the son of the medium, *'Chi med bdud 'joms dbang po*, the order to write a corresponding supplication in verse to the Panchen Lama *Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes*. The latter then composed this text, writing it with his own hand.

sKyes bu chen po dam can rdo rje legs pa'i gshegs gtor bzhugs so
Manuscript
Fols. 7
Royal Library, Copenhagen, M 4 Part no. 16

14 *Kha 'bar gtor chen gyi cho ga ngag 'don gyi rim pa chogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

15 *Khal kha'i yul gyi chos bdag rnam snang la gsol mchod bya tshul dngos grub kyi sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde mig ces bya ba sogs thor bu 'ga' bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

16 *Khod spungs dran pa che'i rdzongs chen gyi sgrub pa lags so*
Manuscript
Fols. 16
Bon work

17 *Khyung nag gi las tshogs bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

18 *Khro bo dbang chen rgyas pa'i 'phrin las khrigs kha bzhugs pa'i dbus phyogs legs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 127
Bon work RvV

19 *Khro bo sme brtsegs kyi khrus chog nag po 'gro shes bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 7 RvV

20 *mKha' 'gro grib mdos kyi lag len 'khyer bde bar bkod pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 13

21 *mKhas pa zangs gling dbang phyug gis mdzad pa'i gtad zlog zab mo'i phyag len zab gnad du bkod pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *yi*

22 *Gu ru 'o rgyan gyi rgyal pos 'dzam gling bod yul kun gyi lha 'dre drag po btul nas bka' sgo dam bzhag mdzad pas rnam thar mdor bsdus zhig bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 15

23 *Ge sar dgra lha'i rgyal po'i mchod sprin dgyes pa bskyed byed du 'phrin las lha yi rnga bo che zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

24 *Gong sa lnga pa chen po'i 'jags sgrig snang ba'i rta thugs dkar po bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

25 *Grib glud bsdus pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 2
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

26 *dGongs gter las gdon gsum mdos kyi lag len bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

27 *dGra lha ma bskul te*
Manuscript
Fols. 1
Bon work RvV

28 *'Go ba'i lha lnga'i gsol mchod kyi rim pa bya tshul bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

29 *'Grub rgyud karma kam tshang gi bsangs mchod bsdor 'dus bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 13 RvV

30 *rGyal chen rdo rje shugs ldan rtsal gyi gsol kha 'phrin las 'dod 'jo zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5

31 *rGyal mdos dkar po drug mdos kyi bca' thabs mdun bskyed/ spyan 'dren rnams bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 17
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*

32 *rGyal mdos dkar po drug mdos kyi gzhung gshegs gsol dang bcas pa bzhugs pa'i dbu phyogs legs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 20
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*
This book is supposed to be a *gter ma*, which had been excavated at *bSam yas byang chub gling* by the *gter ston Nyi ma 'od zer* from *Nyang*, who was believed to be the embodied emanation of the *dharmarāja Khri srong (lde'u btsan)*.

33 *rGyal po sku lnga dang chos bdag bkra shis 'od 'bar gyi gtor mchog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5
This text was composed by *bsTan rgyan chos 'phel*, a lama-instructor at the *lHo pa khang tshan* of *bKra shis lhun po* monastery. Its original printing-blocks having become nearly illegible, new blocks were prepared by the *chos rje Blo bzang mgon po* and the *dge slong Blo bzang tshul khrims* of *Dung dkar* monastery.

34 *rGyal ba'i bstan srung chen po dregs pa lcam sring bsnyen cing sgrub pa'i rim pa las bzhi'i 'phrin las lhun grub ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 18
From the collected works of *dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* of Amdo.

35 *brGya bzhi'i cho ga bklags pas don grub ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

36 *brGya bzhi'i cho ga ji ltar bya ba'i tshul phan bde'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba bzugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

37 *brGya bzhi'i cho ga ji ltar bya tshul nag 'dros su bkod pa bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

38 *brGya bzhi'i cho ga 'dod don lhun grub ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 11
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*

39 *Cang seng lcam mo lam khrid bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4
Bon Work RvV

40 *gCod kyi sgo nas ser ba bsrung ba'i gdams pa zab mo bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5

41 *gCod lugs char 'bod snyan brgyud yi ger bkod pa 'don bsgom phyag len dang bcas pa mthong bas don gsal bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 21

42 *gCod lugs phun sum tshogs pa'i me mchod bltas chog tu bkod pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 24

43 *bCom ldan 'das khro bo bdud rtsi dkyil pa lha bcu gsum gyi bdag bskyed rngul tshon la brten pa'i dkyil chog/dbang chog/ sbyin sreg tshogs mchod bcas nag 'gros su bkod pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 76

44 *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs las zor las gnam lcags*

'bar ba bzhugs
Blockprint
Fols. 34
From the work *Phur pa rgyud lugs kyi mtshan byang bzhugs so*, chapter *la*

45 *Chos skyong sku 'bebs kyi man ngag zab mo nag gros bu bkod ye shes zla snang 'char pa'i rdzing 'u zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 6

46 *Chos skyong lcam sring gi gtor chog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

47 *Chos skyong rnams sgrub skor bskang pa bskul dang bcas pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 95

48 *Chos skyong rnams sgrub cing mchod gtor 'bul zhing 'phrin las 'chol ba'i rim pa sogs phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 64

49 *Chos skyong bya khri mig gcig pa dpon slob gyi thugs dam bskul ba'i 'dod gsol bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3

50 *Chos 'khor skyong ba'i bstan srung btsan rgod chen po'i phrin las che btsan dgyes pa'i rngam glu zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *ti*

51 *'Chi med tshe sgrub gnam lcags rdo rje dngos grub kun 'dus las glud rabs lha'i gaṇḍe bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6

52 *'Jab sngon gtor bskul bstan srung myur mgyogs can bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 2
Bon work RvV

53 *'Jam mgon rgyal ba'i bstan bsrung mthu ldan dgra lha'i rgyal chen yongs kyi gtso bo srid gsum skye 'gro kun gyi srog bdag sprul pa'i chos skyong rgyal chen rdo rje shugs ldan rab 'jigs khro bo sku lnga'i sger bskang rgyas pa dga' ldan bstan srung ldan dgra tshar gcod ma bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 21
This text was composed and written down by the *bla ma Djñānabhadra* of the *sMyung gnas* (*lha khang*) in Lhasa, upon the request of the head-priest of the *bKra shis chos gling* monastery in *lHo brag* and the assembly of monks of this religious establishment, as well as upon the request of the *sde sras bSod nams dpal 'byor* and many other devotees of this *srung ma*. The *mgron gnyer Blo bzang shes rab* of *sBar kha* and *dPal ldan don 'grub* of *mDo sgar* donated the money for carving the printing blocks.

54 *'Jam mgon rgyal ba'i bstan srung sprul pa'i rgyal chen rdo rje shugs ldan rtsal gyi bskang chog 'bring bo las bzhi'i 'phrin las myur 'gugs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 16
This book, a condensation of other works, was composed by the so-called *Pha bong kha pa sprul sku* (inhabiting the small *Pha bong kha'ri khrod* near Sera monastery) upon the request of the *mGar thar sprul sku Rin po che Thub bstan 'jigs med grags pa rnam rgyal* and his brother *rDo rje rnam rgyal*. The text was written down by the clerk *Ngag ldan dpon lha thub bstan gsung rab*.

55 *'Jig rten gyi lha srung 'ga'i gsol mchod phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 20

56 *'Jigs byed dmar po'i gser skyems/ lha mo rab brtan ma'i bskang gso/ • phyag drug pa'i gtor 'bul/ sman bla bde gshegs brgyad kyi gsol 'debs bcas bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

57 *rJe rang 'byung rdo rjes mdzad p'ai gcod kyi tshogs las rin po che'i 'phreng ba 'don bsgrigs bltas chog tu bkod pa gcod kyi lugs sor bzhag bzhugs so*

Blockprint
Fols. 94

58 *gNyan chen mtha' la gtan pa dang| mtha' gtad chu yi gzer bu gnyis bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

59 *gTer srung dregs pa sde lnga'i gtor chog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3

60 *gTer bsrung rgyal ba thod dkar mchod thabs*
Manuscript
Fols. 2

61 *gTo nag po mgo gsum gyis bzlogs 'gyur shin tu brgyas pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 30 RvV

62 *gTor 'bul bsangs mchod sogs kyi skor bstan srung dgyes pa'i mchod sprin zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 31
From the collected works of *dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* of Amdo

63 *sTobs po che la brten pa'i char 'bebs rje'i man ngag zhal shes bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

64 *bsTan skyong dbang mo rdo rje drag rgyal ma la mngon rtogs gsal btab ste mchod gtor 'bul ba'i cho ga bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 15
The contents of this book are based upon previous works which were composed by the *rgyal ba dGe 'dun rgya mtsho* and by the fifth Dalai Lama. The book has been composed by the *dge slong Ye shes rgyal mtshan* in the room called *bDe ba can* in the Potala Palace at Lhasa, after the goddess *rDo rje grags rgyal ma* had given through the mouth of her *sku rten pa* the order that a book for her worship should be written. — Received as a gift from *Rin po che Dar mdo sprul sku.*

65 *bsTan skyong dbang mo'i gtor skyong dang mnga' gsol bya tshul bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 14
The author of this book is the seventh Dalai Lama *bsKal bzang rgya mtsho* (1708-1757). His predecessor, the Dalai Lama *Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho* (1683-1706), and the teacher of the latter, *Yongs 'dzin paṇḍita*, had already made a draft of this work.
Subchapters:
a) *'Dir bstan skyong chen mo drag tu bskul ba'i tshul*
This text was composed by the *rgyal ba dGe 'dun rgya mtsho* (1475–1542) in the *dGa' ldan pho brang* of Drepung monastery.
b) *bsTan skyong chen mo rdo rje grags mo rgyal gyi... tshogs 'khor 'bul tshul phun tshogs 'dod dgu'i char 'bebs bzhugs so*
A text which was composed by the seventh Dalai Lama. - Received as a gift from *Rin po che Dar mdo sprul sku.*

66 *bsTan pa skyong ba'i dam can po rnams gyi phrin las dngos grub kyi rol mtsho zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 62

67 *bsTan ma bcu gnyis kyi nang tshan rdo rje khyung lung ma zhi drag gnyis kyi gtor chog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 16

68 *bsTan srung gyang rje btsan po'i mchod cho 'dod don myur 'grub bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5

69 *bsTan srung nyi pang sad kyi bstod bskul bka' bsgo bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4
Bon work RvV

70 *bsTan srung dam can rgya mtsho'i ming gi grangs*
Blockprint
Fols. 16
Collected works of *Klong rdol bla ma ngag dbang blo bzang*, chapter *ya*

71 *bsTan srung rdo rje shugs ldan/ chos skyong bse khrab/ dge bsnyen 'phying dkar ba/ btsan rgod kha che dmar po/ dgra lha bkra shis 'od 'bar sogs kyi gsol rnams bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 40

72 *bsTan srung shel khrab kyi mchod bskang bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 2
Bon work RvV

73 *bsTan bsrung kun gyi rje bo chos skyong dregs pa lcam sring gi gtor bsgrub ji ltar bya ba'i tshul yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 11

74 *bsTan bsrung chen po btsan rgod yam shud dmar po gtso 'khor gyi bskang chog dngos grub bdud rtsi 'khyil ba'i rin chen bum bzang zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 16

75 *Thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel las, sde brgyad lengs mdos khol phungs bltas chog tu bkod pa rtsub 'gyur rnyogs ma gting dvangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 20
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

76 *Thugs rje'i rnams sprul seng chen nor bu dgra 'dul gyis nor bdud bcom pa'i rnam thar mdor bsdus bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 23

77 *Thun mong rten 'brel sgrig byed pa'i lha rnams mnyes byed bsangs yig bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 44

Subchapter:
gSang ba'i bdag pos gnang ba'i dgra lha dpangs stod ces bya ba bzhugs so (fols. 36–44)
A print from the *sTen rgyas gling* monastery

78 *Thub bstan a.e wam lcog sgar ba'i bstan srung rnams kyi bskang phrin rgyun khyer snying po bsdus pa rnams dkyus gcig tu bkod pa bstan bsrung dgyes pa'i mchod sprin rdo rje sgra dbyangs bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 65
A copy of the same work, but printed from different blocks, is preserved at the University Library, Oslo, Collection Th. Sörensen, no. 88. Same title except that instead of the passage ... *bstan srung rnams kyi*... the title of the latter work reads... *bstan srung chos skyong rnams kyi* etc. Fols. 57

79 *Dam can rdo rje legs pa skyes bu chen po'i tshogs 'khor 'bul tshul bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 6
Royal Library, Copenhagen, M 4 Part no. 15

80 *Dam can rdo rje legs pa la mchod gtor 'bul tshul rngams pa'i pho nya zhes bya ba/ dam can rnam gsum gyi gtor chog rgyun 'khyer bcas bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5
A work composed by the Panchen Lama *Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* and based upon several older books. The text was written down by the *dge tshul Sangs rgyas skyabs.*

81 *Dam can rdo rje legs pa la gsur gtong tshul dpa' bo dgyes bskyed zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 6
Royal Library, Copenhagen, M 4 Part no. 14

82 *Dam can gshin rje'i rgyal po ser po'i gtor tshogs spyan 'dren bshags pa bskang pa bstod 'phrin 'chol bcas cha tshang bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

83 *Dam can srung ma'i mnga' gsol/ dpag bsam ljon shing zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
In possession of *bKra shis dgra 'dul gdan sa pa* (Burmiak Kazi), Gangtok

84 *Drag btsan a shos dang btsan rgod me lce 'bar ba'i gsol mchod bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3

85 *bDud kyi zhags pa dgu grol bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 8 RvV

86 *rDo rje khyung lung ma zhi drag dang/ rgyal po li byin ha ra gnyis la mchod gtor gser skyems mdor bsdus stabs gcig tu 'bul tshul sogs bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7
Collected works of *dByangs can grub pa' rdo rje*, volume *ga*. Tohoku Catalogue no. 6492

87 *rDo rje phur pa rgyud lugs kyi drag po'i sbyin sreg rta gdong brngams zhugs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10
From the work *Phur pa rgyud lugs kyi mtshan byang bzhugs so*, chapter *ra*

88 *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma'i phra sgrub snang gsal me long ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 29
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz

89 *rDo rje g.yu sgron ma'i gsol mchod sman btsun mgul rgyan bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6

90 *sDe brgyad gser skyems bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

91 *Nag phyogs zil gnon gyi rgyal po nor dgra 'dul gyi ljang bdud bcom pa'i rnam thar snying po bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 9

92 *Nad bdag stobs chen gyi tsha dbal 'joms pa'i man ngag khrigs su bsdebs pa thugs rje'i sman chab ches bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 13
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *mi*

93 *Nam sang zhi ba'i mdzad pa'i zhi khro'i bskang bshags pa bzhugs so*
Fols. 10
Bon work RvV

94 *Ne ser jo bo chen po'i gtor chog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

95 *gNam bskos pa'i tshangs pa cing gi si'i rigs rgyud kyi srung ma pho lha dung skyong dkar po'i gsol mchod bde chen lhun grub ma bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 3
Bibliothèque National, Paris, Fonds Tibétain, no. 600

96 *gNam chos thugs kyi gter kha snyan brgyud zab mo'i skor las/ 'byor pa rang don rten 'brel ngan pa rnams bzlog pa'i gdams pa zab mo bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 9
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

97 *gNam chos bdud rtsi 'khyil pa'i las tshogs lto 'gong dbul sri dkar ba'i man ngag zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 18 RvV

98 *gNod sbyin kṣetrapāla mchod gtor 'bul tshul yid re skong zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
The work was composed by the monk *Tikṣanti* and printed at *bKra shis lhun po monastery*
India Office Library, London

99 *gNod sbyin gyi rgyal po spu gri dmar po'i snying gi rgyud 'grel yid mun sel byed ces bya ba bzhugs so*

Blockprint
Fols. 14

100 *gNod sbyin rgyal chen sku lnga 'khor bcas*
Blockprint
Fols. 13

101 *gNod sbyin 'bar ba'i mngon rtogs spyan 'dren bskang bshags bstod bskul mnga' gsol dang bcas pa bdud sde'i brag ri 'joms pa'i gnam lcags ces bya bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6

102 *gNod sbyin ya ba skya bdun gyi sgrub thabs srog gtad kyi cho ga 'dod pa'i re skong zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 9
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *ti*

103 *gNod sbyin bse'i khrab can la mchod gtor 'bul tshul*
Manuscript
Fols. 7
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz. The colophon of this work mentions that the deity described in this book was a mighty *srung ma* of Indian origin, which had been subdued by *Padmasambhava*. Until then no reliable book of worship of this deity existed, as all the older texts were inaccurate, being based on the teachings of the *sNgags gsar ba* (= *Sa skya pa*) and the *sNgags rnying ba* (= *rNying pa ma*), whose methods of worshiping *bSe khrab* were as uncertain as "shooting off an arrow in the darkness". Therefore, upon the urgent request of the *chos rje bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho* of *Gling smad* monastery, the *sprul sku* of *Bra yag* - who was residing at the *Nyag re khang tshan* in the *dGa' ldan* monastery - and the *bla ma 'Bri ka a* of the *Mi nyag khang tshan* in the *dGa' ldan* monastery, and others, the fifth Dalai Lama (here addressed by his "secret name": *Za hor gyi benḍa*) composed this book during the summer retreat at *gSang phu*.

104 *sNang srid char 'bebs gser skyems chen mo dang| mdos kyi rim pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 48 RvV

105 *sNang srid dregs pa'i sde dpon bstan bsrung lpa' bo chen po thugs dam bskang pa'i rim pa mchog thun dngos grub 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6

106 *dPal kyai rdo rje lha dgu'i zhi ba'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga sdig . . . ces bya ba bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 17

107 *dPal mgon zhal bzhi pa'i gtor chen zor 'phen gyi cho ga ji ltar bya tshul dang gshegs gtor 'bul tshul bcas bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 12

108 *dPal rdo rje phur bu thugs kyi sgrub pa gsang ba'i rgya can bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri'i las byang khrag 'thung mngon par rol pa'i dga' ston ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Subchapters:
a) *dPal rdo rje phur bu bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga phrin las lhun gyis grub pa'i dga' ston ces bya ba bzhugs so* Fols. 14
b) *dPal rdo rje phur bu bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri'i smad las dgra bgegs sgrol ba'i las rim khrag 'thung . . . dga' ston ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Fols. 52

109 *dPal ldan dmag zor rgyal mo'i gdams skor mkha' 'gro'i zhal lung las las bzhi spyi bsgril gsang sgrub dang bcas pa'i 'phrin las bklags chog tu bkod pa/ zhar byung a phyi/ dpal lha/ drag rgyal ma/ g.yu sgron ma/ de mo rnams kyi gsol mchod dang bcas pa rin chen nor bu'i do shal zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 74

110 *dPal ldan lha mo bu rdzi ma'i brten mdos bca' thabs zab mo zhig bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 5 PvV

111 *dPal ldan lha mo la brten nas sho mo 'debs tshul nor-bu'i me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 24
Collected works of *dByangs can grub pa'i rdo rje*, volume *ga*.
Tohoku Catalogue no. 6471

112 *dPal ldan lha mo'i mdos chen gyis rdzas cha dang lag len man ngag skor bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

113 *dPal sa skya pa'i bstan srung mngon po che chung las mkhan lcam dral dur khrod bdag po dang bcas pa rnams la gtor ma 'bul ba'i cho ga 'phrin las myur mgyogs kyi pho nya zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 24

14 *dPal lha bstan ma bcu gnyis sger gsol rdo rje g.yu sgron ma rdo rje drag rgyal ma bcas pa'i gsol mchod bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

15 *dPe dkar rgyal po'i mchod sprin dang btsan klu bcas kyi mchod sprin bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 14
Part of a work, preserved for several generations in the family of the *rDzogs chen pa bla ma Nyi ma nor bu*. Head Lama of the Government High School in Darjeeling.

116 *sPu gri dmar po snying gi rgyud le'u bdun pa (dmag dpon gyi rgyud grub thabs dang bcas pa bzhugs so)*
Blockprint
Fols. 17
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *ti*

117 *sPom ra| thang lha| rdor legs| dang pa drag' drag rgyal ma'i gsol mchod rgyas pa| gser skyems dang bcas pa| rgyal gsol dang| btsan gsol le tshan| khrung lha'i skor cha tshang| gza' gsol| 'bum ra| klu| jo bo rgyal mtshan| gser skyems rigs kun khyab bdag| 'phrin bcol le tshan| gtor ma 'phen skor| chos srung spyi'i mnga' gsol rnams bzhugs so*

Manuscript
Fols. 46

118 *sPrul pa'i chos rgyal chen po'i cho ga 'phrin las ri skor dgos kun 'byung bsal 'phel nor bu bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 7
A book in possession of a Lepcha priest at Git, said to be the copy of a work preserved at *bKra shis lding* monastery in Sikkim.

119 *Phug lugs rtsis kyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan vaiḍūra dkar po'i do shal dpyod ldan snying nor zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 633

120 *Phur pa rgyud lugs las/ dam can lcam dral gyi mchod bskul bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3
From the work *Phur pa rgyud lugs kyi mtshan byang bzhugs so*

121 *Phur pa rgyud lugs las phan gnod las tshogs rdo rje pha lam bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 4
From the work *Phur pa rgyud lugs kyi mtshan byang bzhugs so* chapter *sa*

122 *Pho lha dung skyong dkar po'i gsol mchod bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 9
Collected works of *lCang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*, volume *ca*

123 *Phyug gzhung yul gyi gnas bdag bcas la bsangs dang gser skyems mchod gtor 'bul chu bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

124 *Phyugs gta' bsdam pa'i lto dpyad bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 2

125 *'Phags pa brgya bzhi'i cho ga bzhugs so*
Manuscript

Fols. 14
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz

126 *'Phrin bskul 'dod don myur 'gugs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

127 *Bod khams skyongs ba'i bstan ma bcu gnyis kyi gsol ka 'dod don lhun grub bzhugs*
Manuscript
Fols. 8 RvV

128 *Bon po'i lha bsangs*
Manuscript
Fols. 20
Bon work RvV

129 *Byang gter phur pa'i sri mnan yi dam drag po gang la'ang sbyar du rung ba'i lag len 'don 'gregs dkyus gcig tu bsdebs pa 'bar ba'i brjid gnon thog brtsegs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 16
The work was composed by *Padma gar dbang rtsal* in the retreat *rDo rje thugs kyi rdzong*

130 *Brag btsan mchod bskang bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 10
Bon work RvV

131 *Brag btsan dmar po'i gsol kha bzhugs par legs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 7
Bon work RvV

132 *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel/ bka' srung tshe ring mched lnga'i sgrub thabs bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 11
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*

133 *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel gyi cha lag rig 'dzin rdo rje*

gro lod kyi sgrub thabs dam sri gdug pa char gcod ces bya ba bzhugs so
Blockprint
Fols. 5

134 *Bla ma'i thugs sgrub bar chad kun sel las| dngos grub rgya mtsho'i cha lag bsang brngan 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 22
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*

135 *dBal gsas drag po sku rdzogs kyi gzhung bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 31
Bon work RvV

136 *sByin sreg phyag len kun 'jug don gsal sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 14

137 *Ma cig gi gcod kyi cha lag| bya 'bod snyan brgyud zab mo bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 3

138 *Mi bdud zhal gzigs bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4
Bon work RvV

139 *Myur mdzad ye shes kyi mgon po la brten pa'i drag po'i sbyin sreg bya tshul mdor bsdus bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

140 *rMa rgyal spom ra'i g.yang 'bod phur tshogs 'dod dgu'i rol mtsho zhes bya ba dang rgyal gsol mjug tu sbyar rgyu'i g.yang 'bod bcas bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6
From the collected works of *dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* of Amdo, chapter 10

141 *rMa chen spom ra'i gsol mchod bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 6
From the collected works of *rDo rje 'chang lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje*, volume *ca*

142 *rMa gnyan spom ra'i bsangs mchod*
Manuscript
Fol. 1
Bon work RvV

143 *gTsang ma klu 'bum dkar po bon rin po che 'phrul ngag bden pa theg pa chen po'i mdo*
Blockprint
Fols. 459
Bon work RvV

144 *gTsug tor bzlog chen gyi lag len snying por dril ba'i cho ga rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum bar chad kun sel zhes bya ba bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 12

145 *bTsan rgod nam mkha' shar 'dzin gyi mchod gtor 'bul tshul bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4
This work was composed by *'Dul 'dzin dregs pa'i ming can* at *Dung dkar* monastery upon command of the *rje btsun Gurukalpabhadra*

146 *rTsi dmar ba'i mchod sprin bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 9

147 *Tshe ring mched lnga'i mnga' gsol phan bde'i pho nya bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 2

148 *Tshe ring mched lnga'i mchod gtor gyi rim pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 12

149 *Tsher gseb chos skyong chen po la mchod gtor 'bul ba'i tshul shin tu legs bzhugs so*

Blockprint
Fols. 4

150 *mTsho sman bsngo mdos zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 6 RvV

151 *'Dzam gling chen po'i rgyal bshad snod bcud kun gsal me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 148

152 *rDzogs chen lha bsangs bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 11 RvV

153 *Zhing skyong chen po kun dga' gzhon nu'i mchod pa'i cho dpa' bo rnam par rol pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 11

154 *Zhing skyong dur khrod lha mo'i gsol mchod bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

155 *gZhi bdag khang ka'i rgyal po'i bskang gso cha lag tshang ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

156 *Zangs ri btsan rgod gsol ka bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 3 RvV

157 *Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas kyi lhan thabs rin 'byung don gsal bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Vol. I: fols. 519; vol. II: fols. 470

158 *Yi dam lha srung ma dang bcas pa'i sgrub thabs dang rjes gnang zur kha brgya rtsa dngos grub 'byung gnas zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 260

159 *Yul lha gzhi bdag 'khrungs lha sogs la mchod gtor 'bul tshul gyi skor bzhugs*

Blockprint
Fols. 36

160 *Yul lha gzhi bdag rnam la mchod gtor 'bul tshul bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

161 *Yul lha gzhi bdag sogs kyi mchod 'phrin gyi rim pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 40

162 *g.Yu thog snying thig gi bka' sdod zhang blon chen po sde dgu'i gsol mchod 'dod dgu'i mchog sbyin zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4 RvV

163 *Rākṣa dgra mdos kyi cho ga 'o rgyan padmas mdzad pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 6 RvV

164 *Rākṣa dgra mdos sogs mdos bcu'i sogs yig smreng dang bcas pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 15
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod,* volume *pi*

165 *Rig 'dzin zhi drag gi sgo nas/ zhi ba'i sbyin sreg ye shes me lce bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

166 *Rigs mtshun lha srung btsan rdo rje brag btsan gyi mchod bstod 'dod don lhun grub bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 9

167 *Lo glud btang thabs 'gong po gru 'ded zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 1

168 *Shin tu gnyan po ma mo'i khrag mdos bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 5

From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

169 *Sa bdag klu gnyan gyi gdon grol rgyas pa gsal ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 18 RvV

170 *Sa bdag klu gnyan gyi gdon grol bsdum chen mgo bzhi bzhes pa gtsang ma klu brgyad nas len zur khol mdzad pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 11
Bon work RvV

171 *Sa bdag bshags 'bum bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols.

172 *Sad srung ril bu bsgrub tshul bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 3
From the collected works of *dByangs can grub pa'i rdo rje*.
Tohoku Catalogue no. 6487

173 *Sri bzlog cakra bcu gsum pa bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4 RvV

174 *Srid pa ma mo'i las mtha' mdos bcu kun gyi phrin las don bsdems gsal bar bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 12
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *phi*

175 *Srid gsum bdag po lha chen tshangs pa chen po'i gtor chog bskang bskul tshogs mchod dang bcas pa dregs byed dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 4

176 *Srog bdag rgyal po dkar po drug mdos ra shag gter byon gying ya 'don khrigs su brdebs pa bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7
From the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, volume *pi*

177 *Srog bdag rgyal po'i dkar po drug mdos zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 7

178 *Srog bdag 'od kyi rgyal po li byin ha ra'i gsol mchod bstod bskul tshogs mchod dang bcas pa 'phrin las rnam bzhi'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

179 *Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyis mdzad pa'i gnyan gyi zhi ba dkar po*
Manuscript
Fols. 9 RvV

180 *Slob dpon padmas mdzad pa'i rgyal gsol 'phrin las don bcu bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 15

181 *Slob dpon padmas mdzad pa'i mdos kyi las byang mchod drug ma bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 10
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Collection Nebesky-Wojkowitz

182 *Slob dpon padmas mdzad pa'i dbang phyug zor mdos bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4

183 *Slob dpon padmas mdzad pa'i bstan ma'i gsang mdos bzhugs*
Manuscript
Fols. 4 RvV

184 *bSangs dpe bkra shis re skong ma zhes bya ba bzhugs*
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185 *bSad las rin chen phreng ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
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Bon work RvV

186 *bSe rag skar mdos ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 5

187 *bSer rag skag mdos dang gshin rje gshed r.ıdos rgyal mdos btsan mdos*
Manuscript
Fols. 25 RvV

188 *bSrung 'bum rdo rje 'phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 12

189 *Hor chen shog yon tan sbu yin thu'i dgon gyi gzhi bdag btsan rgod dgra 'dul bstan skyong gi drag skul bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 7

190 *lHa rgod yab yum sku stod bzhugs so*
Manuscript
Fols. 4
Bon work RvV

191 *lHa chen gnod sbyin 'bar ba'i dbang drag gi sbyin sreg khams gsum dbang sdud ces bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 8

192 *lHa chen tshangs pa zhi drag dang ne ser jo bo chen po'i rjes gnang gtong tshul blo rmongs snying gi mun sel zhes bya ba bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fols. 11

193 *lHa mchog srid gsum gyi bdag po tshangs pa chen po'i gsol mchod . . . lon 'phrul gyi zhags pa zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

194 *lHa gnyan chen po sngo la g.yu rtse'i gsol mchod rgyas pa phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i ru mtshon zhes bya ba dang lha chen gnyan rje gung sngon gyi bsang mchod bcas bzhugs so*
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Fols. 13
From the collected works of *dKon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me* of Amdo, chapter 11

195 *lHa sna tshogs kyi las bzhi'i sbyin steg gi cho ga bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 32

196 *lHa dbye'i bskul ba bzhugs*
Blockprint
Fol. 1
From the work *Phur pa rgyud lugs kyi chos kyi mtshan byang bzhugs so*, chapter *zha*

197 *lHa mo rdo rje g.yu sgron ma'i gtor tshog bzhugs so*
Blockprint
Fols. 10

198 *lHa bzo mkhan po nye bar mkho ba'i rigs rnams bzhugs so*
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199 *A ya'i mdos kyi zin bris bkod pa legs so*
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200 *a.U rgyan gu ru'i gter bsangs bzhugs so*
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Fols. 19

201 *a.U rgyan padmas mdzad pa'i lha bsangs bar chad kun sel zhes bya ba bzhugs so*
Manuscript
In possession of *bKra shis dgra 'dul gdan sa pa* (Burmiak Kazi), Gangtok

202 A Bon manuscript without a title
RvV

203 A book of worship of the *dge bsnyen rDo rje khro 'bar*, without a title
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204 An old *rNying ma pa* work, dealing with the worship of various *dharmapālas*, title illegible
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